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Values and Purposes of a PhD: Comparative responses from South Africa and Mauritius[1]

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Abstract. This paper compares the motivations of two developing countries, South Africa and Mauritius, in promoting doctoral education. Both are concerned about addressing their underproduction of PhDs, but is this focus a luxury in the face of prevalent societal issues, e.g., the HIV/AIDS pandemic, crime and unemployment in South Africa? Are PhDs resolving post-apartheid societal problems? Is their pursuit primarily about developing a competitive advantage? In Mauritius, alignment of the state agenda and the higher education system provides pragmatic interventions to establish itself as the knowledge hub of the Indian Ocean islands. However, the philosophically-driven PhD infuses potentially a critical disruption of "comfortable collaborations" with the state agenda. So what is the worth of a PhD, especially in the field of education?

This paper suggests that the value of an educational PhD in developing world contexts has both enabling and constraining potential: to personal, institutional, social and nationalistic agendas.

Keywords: Doctoral under-productivity in developing world contexts; the economic, national, personal and social values of PhD study; professional doctorates and PhDs; doctoral career paths; PhDs in Education; globalization and internationalization; social justice, and education

Introduction

Interest in expansion of the higher education system is a worldwide phenomenon characterized by varied agendas, including the attempt to address the backlog in the production of graduates specifically in developing world contexts (Teferra, 2014); elevation of the status of an institution's standing within the regional, national and global community (Mohammedbhai, 2008), and the belief in the potential of

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higher education as a driver of economic growth (Bloom, Canning, Chan & Luca, 2014). More recently the agenda has shifted beyond the justification of the investment in higher education mooted by quantitative "return on investment" research analysis (Psacharaopoulos & Patrinos, 2004; Lin, 2004) towards understanding the impact of higher education on the social justice campaigns of a given context. For example, the need to develop a more equitable profile of the educated workforce and their contribution to the wider society is the subject of such studies (Darvas, Ballal & Feda, 2014). This paper underscores a questioning of the purpose of higher education, especially doctoral education drawing from an insider comparative case study of the interest in the production of PhDs in Education in South Africa and Mauritius. Firstly, the specific contextual landscapes of the partner institutions, one within which the author currently works, in a wider national terrain are explored. Secondly, the paper presents the kinds of options for these historically linked developing world contexts, both located in the international South. The purpose, form, direction, and delivery choices for doctoral studies frame the debate in relation to a socially-relevant, appropriate engagement in this form of higher education. The paper concludes with prospective speculation about the future of the models employed in the case study comparison, raising broader suggestions for international collaborative partnership in doctoral education.

What is the purpose of the doctorate?

Despite attempts to accentuate investment in education to the primary and secondary school systems in the wake of the Education for all Dakar 2000 Summit, it is a commonly articulated assumption that higher education is an additional means to the development of a society's economy (Bloom et al., 2014). This relationship between a highly educated labor force and economic growth, Bloom et al (*ibid.*) argue is not a sole agenda of the higher education system alone, but one which relies on an intersection of responsibilities of both private and public channels. While the private sector is driven primarily by its logic of better efficiencies, greater productivity, richer yield, and wider penetration of the market, the public sector might arguably focus on the benefits for the wider social system, the safety and security of its citizens; the interests in innovation; and development for yielding a better quality of life. How these two agendas compete or relate is increasingly the subject of analyses in many countries: Australia (Thompson et al., 2001), the European context (Kehm, 2007; Casey, 2009), the United States of America (Nerad & Heggelund, 2008); and South Africa (Deacon, Osman & Buchler, 2009). Is the pursuit of higher education and doctoral education an agenda dominated by a competitive goal to outdo one's rivals, either at the institutional, regional or national level? How is doctoral education implicated in the development of positionality and status across the global community? Or, is doctoral education/ higher education complicit in serving purely instrumentalist rather than communal social agendas? Is higher education increasingly becoming commodified in its emphasis upon "wealth generation" adopting models from its private sector conduits? Has the

agenda of higher education as autonomous producers of new knowledge become compromised? These issues raise fundamental questions about which kind of economy higher education and doctoral education is responding to? Is it possible that serving the agenda of business and industry, the formal economy, are increasingly becoming the benchmarks of a productive university/ higher education system?

What are some of the possible reasons why such questions are being asked? A concern arises when higher education institutions deviate from an important constitutive role as a producer of new knowledge, a contributor to "the knowledge economy". One of the reasons for the development of doctoral graduates is to produce the next generation of academics who will themselves lead the innovative direction, theoretically, methodologically and contextually. However, how many of these assumptions about the purpose of higher education and doctoral education are indeed being fulfilled?

Firstly, it may be argued that while the idealistic interest of professors of postgraduate education is to ensure continuity of research and teaching scholarly traditions established within a discipline, and that this may explain their expansion of the intake of doctoral graduates, it is a truism that many more doctorates are produced than can be absorbed into the body of academia (Nerad, 2009; Nerad, Rudd, Morrison & Picciano, 2007; Nerad, Aanerud & Cerny, 2004). This could be simply a matter of the economic downturn reducing hiring expansion of staffing resources in higher education globally (Mohamedbhai, 2008). Secondly, given the limited absorption of doctoral graduates into academia and the highly restricted selective processes of recruiting, there is a tendency that doctoral graduate apprentices might be more prone to strategically adopt the theoretical, methodological values of their master supervisors. This raises questions about whether doctoral education is indeed about strategic imitation rather than scholarly innovation. The restricted economic growth contexts of many countries might also contribute to stagnation and cloning of the knowledge economy rather than its expansion. Many aspirant employee graduates are likely therefore to interpret doctoral education not as a matter of boundary crossing, but of developing strategies to enhance their employability. Receiving a doctorate might be more about generating the appropriate visa into the world of work rather than into challenging the normative existing body of knowledge.

Angelier (2012), in her examination of the operations of "the laboratory model" established between higher education and the private sector in the French context, described how the partnership between business, industry, or even social non-business/industry structures, and the university system could generate a dependency on the host company who contract apprentices and dictate the agenda of the educational research undertaken by "employee doctoral students". The model can be applauded for its ability to ensure the development of a generation of employed graduates, but it raises questions about the degree of potential independence of the kinds of knowledge being developed. Moreover, when the funding resources donated by the host companies are substantial this increases the likelihood of a skewed agenda. Compliance is oftentimes likely to drive the agenda; expediency is an understood driver of this system (Badley, 2009). So what is the doctorate for: pleasing a potential

boss—getting a job?

A further hidden assumption of an overly dictated "outside-in" doctoral education agenda is that the graduate is constructed as a cog in the greater machinery of the economic system. It unconsciously perhaps, perpetuates the worldview that education is a commodity to be bargained in the marketplace. PhDs in this agenda are most likely to be dictated by the agenda of the employer, and this employer can equally be a state department or parastate organization, such as is the case with teacher education and some research councils. A largely econometric understanding is the hidden curriculum. Within such a worldview (which does not always necessarily have to be the case), doctoral education is seen as preparation to set oneself apart from the ordinary masses, those who cannot afford or receive this highest form of educational investment. Elitism is its byproduct, where the status of earning a doctorate dominates. The titles, honorifics and the adulations afforded to doctoral graduates are what drive their interest. Doctoral education in this "outside-in" model might be about enhancing the "selfish" rather than the "self-in-service" rationale. This after all is the goal of an econometric world where competition, advancement over others dominates and the doctoral educated graduate is being inducted into these worldviews. However, is it possible that both the agenda of the "self," personal ambition and the "self-in-service," social responsiveness, can become compatible?

The developing world context and doctoral education

This section raises the specific contextual considerations that characterize the developing world contexts and asks whether doctoral graduates are indeed being attracted to addressing these issues. This listing is simply to suggest that the social relevance agenda is increasingly important and that ethical and humanitarian concerns ought to be at the forefront of doctoral graduates. However, as discussed above, the econometric self-enrichment agenda dominates their outlooks and these social, cultural, and political issues are likely to fade into insignificance.

Chisholm (2004) argues that no education system can be oblivious to the increasing income differentials between the have's and the have not's. In the South African context this is particularly important as a distorted belief that mobility of a relatively small elite Black minority is sufficient demonstration of a "radical transformation". Perhaps, like many other post-independence countries, this only confirms that the struggle for the demise of apartheid or colonial rule was not simply a matter against racial or empire governance oppressions, but also against class oppression. Furthermore, Bloch (2009) argues that we are living in a "toxic mix of factors responsible for the failure of South African schools". He unabashedly shows how both the national post-apartheid state systems and teachers themselves are complicit in what is wrong with our schools. Nevertheless, he shows glimmers of possibilities for those schools and individuals who choose alternative regimes of educational leadership and commitment. Whether his model of educational leadership and

governance is culturally-loaded preferences is further grounds for research.

Sesnan's (2005, 2009) analysis of the fluidity of the movement of large populations due to voluntary and forced migration, driven by their seeking better job prospects across borders, or due to the ravages of war, political, famine, or natural disasters provide insight into humanity in transience, a people in exile. Uncertainty and fragility; disconnectivity with one's cultural, social and political infrastructures, or geographic homelands results in groups of people living in poverty, potential exploitation, and neglect. The education in refugee camps is an example of the possibilities for reconstruction of the livelihoods, but more enduring psychological and sociological devastations often accompany these ravaged communities. These experiences are perhaps also accentuated as people cross borders even into relatively stable, developed or more affluent countries, or even as they migrate internally within one country.

The normative role of education models imposed from colonial heritages onto indigenous communities is also a concern in developing world contexts aiming to generate their own independent identities. Several researchers are placing on the agenda the unique form of educational operations that characterize specific groups in special social settings: for example, learners who are part of the nomadic education systems that have operated for centuries in the Islamic education system in Nigeria (Ndadozie and Samuel, forthcoming), and in the specific cultural systems underpinning the schooling in rural South African contexts (Balfour, Mitchell & Moletsane, 2008). Rather than pathologize these alternative systems, researchers are asking to celebrate rather than condemn their unique interpretations of the purpose, form and responsiveness of schooling and education.

The key driver to education transformation is arguably the pivotal constituent: namely the competent, committed, and caring professional teachers (Samuel, 2012, 2014). However, increasingly these teachers are constructed not as "agents of change", but as instruments of agendas constructed by political and ideological forces (Carrim, 2003). How does this impact the quality of the delivery of education when a large percentage of teachers across the developing world may not themselves be recipients of a well-rounded education system? State-driven imperatives to turn around this context might be interpreted as another form of imposing hegemonic control. Moreover, the health status of practicing teachers is an equally real influence over the malaise of the system. The HSRC (2005b) South African study exploring methods of dealing with the under-productivity of new teachers in an expanding system, noted the lack of job satisfaction of teachers, 55% of whom expressed an interest in leaving the profession if they could find alternative employment. Most alarming was the empirically determined HIV+ status of 12.7% of teachers in a national average in the South African context. The impact on the health and well-being of teachers in the face of increasingly new curricular reform provides specific contextual realities for the developing world context. So which of these agendas is driving the kinds of topics that professors, researchers and doctoral graduates are choosing?

While the above seem to suggest that these are matters only in developing world contexts, it

could be argued that the degree or scale of the "problem" manifests itself in other non-developing world contexts as well. However, is doctoral education geared to embrace these social issues? Is it drawing into its main fold not how to become "globally competitive" or how to improve the efficiency of our national/ institutional systems in global measurement indices? Fataar (2014) argues that there is a noticeable sanitisation of our theorising agenda in doctoral/ higher education. He cautions academics that we need to develop a culture of a "pedagogical justice" which embraces the social, political and cultural responsibility to realize better social justice. Our higher education graduates should be emerging with responsiveness to contexts that are appropriate, relevant and feasible to offset our crimes of humanity. Doctoral higher education, therefore, has to be about the preparation of an expansive "outward embracing" of responsibility; both working towards realizing the capacities and capabilities of the wider society system (Samuel & Maistry, 2014; Walker & McLean, 2013; Nuusbaum, 2010, 2011). Doctoral education is about generating dignity both of self and of others.

A comparative study of doctoral education in South Africa and Mauritius

Both Mauritius and South African share a heritage of colonial powers of the Dutch, French, Portuguese, and British colonial masters. Patterns of imported indentured migration into the contexts to fuel the local sugarcane economy dominated their early colonial history. However, Indians presently constitute the majority in the Mauritius Island, while they constitute less than 1% in South Africa. The communities of Asian immigrants, Chinese, Malaysian and Indians, chose to see education as a potential escape from their working class status. Investment in education is part of the cultural heritage of both contexts. It is even argued that Indians are perhaps over-represented in public office because of higher qualifications and education status in both contexts. In Mauritius the realization of their independence from the British Empire in 1968 was a relatively benign affair; comparatively the South African struggle for independence from official colonial white minority rule could be characterized as a low level form of civil war as competing groups vied for supremacy. In both contexts the majority population, in Mauritius, the persons of Indian origin, and in South Africa persons of indigenous African origin, came into political power. However, economic power in both contexts is vested in the former colonial power regimes. The owners of economic wealth, though in minority political status, have considerable clout over the cultural identity and direction of the public discourses around matters such as education. The inherited colonial system of education administration permeates all levels of the system, including the preference for mediums of learning and teaching being willingly chosen as a language of access to better economic opportunities, namely French and English. Mauritius consists of a diverse population of approximately 1.2 million people; South Africa is a comparatively wealthy country with a population of over 50 million. Racial undertones characterize many discourses there given the apartheid history of racial preferences being systemically orchestrated as part of the former regime. In Mauritius this takes the form of more

explicit ethnic or religious embattlements. Again the question of how the contextual national historical landscape has come to influence or not the kind of doctoral education imperatives is a question worth exploring.

National pushes

The quest for doctoral education in South Africa took more overt public attention in recent times following a status baseline study conducted by the Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAf, 2010). Consequently, the National Research Foundation (NRF) echoed the worldwide interest in increasing the backlog of doctoral education suggesting that the system required a five-fold increase in output. This was incentivized by larger state subsidies to universities to generate this output which was racially, regionally, gendered and disciplinarily-skewed. Output of particular higher education institutions (HEIs) reflected the apartheid legacies. This status also coincided with the reorganization and restructuring of the higher education system in new forms of governance arrangements as the state attempted to rearrange relationships between former historically advantaged and under-served higher education institutions. Moreover, the expansion in doctoral education took on a continental footprint as those institutions with sufficient capacity explored further markets to attract students into their programs. The ASSAf (2010) study noted that the post-apartheid system was indeed attracting new African candidates, but that these were largely from the continental rather than the national context. This raised questions about how South Africa was being received and negotiating its relationships across the relatively under-developed neighbouring contexts where new higher education territories were being forged. It also begs the question of the demographic relevance of doctoral education to the local South African context. This reflection on doctoral education was conducted some twenty years after the formal demise of apartheid where racial inequities still prevail in participation rates in higher education.

In the Mauritius context, the agenda of "catching up with rest of the world" (Hayward & Ncayiyana, 2014, p.180) dominates the discourse of present partnerships in higher education. However, this agenda has a long trajectory from its early post-independence history. Mohammedbhai (2008) comments that the production of manpower in early independence, the 1960's to the 1980s, was fueled through collaborative linkages with the African higher education system. The new elite of post-independence chose to link oftentimes through their colonial networks with other continental research institutions. What is noticeable in the Mauritian context was how quality higher education nevertheless, came to be largely framed by a "northward gaze", a conscious capitulation to the values of the former colonial powers. Since there were not many opportunities for local higher education postgraduate studies, many undergraduates sought further studies in France, Britain, Canada, India and Malaysia. Despite the interest in graduate studies, the impetus and direction of this research is worth further examination. Hayward and Ncayiyana (2014, pp.181-182)

comment on the general African post-independence continental trends about the focus of the research agenda in these situations:

> … research remained woefully undervalued. Given the low or non-existent industrial base and with agriculture at a subsistence level there was little or no commercial demand for applied research, and the value and utility of research in national socioeconomic development went unrecognized by either the universities or the political establishment. The new Africa University was further handicapped by decades of political instability, authoritarian governance, military coups and civil wars in many countries throughout the region. Simultaneously the university struggled against the inevitable decay that resulted from the strategy of 'structural adjustment' imposed by the World Bank and its prioritization of basic education which left higher education virtually abandoned. Among the casualties of all these influences were institutional research, faculty development, and graduate education upon which higher education depends. (2014, 11-182)

Was Mauritius different from other continental histories? It may be argued that the early graduates from abroad chose largely a developmental agenda as part of their research studies. A more detailed analysis of their qualifications is needed to verify any claims, but it is likely that these earlier constructors of a new government regime interpreted their role as opening opportunities for a more diverse society to participate in the formal and informal economy. Teacher education as an opener to other life professionals was given a relative degree of importance in this regard.

However, a new era characterizes present day Mauritius. This arguably is being driven by the shift away from the reliance on an agrarian economy towards an economy driven largely by its connectivity to the region and its attractiveness as tourist destination. The government chose to position the small island as a potential knowledge and service hub within the region exercising the potential power of its use of information communication technologies, and its overt attempts to promote cultural and linguistic diversity through recognition of locally developed linguistic manifestations. The Mauritian Strategic Development Plan (2007) overtly advocates the promotion of educational development and sustained capacity building as one of its features. Building the human resource capital base to drive the economy became a central feature of government thinking (Martin & Bray, 2011, p.104). It should be noted that this repositioning as a powerhouse in the region is being undertaken some fifty years after its original independence, where its footprint in the maritime Indian Ocean island states is being consolidated through its various networks across the region. This arguably is dominated by an economic rather than a purely educational agenda in line with the slow advance of neo-liberal thinking in the global context, or as a strategy for survival in relation to powerful Northern powers.

Both the South African and Mauritian national agendas are couched within the twin discourses of *globalization,* a corporatized market-driven capitalist enterprise, and managing of its *internationalization* engaging acknowledgement of the citizenship beyond nationalistic identities fostered by the ICT possibilities. Producing a "global citizen" is an underpinning characteristically embodying the seeds of its own contradiction of universality and uniqueness. They both share

interests in the agenda of education as an expansion of their economic prowess within the geographic spaces in which they reside. However, the issue of the quality of the partnerships demands further examination.

Institutional forces

This comparative case study chooses only one institution from South Africa, namely the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and one institution from Mauritius, the Mauritius Institute of Education (MIE). The former is the institution in which the author works, and the latter is the institution which forged a collaborative capacity-building partnership around doctoral education in the only Mauritian tertiary institution dedicated to teacher education and the schooling system. Further elaboration of this inter-institutional collaboration is presented by Samuel and Mariaye (2014). The initial goal here is to show how the seemingly different institutional agendas are indeed part of similar insights into how higher education in developing world contexts are choosing to interpret the role, function, and hallmarks of a quality doctoral education program.

For the UKZN, interest in pursuing partnership arrangements coincided with the institutional agenda to expand the mission and vision of the institution as a "research-led" institution. Given that the UKZN was an institution that merged two divergent historical legacy institutions with differing profiles and research productivities, the new (2004) UKZN management was eager to expand to consolidate it as a major national competitive research institution. Its agenda was to set it apart from other research institutions since its constituent student body tended to reflect a more representative profile of South Africa's diverse population. Linking with other African institutions was useful to its marketing motto as the "university of African scholarship".

The MIE entered into the partnership as part of its evolving history to consolidate its potential as a degree awarding institution. Increasingly study abroad in the North was proving to be an expensive option. The system of the MIE was broadening its scope and mandate and hence a wider percentage of its academic staff needed postgraduate qualifications and research capacity-building. As the only educational institution dealing with matters of the "education system", the MIE was tasked with a multiple layered agenda beyond its original mandate as simply a teacher training institution producing the personnel for the state-driven education system. Its agenda included curriculum development for the nation's schools, research for policy, and engagement with developing teachers' professional growth to implement curricular reform as textbook writers, as well as monitoring of implementation strategies and enactment of new ICT agendas for the system.

Whereas the UKZN interpreted their role as autonomous from the State agenda, the MIE could not fully escape the agenda of "managed intimacy" (Bray, 1991). This relationship refers to a close working collaboration between the state and the higher education institution which has to be carefully orchestrated. The relationship is built on intimate knowledge of each other's agendas; boundaries

and trespassing into each other's agendas are carefully guarded. Given the geographic smallness of the Mauritian context, personal and political agendas oftentimes coincide and are ever-present in everyday interactions and accountabilities across power differentials are subtly managed. However, higher education institutions (HEIs) in the post-apartheid context are also increasingly being held accountable for the large amounts of state investment in their upkeep and maintenance. The relevance of a completely separate teacher education institution divorced from State agendas is perhaps more potentially possible within the large South African context, given that the number of HEIs and the relative large scale of the project of education. However, the State is able through its HEI funding mechanisms to direct the intake, enrolment and monitoring of graduate output as a feature of quality assurance which is increasingly being interpreted as a "return on state investment" agenda. South African HEIs are increasingly being asked to justify their critical rather than a capitulative stance in relation to the state curriculum reform agenda; increasingly teachers in the education system also expect the HEI to be a provider of practical, concrete rather than theoretical, abstract knowledge enabling them to be successful implementers of curricular changes. This poses serious questions about the independence of the public university system. Whereas the early stages of post-apartheid saw the academics as integral to the construction of new policy considerations, the distance between the State and the higher education system could be arguably more tenuous in present times.

The relational agenda to the State in the MIE is the subject of recent exploration (Samuel & Mariaye, forthcoming). In this exploration the authors argue that the MIE has seen three types of negotiations of the "intimacy" with the State authorities. The first is among the original founding fathers of the MIE who were "*pioneers*" of the post-independence era. These pioneers were themselves educated abroad and chose a "deferred intimacy", which reflected an overt respect of the kind of collaborative partnership with the State. Reform without State partnerships for them was not possible. The second group of "*managers*" in the later 1980s interpreted their role as a form of "strategic intimacy", recognizing the state authorities as the holders of the purse strings of the MIE. They engaged in acknowledging the need to serve the ministerial agendas and the state educational authorities, but simultaneously more subtly infused into the discourse of policy-making, curriculum reform agenda the lessons learnt from their wider international and worldwide theorising. Most state authorities were relied on the MIE and hence were oftentimes easily directed into accepting the MIE's worldviews. However, the third generation of relatively "*newly appointed academics*", appointed in the late 2000's, report that they feel constrained by the kind of deferential perspectives of their more senior colleagues in relation to the state authorities. They are more critical of the chosen paths of Mauritian social and state systems. Their ease of access to global and worldwide discourses present for them a wider range of possibilities and this perhaps suggests a "contested intimacy" with their authorities. This latter group of academics constitutes those who are presently undertaking doctoral education studies in partnership arrangement with other more recent collaborating international

institutions.

Mariaye, Varma and Naëck (2014) argue that within the context of the latter group, there is a possibility that undertaking PhD study could be potentially dangerous. The earlier pioneers and managers were able to negotiate a relatively harmonious relationship with the state authorities and their comfortable collaborations allowed many important inroads to reform the education system and provided investments to expand the operations of MIE. The strong reliance on the expertise of the pioneers and the managers has led to the consolidation and expansion of the MIE to its present status of approximately 5000 student enrolment and 150 academic staff compliment. However, the MIE has not been granted degree awarding status by the state authorities yet, a concern that the new generation may argue confirms their views about patronage or servile unequal pioneer operations at play between the state and the institution. The new generation complain that their interests in pursuing an exclusive research agenda is being stymied by multiple agendas from state authorities, demanding an identity they may not willingly embrace as members of a higher education institution. Autonomy is thus believed to be compromised even though some consultant state work bears immediate and long-term lucrative personal rewards. This poses serious challenges for prospective doctoral students choosing and establishing the worth of their research agendas. Is it possible that the topics the new generation will choose are likely to topple the comfortable collaborations of earlier generations? Will the state authorities devalue or undermine input that these new doctoral researchers will offer?

Another argument against the autonomous generation of research topics is that the new generation of doctoral students might have a more skeptical disrespect for the relationship between research and policy. Increasingly the ideological and political vestiges of official policy trouble many young scholars. This echoes a dissatisfaction of the value of graduate degrees for many young unemployed graduates and is one explanation for the December 2014 replacement of the existing governmental regime in recent national elections. The worthwhileness of a university degree is increasingly being questioned. The higher education context is increasingly asking for support to enact practical engagement with the new curriculum, while PhD studies might increasingly attract researchers/doctoral students to more abstract theoretical concerns. This simply raises the question of the relationship between research *for* practice, research *in* practice, research *of* practice, research *through* practice (Darling-Hammond, 1990). This arguably is not a time for less, but more research. However, the instrumental, economic, value of the education degree or doctoral study is what continues to dominate debates about the purpose of higher education or the PhD.

Both these case studies of the interest in doctoral education reveal a series of tensions as the choice for the hallmarks of doctoral education are established. This is neither neutral nor independent from the social, political, and contextual realities of the two case studies. Moreover, the Mauritian context has to address some specific national choices initiated by the state. MIE is expected to be a partner in such realisation of the following goals: the state is interested in establishing

a graduate in every household; raising of the benchmarks for primary school exit levels for access into the favored secondary school system; developing a more differentiated secondary education systems based on academic and vocational streaming; the digitizing of the school curriculum and the professional development of teachers to enact a technologically rich curriculum; introducing Kreol Morisien (the lingua franca) as an optional subject choice in the primary school. All of these compete as the mandate for the institution. This brings into sharper focus the kinds of doctoral education program which the staff at MIE need to choose.

What kind of doctoral study should be pursued?

Two tables in this section point to the types of doctoral study that should be considered as institutions choose doctoral studies and policy-making decisions around supporting doctoral education. Both are caricatures to make a comparative point, noting that these are not mutually exclusive categories and program design sometimes embraces elements of both typologies. Like all typologies they seek to stereotype to draw attention to the focus of the phenomenon being compared. Table 1 presents the argument that is presently occurring across the globe as different forms of a doctorate are being selected. Not all doctorates need to have the same purpose, function, and outcome. Although some purists might prefer to retain their preferred conceptions of the doctorate's purpose, the table presents the distinguishing features of a *PhD*, a philosophical study, and a *professional practice doctorate (PPD),* with its emphasis on the world of practice. It is acknowledged that the use of the nomenclature in different contexts points to different demarcations.

Table 2 presents the argument that it is necessary to look at the significant difference between the ways in which doctoral education is pursued by different disciplines or fields. It reflects the differences in the ways *Social Sciences/ Humanities* and the *Natural Sciences* approach the pursuit of doctoral studies. It also highlights the process by which doctoral students are engaged in their everyday work in relation to the production of "new knowledge". Further it is noted that these are general stereotypes that assist to suggest the broad architectural features of these programs but that there are likely to be exceptions uniquely designed in different contextual settings to achieve different purposes.

This debate should also be seen in the light of concern for proliferation of *taught doctorates* which equate the doctoral study to an additional study cycle following a masters' degree. The specificities of contexts may warrant the expectation that some baseline foundation disciplinary knowledge is formally taught to students before /alongside embarking on doctoral study, especially in the case when border-crossings between disciplines is noted, and where candidates may not possess sufficient in-depth expertise in foundational disciplinary fields. However, unlike the context in the United States where taught doctoral programs are more accepted, the recent declaration of European

Rectors' Conferences[2] (Myklebust, 2015) has emphasised the independent research agenda of the doctoral study process without a formal, compulsory taught program with specified credits. Katrien Maes, chief policy officer of the League of European Research Universities commented as follows:

> …the design of doctoral education must remain clearly distinct from that of the first and second cycles of higher education in the Bologna Process. … Research-based PhD training, which requires a careful balancing of educational and research perspectives, is fundamentally different from the preceding educational cycles. It would be unwise to create uniform, top-down, regulatory processes, such as credit ranges for the research-based PhD, or to regulate the status of doctoral candidates as students or employees. (Myklebust, 2015, p.2)

This caution is suggested in order to promote the transdisciplinary nature of doctoral studies, where students and supervisors are provided the latitude to choose appropriate input to support their study, some of which may involve engagement with taught courses/modules, but which should not be specified in a pre-deterministic fashion since the topics of their studies, their uniqueness should inform the curricular decisions. The concern of the normative commodification of the doctoral curricula and a vocationally-led, job-market orientation also underpin this comment. The above suggests the importance of creating enabling conditions for flexible choices in the kinds of decisions that doctoral candidates choose to support their particular studies, based also on the unique academic biographies of the students with respect to their topics and the conception of what is the doctorate for and the kind of doctoral study that the candidate is pursuing.

Table 1. Differences between the PhD and the Professional Practice Doctorate

Primary characteristics	PhD	Professional practice doctorate (PPD)
Aim	To develop longer term THEORETICAL insight	To generate more short term/ immediate PRACTICAL operations
Direction	To improve a more universal PHILOSOPHICAL problem/s	Aim to resolve a more localized PRAGMATIC problem/s
Driving force	Driven by the world of academia	Driven by the world of work
Implications	The development of a theory	A set of recommended interventions
Orientation	ABSTRACT/ CONCEPTUAL	PROFESSIONAL/ VOCATIONAL

Table 1 suggests that institutions could choose to offer exclusively one or both types of doctoral studies depending on how they envisage their use value. In traditional universities the emphasis has been on the generation of abstract knowledge that may have implications for the world of practice, but that this is not its primary aim. Increasingly as former institutions which were largely vocationally-

[2] The presidents who signed this joint declaration were from the following organisations: the Conference of the Directors of the French Engineering Schools, The French Conference of University Presidents, the Conference of Rectors of Academic Schools in Poland, the German Rectors' Conference, the Rectors' Conference of Swiss Universities, Universities UK, and the Hungarian Rectors' Conference.

directed *e.g.* the polytechnics in the United Kingdom; or the Institutes of Technology, technikons in South Africa, embrace an agenda of research *for* practice. The awarding of a qualification above that of a Masters level has come to shape the decision to award professional doctorates. This doctorate is increasingly understood as making a valuable form of knowledge contribution to the world of work and is increasingly valued and sponsored by many professions such as engineering, science, agriculture, business and/or law. In South Africa this has been resisted by those institutions that wish to carve up the abstract philosophical conception of a PhD even though the official Higher Education legislation of the country permits both types to be offered by an institution. The choice is often linked to prejudicial conceptions across historical divides of former more vocationally-driven and academically-driven institutions.

As the unemployment concerns of qualified doctoral graduates escalates in particular contexts, the practical value of the professional doctorate is increasingly gaining currency, especially from the world of work where companies are increasingly seeing the value of a doctoral graduate who can "hit the ground running" to offer service to the company, rather than the abstract theoretically orientated PhD graduate who has to be inducted into the world of work. Zusman (2015) comments about the phenomenal growth in the professional practice doctorate in the United States:

> (Professional) programs…skyrocketed from nearly zero a decade ago to more than 500 programs in at least a dozen fields today, with over 10 000 degrees awarded just in 2012. For example, doctor of nursing practice programs increased from just two in 2002 to 217 in 2012; nearly 100 more programs are in the planning stage. (Zusman, 2015, p.1)

This growth is said to be responsive to the specific needs driven by the increasing complexification of the workplace; the rapid expansion of technological interventions to support practice; and the rapidly changing and expanding knowledge environment. Some may therefore argue that the PhD is a relevant form for the preparation of the new generation of academics while the professional doctorate is directed toward resolving practical concerns in the world of work. It is worth noting that the MIE has chosen both forms of the doctorate to serve different functions for its resident staff. The partnership program with the University of Brighton offers a professional doctorate and the UKZN linkage is directed towards a PhD. Both serve different value for doctoral students and the context of the MIE. The value of Table 2 by Matos (2013) is that is suggests that the normative comparisons that are often used in evaluating and monitoring higher education fail to recognize the different kinds of trajectories of experiences of different types of doctoral students in different fields. The differences across the tables suggest that there are largely different paradigmatic worldviews in operation across these two typologies and that the length of engagement, duration and expense of conducting such studies in each discipline might vary significantly. This table explains the differences in research aggregate outputs of the different groups of Natural and Social Sciences institutionally. It is prudent therefore to be less normative and judgmental when assessing the research output and productivity of these different fields of higher education. Tables 1 and 2 suggest

that the hallmarks of a quality doctoral study cannot be universally determined and measured using the same indices. How this will affect future funding, access and output interpretations is thus relevant. The next section explores in-depth the kind of doctoral choices made in designing a doctoral programme for UKZN which later was drawn on to form the basis for the design of the partnership program with the MIE.

Table 2. Differences between PhDs in Social Sciences and in the Natural Sciences

	PhD in the Social Sciences	PhD in Natural Sciences
Scope of the thesis	Student responsible for whole research project	Student responsible for a part of a wider research project
Topic of the thesis	Student's own	Part of a wider research project and selected/assigned by the supervisor/principal investigator
Results	Only positive results accepted	Negative results accepted
Proximity to supervisor	Meeting by arrangement	Constant presence of supervisor
Location	Student rarely has own space provided by department/university. Many students work from home	In the lab
Proximity to other researchers	Lonely endeavor	Close to other researchers in same lab
Funding	Student has to apply individually for funding	Attributed to student as part of the overall funding for supervisor's project
Duration of doctoral programme	Rarely within 4 years	Stricter time limit – due to way funding is organized
Facilities	Usually none	Lab, computing facilities, desk

Source: Matos (2013, p.631)

Designing a doctoral program to highlight social relevance: *The UKZN-MIE doctoral cohort model*

It is not the intention of this section to provide an in-depth historical trajectory to the design and implementation of the UKZN-MIE linkage program around doctoral education. This is captured elsewhere (Samuel & Mariaye, 2014). Suffice to say that the program was underpinned by a conscious effort not to perpetuate patterns of colonial expansion of the educational models from the powerhouses to the margins. A key underpinning principle was "mutual reciprocity" accruing benefits to both collaborating parties. However, this does not mean that the patterns of hierarchy between the larger continental African economic powerhouse of South Africa and the relatively geographically smaller Mauritius did not feature in the setting up and delivery of the program. The differentials were inbuilt into the partners' histories, for example, MIE not being a degree-awarding

institution and UKZN having a relatively long history of such. The relatively more accessible human, physical, and financial resources for higher education, libraries, staff qualifications, and diversity of educational programs, also placed UKZN at an advantage. The pattern of advantage is however, not uni-directional. Mauritius had already fifty years of post-independence experience of negotiating its positionality internationally. It had also, due to its relatively smaller scale, a conscious infiltration of curriculum reform and teacher professional development into many levels of the education system led by state and higher education agendas. Its relative success continentally as a stable democracy, consistently for six consecutive years rated first among fifty-three countries in the Mo Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG) 2012, has earned it a model state status. Its higher middle income country status, its stable economic and educational achievements in internationally benchmark test scoring have earned it a significant reputation. It linkages within the regional countries is cordial and interactive. However, this stability is itself that which came to be questioned during the course of the doctoral partnership, something which may arguably be seen as the unintended, but potentially "dangerous" consequences of the use of values, principles and designs from outside one's borders (Mariaye, Varma & Naëck, 2014). The over-reliance of theoretical insight and modelling from abroad is part of the nation's culture of importing many of its leavening resources.

The patterns of the UKZN doctoral cohort model discussed below are what attracted the managers of the programs of study at both partnerships institutions to exchange possibilities of a program where UKZN who awarded the degree delivered on-site supervision at the Mauritius MIE campus. Rather than students traversing to the degree-awarding site of the university, teams of UKZN supervisors oversaw the development of the doctoral candidates in situ. This proved to be a cost-effective model for the Mauritian students, further supported by the subsidized rating afforded to citizens of Mauritius as part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol which afforded them local SA rather than international tuition and study rates. The program memorandum of understanding expects students to spend at least a three-month period at the UKZN site as a way of accessing physically the resources of the university. The doctoral program presently (2015) consists of thirty-six students, at different stages of their thesis development, undertaking a range of topics in the educational sphere. The program was first mooted as both a student and staff supervisors' development exercise. Many of the initial doctoral students were staff of the MIE but their peers, the MIE supervisory staff who were to serve as co-supervisors, although qualified doctoral graduates, lacked personal doctoral supervision experience.

For the student the program entails a communal peer-reviewed cohort assemblage, six times a year for defending their work-in-progress reports and planning for future direction of their studies. The cohort consists of all students, a team of UKZN and MIE co-supervisors communally reviewing the planning, reflecting and organising around doctoral studies. The "head work," the development of a proposal to be defended, "field work," data production, and "text work," thesis report production, constitutes the three interlocking phases of the doctoral program. The program is further supported

by an appointed supervisor team which consists of at least one staff member from UKZN and one from MIE. This supervision happens largely through electronic media: emails, Skype, oral communication. Each of the six annual seminars spans a three-day session where all assembled students are supervised in community. Both oral presentation skills akin to conference presentations are being honed, and written textual competences in reading and writing are part of the doctoral cohort weekend. The diagram below captures the range of activities existing in parallel alongside the program. It should be emphasized that the program is generated responsively to the specific stages of development and the requested inputs from the students who co-design the delivery of the program. It is not a formally "taught" program.

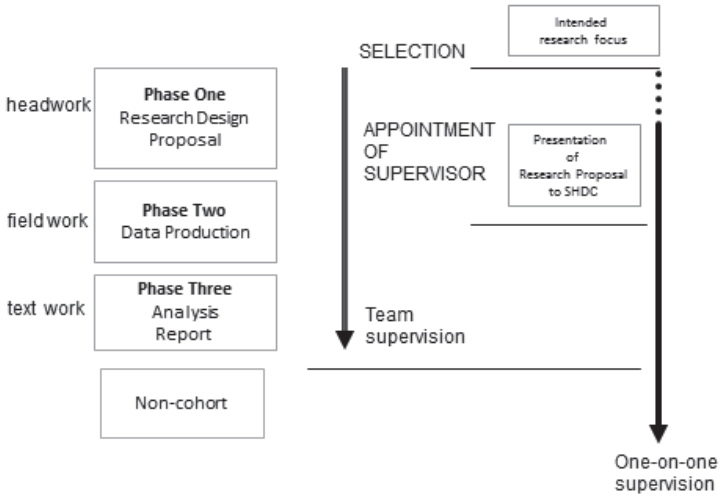

Figure 1. The doctoral cohort supervision model

In reflecting on the research learning processes that characterize this model of doctoral supervision, Samuel and Vithal (2011) argue that it is built on the power of inter-disciplinary dialogue, drawing supervisors and students from a diverse range of disciplinary backgrounds and methodological expertise. The training program is not simply restricted to the completion of the individual students' own thesis, but also provides insight into a range of paradigmatic and methodological positions. Students and supervisors experience decision-making surrounding research as a contested space, based on particular vantages and positionalities of the researchers: epistemologically, contextually, and methodologically. Although perhaps initially overwhelming, students and supervisors soon embrace the process of research learning as an ever-widening set of choices and opportunities, each of which has to be justified, defended and interrogated. This indeed constitutes broad teaching and learning about research. The curriculum "content", so to speak, is generated directly from the specific topics and methodologies embraced by the students. Rather than a simplistic cloning of methodologies or perspectives of the Master Supervisor, the student has a

broader forum to discuss potential research design, analysis and reporting strategies.

Further principles of *Ubuntu*, serendipity and democracy are said to be the philosophical rationales which have come to reside within the program. The *Ubuntu* principle refers to an African philosophy which suggests that "I am because of you", highlighting the need for interactive contestation and dialogue to produce conceptions of one's believed convictions. It is a contested space which is girded by deep respect for the singular choices made by individuals, but who are cognizant that one cannot live in idealistic isolation of a communal and contextual setting. Culture, context, and communality are intersecting features of this principle. Nevertheless the program is deliberately designed to create opportunities for disruption, for varied vantage points to be shared. It is not entirely predictable from where the sources of inspiration for one's chosen methodology, positionality or perspective for the research study might emanate, hence our labelling of the principle as being one of "serendipity". As part of the process of educational enterprise contributing to the realization of better social justice, the principle of democracy underpins the delivery of the doctoral program. As discussed above, it is understood that absolute equality of position is not always possible, but the intentionality of the program is to create sufficient spaces for the development of values of equity and respect from varied vantages. This democratic ideal is a key feature which the South African higher education partner fought for throughout its campaign for dismantling the apartheid system and it continues to resonate in its curriculum design choices for doctoral education.

What makes the model work?

The model draws a strong pedagogical research learning agenda which assumes that the doctoral students drive the curriculum. This is reinforced in seminar sessions being chaired by the students themselves. Ownership of teaching and learning resides in all collaborating partners, students and supervisors, UKZN and MIE staff. The program is held together not only by the belief that the end point of a doctoral program is not simply to produce a product of a written thesis for international examination, but also is to produce a researcher who is able to compete worldwide with a wide variety of insights into epistemological, methodological and contextual insight. Their chosen field of study qualifies them as an expert of only a small area of the body of knowledge which will need to be further activated through further research, conferencing and dissemination strategies after doctoral study. The program also encourages students themselves to choose their topics in relation to the specificities of their own contexts, rather than simply the choice being driven by the Master supervisors or the simplistic importing of external frameworks. This adds a dimension of personal commitment to the project. Of course the degree of influence of powerful supervisors cannot be sanitized out of these decision-making processes, but it is a chosen strategy that students make with conscious understanding of their own options. The balance of having both a local and an international supervisor adds multiple vantages further enriching the study. Moreover, an econometric understanding of why this

UKZN-MIE model is a popular choice for doctoral studies is its affordability. Given the high fee structures of other international partners the South-South collaboration offered by this model within the SADC protocol allows for subsidization of costs.

The future of the doctoral studies

The ultimate success of the UKZN-MIE program will be when the Mauritian institute is given latitude to become self-degree-awarding for doctoral programs. This will entail confidence of the Mauritian government that the MIE has indeed the capacity to oversee doctoral education. As a member of UKZN this would be a hallmark of success of our contribution to developing capacity across the African continent in awarding doctoral education degrees. However, this does not mean that the partnership of collaboration will cease to exist at this "independence" severance. The program has already spun off a set of relational research endeavors beyond simply the awarding of doctoral education. Collaborating supervisors are finding common areas of comparative research agendas; shared exchanges across the institutions are increasingly becoming commonplace as researchers share their worldviews in both South African and Mauritian conferences. This generates value for collaborative research projects which will outlive the doctoral program. This is a research capacity building success that spans not only staff, but students as well, many of whom are staff members of the MIE. This can only have the long term consequence of raising the profile of a small island state in partnership with established universities internationally. Already the MIE is entering into other collaborative partnerships of different curricula models and delivery strategies with other international partners. This confidence is part of their embracing their standing as a maker rather than simply a taker of academic knowledge.

Concluding remarks: Hallmarks of a successful doctoral studies program

A successful doctoral studies program can be characterized by many features. It should always be located within the specific needs of the collaborating partners both at the local and international levels. It should be clear in its goals as to what it expects its graduates to be, do, and become. It should be able to unambiguously clarify the purpose that it intends to contribute to in relation to the specific social, economic, political, and cultural systems within which it resides. All doctoral programs cannot achieve the same purposes, and this clarification of form, structure, and delivery should be made in relation to the expectations of what contributions are required from the graduates. Moreover, doctoral study should be a willing free choice of subject, topic, methodology, and purpose of the students aligned with the respect for the values of others who have traversed this direction previously. However, disruption rather than habituation to the norms of academic conventions should be a characteristic hallmark. The successful doctoral program is reliant on a confident and transparent

agenda of supervisors, managers, designers, and sponsors of the program. When doctoral students know why they are doing what they are doing, and how they have come to make their choices, they are likely to become productive contributors to the development of the social, political, educational and cultural contexts. No less should be expected of this highest form of educational endeavor.

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Liberal Education Traditions in the United Kingdom and United States: An historical perspective

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Abstract: The idea and practice of liberal education has been shaped in two forms in its historical development: the American traditions and British traditions. The idea of liberal education in the United States was borrowed from the United Kingdom and it was deeply influenced by British traditions in terms of highlighting classics and intellectual training. Over more than one hundred years from its Independence to the First World War, Americans began criticizing the aristocracy of British liberal education and gradually developed their own traditions, which were innovative in the idea, interpretation, courses and structure. In terms of the idea of liberal education, Americans highlighted the purpose of liberal education to train free citizens and to meet the demands of the civil society. In terms of the meaning of liberal education, American traditions tended to interpret "liberal" as "free" or "liberating" other than "gentlemanly" or "learned". In course design, British traditions rarely emphasized broader range and multi-disciplinary. In contrast, course design in American liberal education is more encyclopedic, valuing both liberal arts and sciences and later developing a liberal arts course model combining humanities, social sciences and natural sciences.

Keywords: liberal education, American tradition, English tradition

Introduction

As is well known, liberal education is the common traditions in undergraduate education of the United Kingdom and the United States, a notion rarely highlighted by continental European countries if viewed from a cross-national perspective. As early as 1901, Prof. Arthur Twining Hadley, the then Yale President, pointed out that the United States and the United Kingdom featured a non-professional, liberal education that aimed to cultivate free citizen, which was not the case in France or Germany (Hadley, 1989, pp.145-146). American educator, Frank Aydelotte further elaborated in 1935:

> Universities in continental European countries have no undergraduates, so they have no

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> obligation to provide a liberal education. Instead, grammar secondary school, lycée or colegio should take the responsibility. Newman's *The Idea of a University* can only be written in the context of an English-speaking country. (Aydelotte, 1935)

Such liberal education traditions in both countries originate from the United Kingdom, with its long history of such traditions and a unique set of liberal education theories, not to mention the excellent example of Newman's *The Idea of a University*. A number of scholars believe that the United States, lacking its own traditions, completely inherited its general education or liberal education from the United Kingdom. Hence, a question: have American educators created liberal education traditions and theories of their own?

There are three views in the academic world regarding this question. The first one is a negation view. For example, Thomas Green denies that there exist American liberal education theories (Orrill, 1995, p.xxi). The second group of academics are revisionists. Bruce Kimball is a typical example. For a long time he believed that there only existed two traditions: eloquence and philosophy, but later he changed his point of view and turned to the belief that a new tradition rooted in American pragmatic philosophy developed in the United States at the end of the 20th century (Orrill, 1995, p.xxi). The third view is somewhat extreme. They believe that no other countries except the United States have liberal education, as the 20th century witnesses the United States' increasing emphasis on liberal arts education, or general education while fewer people remember the traditions of the United Kingdom. A. Whitney Griswold, Acting President of Yale between 1951 and 1963, pointed out, "I do not know if there is any other country emphasizing liberal education as hard as the United States" (Purcell, 1971). In a 1991 essay entitled "The Exceptionalism of American Higher Education", the famous American higher education researcher Martin Trow was "conveying the notion of liberal or liberal arts education to all (or the majority of) undergraduates" is a manifestation of American exceptionalism (Trow, 1991).

This paper argues that neither the negation nor the extreme view can be taken. Moreover, both the United Kingdom and the United States have unique liberal education traditions of their own, and there is an evident difference in the expositions of liberal education between the two countries. However, different from Bruce Kimball's revisionist view, this article believes that American liberal education traditions, or in other words, the difference between the American traditions and the British ones took shape in an earlier period. Furthermore, after the War of Independence, the United States began criticizing British education traditions and developed liberal education traditions with American characteristics based on such criticism. Such a difference can partially explain why the United Kingdom gradually abandoned its original liberal education models in the 20th century while the United States was able to retain its traditions.

The formation and decline of liberal education traditions in the United Kingdom

In a classical sense, liberal education refers to an education towards free people and is often interpreted as an education aimed at gentlemen in the British traditions. William Francis Wilkinson, a 19th century British educator, said that although liberal education referred to an education towards free people, it was often interpreted as an education for gentlemen:

> Education under the parental roof, conducted by parents with the aid of competent teachers, or in the family of a private tutor who is in loco parentis, or in public schools, is the highest kind of education possible among us; what we understand by a liberal education, It is important to inquire what is, or may be, or ought to be the course of an education so characterized. The phrase originally signified the education proper for a free-man, that is, one in state of enfranchisement, as opposed to slave or serf. It would now, perhaps, be generally explained to mean the education of a gentleman. Let us rather say it indicates an education such as shall qualify for the possession and exercise of influence, for the higher class of pursuits and offices, professional, mercantile, political.…but, adhering to the principles I have before laid down, I would prefer to use the word liberal in a wider sense; and, considering it as the representation of *libera*[1] rather than of its derivative liberalis, would define a "liberal education" as an unrestricted education,-education in all subjects which, with ample time and means, can properly be made the subjects of the instruction and discipline of youth." (Wilkinson, 1862, p.98)

Scholars in the United Kingdom have never referred to liberal education as being designed for free men. Instead, it is intended for gentlemen. In this sense, "liberal" is interpreted as "genteel, becoming to a gentleman, gentlemanlike, etc." Here are some testimonies:

> Liberal: Free, generous, bountiful; also honorable, or genteel; as A Liberal Education. (Phillips, 1720)

> Liberal arts and sciences are such as are Noble and Genteel, vix, Grammar, Rhetorick, Musick, Physick, the Mathematicks, etc. (Bailey, 1724)

> Liberal: (A) generous, free, communicative, charitable, noble, or gentlemanlike, from whence those arts and sciences that polish the mind, such as grammar, rhetorick, musick, etc, are called liberal arts. (Dyche, 1760)

Former Cambridge Vice-chancellor William Whewell (1794-1866) even defines liberal education as an education for the upper classes:

> The education of upper classes is termed Liberal Education, and the Higher Education: the education of the middle classes will commonly be, in its highest parts, an imitation of the Higher Education, more or less incomplete; and the education of the people, when they are educated, must generally be an Elementary Education. (Whewell, 1850, pp.2-3)

As class-biased as his definition seems today, it fit well with the conditions in Cambridge at that time. Statistics show that among all the students registered at Cambridge between 1800 and 1849, 31%

[1] "Libera" means "free, unrestricted".

were from landlords, 32% from priests, 19% from professionals (lawyer, doctor and teacher), 8% from the middle class (merchant, banker, public administrator and other profiting professions), and the rest 10% from other classes (Jenkins & Jones, 1960).

Therefore, liberal education in the United Kingdom has always been elite education. In the preface of his education essay collection, James Pillans (1778-1864), 19th century Scottish educator and professor in humanities at the University of Edinburgh, classifies education into two kinds: "Education for the Majority" and "Education for the Minority". The former refers to education for the workings' class, while the latter refers to "liberal and professional studies that a smaller number of parents and their living conditions allow them to give to their sons" (Pillans, 1862, p.vii).

In traditional views, Britain's liberal education is linked with public school and university in particular. In 1818 John Bristed wrote: "Eton, Westminster and Winchester are the leaders of the liberal education in the United kingdom" (Bristed, 1818, pp.347-348). In the same year British philosopher Jeremy Bentham (1748-1843) said that, "the liberal education, that is, if it means anything, the having for a certain length of time, existed within the precincts of the University" (Bentham, 1818, p.416). But at that time, few people could receive a university education. There were only Oxford and Cambridge in England before the University of London was established in 1826, so many scholars were dissatisfied with it. British scholar William Daniel Conybeare pointed out in 1831 that England needed at least a dozen Oxford-like universities to meet the increasing demand from a larger and richer group of people. Therefore, he advocated that England should learn from Italy and Germany to build more universities (Conybeare, 1831, p.ix). Nevertheless, Oxford and Cambridge were reluctant to lose their monopoly in the country's higher education. As a result, there were only four universities: Oxford, Cambridge, the University of London and Durham University before 1900 in England.

Among the four, only the first two can be considered as an ideal place for liberal education, as their residential colleges provided favorable conditions for young people. Different from German universities, regulations at Oxford and Cambridge required that students must reside on campus for a certain number of years before obtaining a degree. In the residential college system, students live together and teachers are also required to live with the students. The benefit of the system is that teachers and students share the same living environment and it is easy for students to be instructed and influenced by their tutors and peers. The first half of the 19th Century witnessed the climax of the system. When talking about the system, former Cambridge Vice-chancellor Eric Ashby put it thusly:

> Obviously, Oxford, and Cambridge think the universities are intended for training service providers for the church and the government. In other words, they train men with virtuous upbringing, instead of intellectuals. A virtuous upbringing is more important than rich knowledge. At that time, they are practical workers rather than theoretical thinkers, bishops than theologian, politicians than philosophers, school administrators than researchers……so in the first half of the 19th century in Oxford, each tutor is responsible for the students he or she chooses for three years. All the courses will be taught by the tutor. The training in morality

and value on life is equally important as Latin and Greek philosophy class. (Ashby, 1983, p.9)

The above discussion centers on to whom and where liberal education is offered. Then what are the courses for such a kind of education? The concept of liberal education means that "liberal" is related to the people being educated and the contents to be taught. "Liberal" embodies the meaning of "learned", "generous", "general", "extensive" and "large", etc. For example, Priestley used "learned or liberal education" (Priestley, 1783, p.64), and John Corry (1770-1830) used "general and liberal education" as can be seen in the following:

> Caleb Evans … was born in Bristol, in 1737. He acquired a knowledge of the classics and was instructed in the various branches of a general and liberal education. (Corry, 1816, p.331)

In his 1852 lecture series Newman used "large knowledge", And Mill, in his 1859 work put large and liberal together (Mill, 1859, p.372).

Besides, as the traditional gentlemen society was gradually disintegrating in the second half of the 19th century, the connotation of "liberal" becomes more "large, general and extensive" than "gentleman-like, elegant and gentle". Therefore, Mill used "general education" more than ten times in his inaugural address at the University of St. Andrews in 1867. He also used "liberal education" quite often so the two concepts were basically the same in his mind. It is worth noting that Mill did not define "liberal education" as an education for gentlemen like traditional educators. Instead, he defined it as "the education of all who are not obliged by their circumstances to discontinue their scholastic studies at a very early age" (Mill, 1867, p.19). Moreover, he used "citizen" in this address quite often (Mill, 1867, pp.34-36), which indicated his intention to transform liberal education from a traditional education for gentlemen to a modern education for citizens.

From the 1840s to the 1860s, many British educators still held the view that the mission of universities was liberal education instead of professional education. For example, Benjamin Jowett, famous Oxford classicist who translated *Plato's Dialogues*, Thucydides' historical works, and Aristotle's *Politics* and who was one of the most influential educators of his day, compared liberal and professional education in 1848:

> True is that a liberal education is what the University ought to give, and professes to give, above all things; that strictly professional education cannot, and ought not to be given within the walls of an English University……our students should still regard each other, not as candidates for separate professions, but as companions in the same University now, just as they will all alike be citizens of the same commonwealth hereafter. (Jowett & Stanley, 1848, p.21)

The point of this non-professional education is not to prepare the learner for a job, but a "discipline of mind". According to Newman, the core of a liberal education is the "cultivation of intellect", which he sometimes refers to as "discipline of mind", "cultivation of mind", "discipline of

intellect", "refinement of intellect", or "enlargement of mind" (Newman, 1994, p.xv,501).

During the 18th and 19th centuries, "liberal" meant "large, general, and learned". According to then popular faculty psychological theories, this kind of large education will train every faculty of a man, thus making him well-rounded. As Oxford professor James Pycroft (1813-1895) puts it, "The object of a liberal education is to draw forth all the faculties equally" (Pycroft, 1847, p.86). Former Cambridge Vice-chancellor Whewell wrote in his 1835 book on liberal education that "The object of a *liberal education* is to develop the whole mental system of man" (Whewell, 1835, p.5). In an 1845 work "Of a Liberal Education in General", he re-stated this point and further took it as a reason for not omitting the study of classics and mathematics:

> No education can be considered as liberal, which does not cultivate both the Faculty of Reason and the Faculty of Language; one of which is cultivated by the study of mathematics, and the other by the study of classics. To allow the student to omit one of these, is to leave him half educated. (Whewell, 1850 p.107)

British liberal education in this period featured a small number of courses but they were of high quality. There are two theoretical bases. First, the priority of a liberal education is for intellectual training instead of acquiring knowledge, so its purpose is not to master much knowledge. With a limited amount of knowledge, liberal education can also train a student well intellectually and develop excellent intellectual habits, with which he can easily and quickly master knowledge of other disciplines (Malden, 1838, p.12). Second, some British educators at that time thought that not all disciplines were useful in the intellectual training of students. They just needed to take some fundamental courses like philosophy, classic literature, mathematics and logic to shape their mind. Among these the study of classical languages and works is highly valued. In the British Public School, classics (Greek, Latin and classical works reading) filled the majority of class time. According to the Clarendon Report, about eleven out of twenty classes each week were classics, two were painting, and two were sciences (Goldhill, 2011, p.2). In Public Schools, mathematics had been long ignored. Before 1836, "there is not any form of mathematic class in Eton". In 1851 the discipline became a regular course at Eton (Atkinson, 1865, p.35). Oxford and Cambridge had long focused on classics and mathematics (Mill, 1867, p.6). Therefore, examined from the courses, British liberal education in the 18th and 19th centuries was equal to classical education. If a student wanted to study at Oxford or Cambridge, he or she had to master classic Greek and Latin. However, few grammar schools could provide excellent instruction in classical languages. If one wanted to master the two languages, he or she had to spend quite a lot of money in boarding schools, namely Public Schools. In the end, learning classical languages became a privilege of the upper class, a label of their identity.

Many supporters of classical education held the view that classic languages and works were the best tools to intellectually train students. For example, Newman made this point in *The Idea of a*

University. The reason is that classic courses were difficult. The principal of a famous public school once told Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, a Scottish politician and former President of the University of Aberdeen that the only value of classic Greek was its difficulty (Grant Duff, 1867, p.5).

Apart from its emphasis on classical languages and works, it is worth noting that during the 18th and 19th centuries when the theory of liberal education was prevalent in the United Kingdom, mathematics, especially geometry, was also a focus in Cambridge's undergraduate courses and tripos, even more important than classics. Mathematics, geometry in particular, was highly recommended as the best tool for training one's logic and thinking abilities. The tripos took mathematics as the focus, which resulted in the relevant ignorance of classics and moral philosophy: "just like logic once being the dominant discipline in the old system, mathematics now became the queen of the undergraduate courses." (Gascoigne, 1984).

Therefore, British liberal education traditions focused more on the quality of the courses rather than quantity, with Oxford traditions more on the classics, and Cambridge traditions more on mathematics together with classics. Other disciplines like natural sciences, politics, sociology' and history were not valued in a liberal education. Influenced by Comte's theory of knowledge, Mill in 1867 proposed an encyclopedic liberal education plan in his inaugural address at the University of St. Andrews, and Huxley proposed a similar plan in 1874. However, the two plans were soon overtaken by the German idea of research and professionalization at the end of 19th century (Philipson, 1983, p.161).

From today's point of view, it is completely useless that Oxford valued classical languages and works reading courses while Cambridge valued classics and mathematics in their liberal education. Educators at the time also claimed that the study of classics was a general knowledge course, whose value was to provide intellectual training instead of preparing for a job, but as Victoria Tietze Larson pointed out, in the prime years of the United Kingdom (1815-1914), the study of classics was a channel to gain imperial power. At the time of the prevalent patron system, elite classic education helped one get work in the imperial nation. After India abolished its patron system in the civil servant examination in the 1850s, Greek and Latin were regarded as a discipline to be tested, with a full mark of 1500, the same as the English language, literature, and history and higher than other disciplines. Therefore, the knowledge of classics was essential to obtain employment in the country. Among the 458 people who passed the civil servant examination between 1855 and 1864, 101 graduated from Oxford, 80 from Cambridge and the rest 198 graduated from other universities, but between 1892 and 1894, the proportion of successful applicants for Oxford and Cambridge were 52% and 20%. Moreover, theories on the political systems in ancient Greek and Roman works were used to justify Britain's dominance over colonies. The rulers, deeply influenced by a classical education, were still fond of reading classics even though they settled down in the colony. As they compared the British Empire to the Roman Empire of their age, they often drew lessons on how to govern people from the classics (Larson, 1999). Judging from multiple aspects, the traditional British liberal

education featuring the residential college and tutorial system, with a focus on classical languages, works, and mathematics was a success. A great number of politicians and scholars came out of Oxford and Cambridge and a high percentage of the people admitted as civil servants in India were graduates from these two universities.

Liberal education was the most popular education concept in the 19th English universities, but in the 20th century, there have been fewer discussions among the British educators. In practice, university education is becoming increasingly professional.

Criticism of the liberal education traditions in the United Kingdom and the German system from the United States

Undoubtedly, America's undergraduate education and liberal education model were deeply influenced by the British traditions. They once focused on classic courses and took faculty psychology as the main theoretical basis, both of which were typical indications of influence from the United Kingdom. Before the Civil War, American universities highlighted classics in their undergraduate courses and their liberal education was established on the basis of faculty psychology. The debate for classic liberal education in the 1828 Yale Report was based on the study of faculty psychology.

After the country's independence, the United States increasingly became discontented with traditional British liberal education. The parochialism of British university courses was one of the aspects commonly criticized in the United States. James McCosh, former president of Princeton (then called the College of New Jersey), pointed out in his inaugural speech that Cambridge was famous for its liberal education through mathematics and classics, but this is not sufficient, because "many noble faculties are not trained sufficiently". Different from the Cambridge system, he thinks that natural sciences should become a part of liberal education (McCosh, 1868, p.63). At the same time, he said, some open-minded people in the British universities had already felt shameful towards the exclusive learning of classical Greek, Latin or mathematics (McCosh, 1868, p.37).

Meanwhile, American scholars held the view that excessive emphasis on classical languages in the liberal education in British universities was consistent with the interest of the privileged classes, and they criticized such a noble nature of the British liberal education. The 1828 Yale Report criticized the English monarchy for concentrating education in a few places, which resulted in a monopoly of knowledge:

> It has been the policy of most monarchical governments, to concentrate the advantages of a superior education in a few privileged places. In England, for instance…… But in this Country, our republican habits and feelings will never allow a monopoly of literature in any one place. (Day & Kingsley, 1828, p.20)

In 1865, William Atkinson delivered a speech on at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

British education in public schools and universities in which he pointed out there existed a privileged class in the United Kingdom that owned such a large fortune that they did not have to work at all. Therefore, they hoped to have a way of speaking used exclusively by their class which would be "expensive enough and difficult to learn" so that inferior classes would have no easy access to it. Instead, they had to obtain it through a certain kind of study, which was "useless and shallow". Therefore, the children of the privileged class spent almost all their energy learning the two ancient languages. However, the United States, as a republic, was different from the United Kingdom. They could not advocate classical language education by using the British privileged class's way of speaking (Atkinson, 1865, p.33).

Another point in British universities criticized by American scholars was that Oxford and Cambridge were so conservative that they could not keep up with the times and thus were left behind by German universities in terms of academic research. For example, Henry Tappan said "Improvements are in progress… but it appears an indisputable fact, that the system of the English Universities has been lamentably deficient." (Tappan, 1851, p.37). The universities focused only on fundamental training and paid less attention to higher academic fields; they failed to meet the requirements of the new age (Tappan, 1851, p.39); they failed to follow the trends in philosophical spirit and scientific development and failed to develop any school of philosophy like German or Scottish universities (Tappan, 1851, p.41), etc.

When interpreting the ancient Greek and Roman corresponding concepts to liberal arts or liberal education, scholars in the United Kingdom and the United States were also different. For example, in the Politics Aristotle proposed "eleutherion epistemon". And "eleutherion" should be understood as "suitable for free men" or "noble" and in one sense, it could be "free". British scholar Benjamin Jowett (1817-1893) translated it to mean "liberal arts" (Aristotle, 1943, p.321), while in the United States, Harvard Greek literature professor, William Goodwin, in one of his 1891 addresses, explained Aristotle's concept as "knowledge suitable for free men" and "free studies" (Goodwin, 1891, p.27). Such a difference reflected to some extent the larger distinction between the United States and the United Kingdom.

In the second half of the 19th century, higher education developments in the United States such as developing post-graduate education, valuing scientific research, respecting academic freedom, etc. were largely influenced by Germany. Meanwhile, they did not follow the German model blindly. Instead, they criticized the Germany university system while learning from it. In Germany, students began their professional study directly after graduating from high school. For a long time, German universities had no bachelor degree and students either went directly to seminary, law school or medical school, or began reading for the Ph.D. in the college of philosophy which covered all the disciplines in the arts and sciences. From American scholars' perspective, structurally there was lacking a bachelor college between high school and professional school in the German system, and in terms of the education idea, no "liberal education" acted as a linkage between fundamental and

professional education. At that time, some people supported the highly efficient German system because high school graduates could directly begin professional learning, but more people were against it. The American classicist, William Goodwin, who earned his Ph.D. in Georg-August-Universität Göttingen in 1855, pointed out that the German system did not provide a space between school and professional education for liberal education (Goodwin, 1891, p.33). He thought, although it might be difficult to survive between high schools and graduate schools, the university, as a place for liberal education and the mother of American higher education, must be reserved and carried forward.

The reformation and characteristics of liberal education traditions in the United States

After the nation's founding, one problem of higher education in the United States was how to transform the liberal education traditions which were historically related to the leisure class and gentlemen class to meet the demands of civil society. The country became a republic after the American Revolution, which was also its political tradition under which every citizen should enjoy equal rights to education. Moreover, the effective functioning of a democratic administration required participation of every citizen, and their effective participation depended on their education. Under such premises, traditional liberal education confined to gentlemen class was not sufficient, and it must transform into an education for the citizen to meet the demands of the new administration. Meanwhile, in order to make it compatible with the idea of a republic, knowledge must be spread on a wider scale. Benjamin Rush, one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, pointed out that as long as education was limited to a small number of people, it would be definitely connected to dictatorship, nobility and slavery, etc. Thomas Jefferson said, people varied in their gifts, but those talented should be rendered by liberal education "regardless of their fortune, birth or other occasional conditions and environment", and defend the holy "rights and freedom" of their compatriots with education (Miller, 1984). In the eyes of the Founding Fathers like Jefferson, liberal education and civil education did not conflict with each other (Miller, 1984).

In his 1799 prize-winning article, The System of Liberal Education, Samual H. Smith said that "one of the major aims of liberal education is to diffuse knowledge" (Kimball, 2010, p.245). He used the concept of "citizen" and indicated that as a part of liberal education, learning geography is a duty of every citizen (Kimball, 2010, p.247). He also depicted the ideal image of a citizen:

> The citizen, enlightened, will be a free man in its truest sense. He will know his rights, and he will understand the rights of others; discerning the connection of his interest with the preservation of these rights, he will as firmly support those of his fellow as his own. (Kimball, 2010, p.249)

The emphasis on liberal education as civil education distinguished Samuel H. Smith's thoughts

from British thinking, as the British advocates such as William Whewell and Newman never used the word "citizen". Although it was criticized for being too conservative by many, the 1828 Yale Report kept up with the time in agreeing that liberal education should stay in line with the republic administration, instead of becoming a privilege for a few people. The report also indicated merchants, manufacturers, farmers, and professional experts (lawyers, priests, doctors, etc.) should share the power of the country as a republic. Therefore, the right of receiving a liberal education should be brought to all these classes: "Our republican form of government renders it highly important, that great numbers should enjoy the advantage of a thorough education." (Day & Kingsley, 1828, p29)

By the second half of the 19th century, more and more American scholars realized that the idea and practice of liberal education in the United States had developed different traditions than United Kingdom. In 1873 William Atkinson noted that "republicanism revolutionizes our very conception of liberal education." In a republican government, as previously mentioned, all classes should share the power of the country and all the citizens were the "ruler". There was no superiority of one job over another. All the people were free. As liberal education was carried forward to all the job positions and classes, liberal education thus became an education for all free people (citizen):

> The final success of our republican institutions will depend, more than upon all else, upon success of our republican education……in *educating the people*." (Part of the text is italicized as the original text) (Atkinson, 1865, p.74)

This is a tremendous change in the historical thoughts of liberal education. Atkinson said liberal education, whether in ancient Greek and Roman, or in Britain, was intended for a certain privileged class. Actually many receivers of such an education in the United Kingdom performed the exclusive, closed so-called liberal occupations, or participated in politics, "the liberal education of the people, was a contradiction in items." (Atkinson, 1873)[2]

British society during the 17th and mid- 19th centuries was largely a class society and "gentlemen" was a synonym for the well-educated class. In contrast, the United States in the 20th century was established on the principle of freedom and democracy. All citizens were free and so liberal education should be open to all the citizens. Historically speaking, an independent "gentlemen" class never existed in the United States. Transforming from a gentlemen class education to a civil education for all, this was breakthrough, or a revolution in the historical development of liberal education. In this regard, the key advocate of American liberal education Scott Buchanan knew much:

> For various reasons the European citizen of the republic of learning would not have said that liberal education is for everybody. That is the great revolutionary American contribution to

[2] The Yale Report can be also referred to in terms of the relationship between liberal education and the republic administration.

> our knowledge of what the liberal arts are, although many Americans do not yet know it. (Buchanan, 1944)

American liberal education focused more on democracy and conveyed the spirit of it. Different from the United Kingdom's control of higher education in the hands of a few universities, the United States rigorously developed higher education, during which time individuals, religious groups, social groups and the government were enthusiastic about building colleges. Between 1776 and 1800, 16 universities were established. By 1850, the United States had already built 120 colleges, which meant every state had four (Tappan, 1851, p54). As students in each state did not have to go to a faraway place for study, the cost of attaining a liberal education is naturally going down. One author from the American South wrote in 1840: "Little colleges, are the means of affording liberal education to numerous youth……within forty miles of their walls, who would never go to Cambridge [Massachusetts]" (Potts, 1977; Blackburn & Conrad, 1986)

By the 20th century, the idea of allowing all the people to receive higher education prevailed unprecedentedly. In the 1930s, it became law in many states that their universities must admit all qualified applicants (Charters, 1937).

American traditions also differ from British ones when interpreting the term. As mentioned above, liberal education was defined from the two perspectives of "large, general" and "polite, genteel, gentlemanly" in the British tradition. But after the second half of the 19th century, American scholars tended to use "liberate, liberalized, free, liberalizing" and "free man" to define liberal education, diverting gradually from the British tradition. For example, when specifying the benefits of liberal education, the 1828 Yale Report read, "Educated in this way, besides the advantages of mental discipline which have been already mentioned, he enlarges the circle of his thoughts …… and his mind is thus far liberalized by liberal knowledge" (Day & Kingsley, 1828, p.34).

In the United Kingdom, liberal education is closely related to the image of a gentleman, while in the United States, it pointed to a free man. In 1873, MIT professor William Atkinson defined liberal education as "an education to cultivate an intellectual freeman" (Atkinson, 1873). Adler defined liberal education in 1951 as "is the education of free men" (Adler, 1951).

Moreover, compared with British liberal education, American liberal education covers a broader range of courses. Although higher education courses in the United States prior to the Civil War focused upon classics as the core just like England, there were a wider range of such courses.

Benjamin Silliman began teaching science courses at Yale in 1804, while almost in the same period Asa Gray did the same at Harvard. Former Harvard President, Josiah Quincy said in 1841 that there were 13 courses during the first three years: mathematics, classical Greek and Latin, history, history of nature, chemistry, modern languages, philosophy, physics, theology, English, Declamations and Forensics. Over one third of the three years was used for learning classical Greek and Latin (Quincy, 1841, p.24). This was more of a liberal education compared with the British model.

Besides Harvard, undergraduate courses in the colleges of New England were similar. Former President of Brown University, Francis Wayland in his 1850 book *On the Changes in the Collegiate Education* listed the courses of "the most ancient and famous colleges in the New England", including Latin, Greek, mathematics, geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, analytical geometry, ancient and modern history, chemistry, rhetoric, French, psychology, ethics, physics, logic, biology, political economy, evidence of religion, American constitution, mineralogy, geography, German or Spanish, speech, etc. Undergraduates had to take around 20 courses during the four years (Wayland, 1850, p.14). According to the American Almanac, around 120 colleges had such course arrangement in the United States then (Wayland, 1850, p.17).

American liberal education has a more characteristic structure. After the second half of the 19th century, the higher education in many countries began to turn toward high professionalization. German universities had no undergraduates for long. British universities, after the second half of the 19th century, gradually diverted from their liberal education traditions: undergraduate education was divided into different disciplines and apart from their professional courses, students seldom studies other courses. But in the United States, liberal education traditions were maintained in undergraduate education so that before receiving professional education, were exposed to a foundational liberal education.

Another outstanding characteristic of American higher education system is that medical studies, law, and theology had no undergraduate education in the system which developed at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. Wilson said in an 1894 article that legal, medical, and theological workers had to receive liberal education first in universities (Thomas, 1959). Gilman, the founder of American research universities and former President of John Hopkins University, pointed out that medical education must be based on a broader knowledge in natural sciences and humanities, and he proposed an 8-year education program combining 4-year liberal education and 4-year professional medical studies (Gilman, 1898, p.232). Now such an arrangement is a reality and there are still no medical undergraduate majors. Similarly, the American undergraduate education has no law major. After the second half of the 19th century when research universities and post-graduate education flourished. American educators drew a clear line between undergraduate and post-graduate education so that liberal education found its place in the former one. Different from other countries, the United States has many colleges devoted specifically to liberal education. At present, there are more than 200, presenting a complete exhibition of liberal arts education.

In the United Kingdom, liberal education is no longer a topic of discussion among scholars, but in the United States today, it is still a topic frequently discussed and there is an academic journal, *Liberal Education,* specifically tailored to it.

Rediscovering the British traditions: United States borrows the residential college system, tutorial system and honorary degree system (1914-1930)

Since the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the United States has developed its own education traditions. During the second half of the 19th century, higher education reform followed the path of German research universities: highlighting research, building graduate schools, emphasizing academic freedom, which were carried out under the influence of Germans. At the beginning of the 20th century, the disadvantage of emphasizing research too much gradually emerged. As the conflict between the United States and Germany intensified with the outbreak of the First World War, more reflections and criticism of the German system were heard in American education circles. According to critics, the disadvantage of German universities was that they did not value liberal education. James L. McConaughy criticized the different levels of German education completely in a 1918 article: "There is little that the American wishes to imitate in German universities. They are exclusively professional. There is no such thing as an arts course corresponding to our B.A. Course" (McConaughy, 1918). Under the circumstance where its undergraduate education met a great number of problems, Americans refocused their eyes on the United Kingdom, a country with ample experience in undergraduate education. During the first three decades of the 20th century, some unique characteristics of the British liberal education traditions after some adaptation were gradually introduced to the United States.

In 1909, A. Lawrence Lowell followed Eliot as President of Harvard, and he was dissatisfied with Eliot's policy of optional courses. Soon after taking office, he made adjustments in the policy. In the 1909-1910 academic year, Harvard adopted a policy of "centralization" and "distribution" to replace the original optional course system. According to the new policy, students were not allowed to select and combine courses randomly and aimlessly, but were required to select six to seven courses within a field, which ensured that a student would know the field more completely and fundamentally. Apart from "centralization" in a certain field, students were also required to select six courses in social sciences, humanities, and natural sciences for "distribution". But later, Harvard discovered that such a policy could not guarantee the students' systematical mastery of the knowledge in one discipline or field. Therefore, in order to solve the problem, more academic guidance needed to be given. Then in 1914, Harvard imitated Oxford to bring in the tutorial system. Similarly, Harvard adopted the tutor-student talk in the tutorial system (Whipple, 1932, pp.48-49). In general, a student chose his or her interested field in the second year, and then the university would assign a tutor for the student to offer guidance to his or her study and get prepared for the General Examination required to graduate from the universities. On average, each full-time tutor needed to instruct 25 undergraduate students. If the tutor had to teach, then he or she could have fewer tutees (Hanford, 1935). In 1930, Harvard imitated the British college system and built a House system and each House would accommodate around 250 students, providing bathrooms, canteens, library, and study rooms and administered by a housemaster (Lowell, 1930). Yale built the House system after Harvard. Apart from the two universities, Princeton, the University of Chicago, Claremont College, the University of California at

Santa Cruz all borrowed the residential college system, but some succeeded while some failed (Duke, 1996). Likewise, the British honor degree system was also introduced to the higher education in the United States during this time (Aydelotte, 1935).

Conclusion

The idea and practice of liberal education in its historical development has been shaped in two forms: the American and the British traditions. Those traditions in the United States have undergone a three-stage development: inheritance, criticism and self-formation, and re-borrowing.

The idea of liberal education in the United States was borrowed from the United Kingdom and it was deeply influenced by the British traditions in terms of highlighting classics and intellectual training. Over more than one hundred years from its Independence to the First World War, Americans began criticizing the aristocracy of British liberal education and gradually developed their own traditions, which was innovative in its idea, interpretation, courses and structure. In terms of the idea of liberal education, for Americans the purpose of liberal education is to train free citizens, and the education has to meet the demands of the civil society. In terms of the meaning of liberal education, American traditions tended to interpret "liberal" as "free" or "liberating". In course design, British traditions rarely emphasized the broader range and multi-disciplinary (except Mill and Huxley). In contrast, course design in American liberal education is more encyclopedic, valuing both liberal arts and sciences and later developing a liberal arts course model combining humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Structurally, American liberal education traditions are supported by several hundred liberal arts colleges, making it continue to flourish. Meanwhile, medical and law studies have no bachelor degrees; therefore, American medical workers and lawyers are open to a more liberal and broader range of education and thus reducing pressure from professionalization in undergraduate education. In terms of the length of the program, the United Kingdom has a "7+3" model, with a 7-year secondary school and 3-year undergraduate education, while the United States has a "6+2+2" model, with a 6-year secondary school and 4-year undergraduate education (the first two years are focused on liberal education) (Fujia et al., 2014).

After the First World War, Americans rediscovered the merits in British liberal education traditions and residential college and tutorial system were introduced to the United States. But strangely undergraduate education models in the United Kingdom and the United States are gradually leading to two different directions. British undergraduate education becomes more professional, for example, A. E. Morgan, a British scholar and then president of McGill University, pointed out in 1936 that "I myself am one of those who feel that in the English universities today there is an unfortunate tendency to narrowing the curriculum, with the result that even in our universities, indeed, even in our schools, we are training experts who are learning more and more about less and less." (Morgan, 1936). But during the same period, liberal education, or liberal arts education are under reform and thriving at

the University of Chicago, Columbia University, etc. Historically speaking, the different development paths between the liberal educations in the two countries are attributed to the difference in the idea of liberal education over the more than one hundred years between the end of the 18th century and the First World War. In the first half of the 20th century, one of the important reasons why liberal education traditions were able to maintain their vitality was that Americans redefined and reinvented "liberal education" after the 19th century, making it a "liberating education" and an "education for free men".

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Current and Future Trends in the World of Universities

Bernard Hugonnier*

Abstract: For the past twenty years, while the world in general has deeply changed, the world of universities has been subject to many forces that profoundly upset its traditions. Indeed, since Humboldt's time where universities were described as ivory towers, this sector knows serious upheavals and disruptions. It is therefore timely to reflect on the major current trends in the world of universities to discern what could be its future. The paper shows that the resolution of the challenges faced by universities, apart from funding, depends mainly upon universities themselves. This point is crucial. It is in their initiatives, managerial skills, innovations, and strong commitments that their future is written, but also that of their region and of their country. Presumably, the adjustments will be faster in Anglo-Saxon countries but also in Japan and Korea and much less in Europe and the rest of the world.

Keywords: university, massification, excellence, professionalization, regional roots, internationalization, funding, digitization

Introduction

The world today is characterized by three key trends: dominance of the knowledge economy with the major role played by information and communication technologies; the frantic search for new techniques and technological innovation to ensure competitiveness, growth, and employment; and the reconciliation between sciences, the latest example and the most spectacular ones being between nanotechnology, biotechnology, information technology, and cognitive science (US National Science Foundation, 2002).

In all three areas, universities play key roles: they are a major source of transmission of knowledge and of new knowledge development; they are a major source of basic and applied research and thus innovation; and better than anyone, with their multiple laboratories, they can facilitate the reconciliation of science. So far more than in the past, the future depends on universities, their dynamism, their quality, and their developments.

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It is therefore timely to reflect on the major current trends in the world of universities to discern what could be its future.

Current trends in the world of universities

For twenty years, the world of universities has been subject to many forces that deeply upset its traditions. Indeed, since Humboldt's time, quiet and serene, where universities were described as ivory towers, this sector knows serious upheavals and disruptions.

These changes are taking place around seven major trends:

- The significant and rapid increase in the number of students who posed in some countries a problem of education quality, as investments were sometimes insufficient to maintain this quality level.
- Research by a number of universities of excellence, which may have led to a certain elitist policy that did not allow the greatest number to access the best training.
- The professionalization of higher education to better meet the skill needs of employers and make them more profitable; higher education responded to a social demand but was less responsive to the academic tradition of creating knowledge.
- The need for universities to develop their local roots led to the necessity to increase their independence, improve their governance, and to have a managerial approach, which is not really included in their "genes".
- The growing internationalization of studies that open universities, teachers and students about the world but created new inequalities.
- Funding for universities whose charges increased when public funds were reduced so that alternative methods of financing had to be found posing new management challenges.
- The digitization of teaching and learning the potential of which is not yet fully used.

Let us examine these trends.

Massification and quality of universities

The massification[1] of higher education has increased the number of students from 24% to 39% in two generations (Table 1).

Statistics show that the main reason show that with higher education qualifications, the student's chances of getting a job at a higher income level are higher than otherwise (Table 2). So there is strong social demand for more higher education. Furthermore, this education is a good investment

[1] Massification should not be confused with democratization as higher education is still not yet accessible to the whole generation (Table 1).

for the country, since it results in more innovation and thus higher competitiveness, growth, and more jobs.

Table 1. Percentage of adults graduated from higher education (2012)

	55-64 Years	45-54 Years	35-44 Years	25-34 Years	Increase Rate Between 55-64 and 25-34 Years in %
Germany	26	28	30	29	12
France	20	24	38	43	95
Canada	44	50	59	57	30
Korea	14	29	52	66	370
Japan	22	46	52	59	168
United Kingdom	33	37	45	48	45
United States	42	41	46	44	5
OECD	24	29	35	39	62

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)(2014)

Table 2. Internal rate of return of obtaining a degree (in %) (2010)

	High Level of Secondary Education	Higher Education
Germany	6,8	13,4
Canada	6,4	10,2
Korea	2,8	12,8
United States	9,1	15,4
France	5,9	11,4
OECD	8,6	13,9

Source: OECD (2014)

Massification requires significant investment in terms of buildings, equipment and faculty recruitment. If these investments are not made, the adjustment is made through a lower quality of education. These are the risks that countries run where it is necessary to reduce both the public budget and debt.

The need to improve the quality of higher education becomes an emergency for at least three reasons (OECD, 2008a):

- Responding to growing needs by employers for more diverse and higher level skills than before;
- Responding to the social demand of parents for superior educational quality to offset increasing registration fees; and

- Responding to international competition between universities to attract the best students and recruit the best teachers (see infra question of excellence).

Improving the quality of teaching in universities faces several difficulties. While schoolteachers are trained to teach and are regularly evaluated, this is much less the case for university professors. Moreover, traditional academic lessons are shared between teaching assistants, lecturers, assistant professors, and professors, the least interesting courses being devolved to the first of these who are the less experienced. Finally, given the number of students in the early years, lessons in lecture halls are still practiced, which leaves little room for interactive pedagogies which alone can ensure quality education. As we shall see later, the Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) are trying to respond to this problem. In these circumstances, improving quality is a difficult goal.

One can certainly recommend a battery of measures: implementing internal quality assurance mechanisms, seek advice from students and peers, and external ones, evaluation conducted by external agencies; regularly evaluate these mechanisms; make them transparent; publish their results; take remedial measures; take incentive measures for innovation; make impact assessments of measures taken (OECD, 2008a), etc. One can add that initial teacher training in educational, followed by regular periodic training on the English model (Evans, 2016), is also a good approach. But one must recognize that as long as the three major problems given above prevail, some difficulties persist.

Note that, for some, these new measures are only transforming the profession of teachers. Based previously, essentially, on their good will, this profession may move toward the model of private enterprise, with checks, obligations of result, more hierarchy; for some, the immediate benefit of such measures on the quality of education is not actually proven (Meulemeester, 2012).

Another way to meet the need to maintain, if not increase, the quality of training offered in universities has been to resort to a policy of excellence.

Excellence policies

Many universities now often aim to be among institutions recognized as "excellent" in their country and the world. But what does this mean? For example, is it to recruit the best teachers and to select the best students? To offer the best training? To develop the best research? To have the best examination results? To better prepare students to obtain a job as quickly as possible after graduation? To be included among the best international rankings of universities? Or to facilitate the success of the greatest number and to train intellectuals engaged in solving societal problems?

For now, there emerges a more elitist kind of excellence, which consists of:

- For students: strong selection on the basis of their track record; high competition among them; important personal work; a dynamic knowledge control system; strict monitoring of attendance; strong participation during class; some international mobility, often an academic year abroad.

- For faculty: selection of the best on the basis of their research or their past professional functions; an important obligation of publication; a fixed-term contract with an obligation of result in terms of number of publications; strong competition between them; and external evaluation based on bibliographic and scientific metrics (Hugonnier, 2016).

In this situation, there are for both parties certain advantages: for teachers because they teach handpicked students who can enrich their research and for students because having the best teachers raises the reputation of their university and thus the value of their degrees. For teachers and students because they enjoy excellent conditions of studies and research.

This practice is reinforced by international rankings, which are often based on the research performance of universities. While these rankings are somewhat criticized, mostly because they primarily measure the research capacity of a university, but not exactly the quality of the latter, and not the quality of teaching, at the time they are released, they are on the desk of every minister of higher education and of every university president. It follows a race for elitist excellence without it being proved that it is in the interest of students and countries.

To gain a few places in these rankings, one tries to practice in some countries groupings of universities. This can have a beneficial effect on research, because it is recognized that it takes more momentum beyond a certain critical mass. But it is less certain that teaching quality wins, while the newly created administrative superstructures can curb initiatives.

Now, many countries intend to develop ex nihilo new world-class universities or helping existing ones to become world class. Excellence has become the expected standard to qualify the value of diplomas in professional sectors with high competition. On the other hand companies tend to recruit students from institutions of higher education recognized as excellent, that is to say well positioned in international rankings.

The risks of elitist excellence are numerous, for example:

- That the multiplication of such universities be to the detriment of other universities and to a large number of students relegated to a second-rate education.
- That increased competition between universities leads to a significant increase in registration fees excluding many students from the best universities.
- That public aid focuses on excellent universities to the detriment of other universities where opportunities to become excellent will become less. That consultant or research companies are turning first to ‘excellent’ universities at the expense of others whose finances will be especially affected.
- That the evaluation of research is based more on the number of publications (bibliometrics) than on the value of publications. This system is perverse as it pushes teachers to cutting their research in several articles, possibly to be published before the research really is completed

("publish or perish"), or to copy themselves. In other words, the number is more important than quality to the detriment of the latter.

- That less importance is given to the intrinsic value of teaching.
- That institutions are selecting the curricula which allows them to do better in international rankings to the detriment of others which are devalued while they may be equally or more important in view of knowledge development and research.

In light of these risks, the question arises whether another excellence should not prevail which, complementary to the first, could have both a social and a societal goal.

A social excellence would:

- Aim to give all students high quality training;
- Aim to give these students but also to the components of the university (faculty, laboratories, unit values ...), which have the potential and motivation, and without excluding anyone a priori, the means to achieve their own level of excellence for the benefit of the general interest and the common good.
- Not allow that financial, social or cultural conditions nor methods (such as the selection of students) impede the excellence of each.
- Result in real commitment of the people and the institution to achieving high standards of both teaching, learning, research, and expertise.

Societal excellence would:

- Work with individual emancipation in the interest of the general interest and the common good.
- Aim to train responsible citizens aware of the major issues of society: sustainable development, social inequality, and environmental protection.

As we see, these are two very different models of excellence, one elitist, tother social and societal. They are not, however, incompatible. Complementarity will be illuminated by the following example: one understands that the financial director of a multinational company must have received excellent training in the best universities. But there is no reason for the chief accountant, the accountant, and the financial aid not also to receive an excellent education, even if their institution is less prestigious. Moreover, these institutions, like the university of the chief financial officer, have to aim that these students reach their own level of excellence. And all these institutions must also ensure that all students receive training to enable them to assume the social responsibilities of those who pursue higher study.

Professionalization of studies

Increasingly, universities are asked to provide an opportunity for students to gain, beyond knowledge, skills, both professional and transversal, inter- and intrapersonal, allowing them to be quickly operational and therefore to find a job more easily. This approach is promoted by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), which highlights the need for countries to develop a "skills strategy" at national level to boost growth and employment and preparing for the future through a policy of skills supply (OECD, 2015). But this approach is questioned by some for its utilitarianism and because it disrupts the traditional role of the university which, in their view, is first there to impart knowledge and develop new knowledge and not to be a tool of professionalization. Still, over the very high youth unemployment prevalent in some countries, the social demand for the latter approach tends to gain ground. What then are the questions and what answers are given?

Globalization is characterized by the emergence of new major economic players like China for industry, India for services, Brazil for agriculture, and more than twenty other countries that are all competing with products and services traditionally produced in developed countries. This results in a reallocation of jobs in the world with some countries benefitting from the situation, for example Germany, and others losing, for example a number of European countries. In these countries, unemployment is rising or remains at a very high level, which is even higher for young people leaving the world of education. It is global competition for jobs. At the same time, industries on which everyone bet to create jobs, need skills that they do not always find in the country of their location, whereby a kind of talent war.

The stakes for the economic future of developed countries, but also for their social peace, are considerable. If their situation does not improve, then one could speak for some in these countries of stall or economic regression, and such countries could become, as highlighted recently by Chancellor Merkel, some sort of museums mainly frequented by tourists but deserted by businesses.

There is hence a need to develop a new industrial policy based on research and innovation and a new policy of education based on a strategy of skills development. The two policies naturally go together; the second of course to be implemented very quickly, given the duration of the training of students. This implementation should be preceded by a robust and reliable assessment of industrial and education policies conducted so far, and their articulation in order to measure the limits and inspire the reforms needed to build the future. This shows the vital role universities will play in the coming years. For sure, as already mentioned, all academics are not convinced of this new requirement as, in their view, it might betray the cause of the university. However, the professionalization trend is here to stay and to get stronger and universities have to rapidly adjust to it.

Regional roots, autonomy and governance

The proven model of the Silicon Valley with a university like Stanford University, which, surrounded by research canters and businesses of the greater to the start-up, form exemplary economic dynamics.

Now, the university is no longer an ivory tower, but instead works with and for companies and with other universities and research laboratories. GDP in Silicon Valley, where two million people live and work for 6000 companies, is equal to that of Chile. This is the 42th economy in the world.

This model is highly effective: it better meets the skills needs of companies and administrations; better meet their basic and applied research requests; increases the competitiveness of enterprises accordingly; assists the funding of universities; develops more relevant university curricula; and facilitates student placement at the end of their studies. Universities can also play an important role in social and cultural development and promote an harmonious and cohesive society (OECD, 2008b).

To succeed, the model requires that a few conditions be met: that the university has sufficient autonomy to implement a strategy facilitating its regional roots; it maintains close ties with the government and the secondary school system; and it develops close working relationships with other universities and research laboratories working on related topics in the surrounding area, away or abroad.

It should also implement effective governance which provides for the participation of all stakeholders in decision-making, whether local employers, teachers, or other staff, even those with administrative or technical functions; provides for the use of solid management tools, evaluation and monitoring, and in terms of interpersonal relationships; the use of postures more recognition than control (Jorro & De Ketele, 2011); and aiming finally to give each constituent unit of the establishment possibilities to reach its own level of excellence that will encourage all to innovate.

The main lesson of this trend is that now all universities can and should contribute to development of the region and / or of the municipality where they are located. They have everything to gain, except in one area, that of finance which is discussed below.

Internationalization

With globalization, it is now expected students if not having a double degree, pursue at least part of their studies abroad. It is also expected that professors develop exchanges with foreign colleagues; publish abroad; participate in international conferences; and teach in foreign institutions. All these actions are now well entrenched in the habits of the most developed countries and in the most prestigious universities. Most of these universities have therefore taken the necessary measures: student and teacher exchange programs; double curriculum; double degrees; etc. Also in some cases, universities are creating new studies abroad programs.

This trend mainly concerns a small number of students because the costs incurred are important. At present the number of students abroad is four million for the world (figures from 2012), which, according to the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), is an increase of 100% compared to 2000 but represents only 1.8% of the number of students in the world (UNESCO, 2015). Five countries welcome nearly 50% of their students from abroad: the United

States (18% of total), the United Kingdom (11%), France (7%), Australia (6%) and Germany (5%), but this share has fallen. It was 55% in 2000. New destinations such as China, Malaysia, South Korea, Singapore, and New Zealand are now attracting students, but also are Middle Eastern countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and the Emirates.

Two new trends emerge: firstly, to reduce transportation costs, because of cultural proximity, students are now choosing more often than ever the closest country to them. Moreover, in some countries, students tend to study more abroad than in their own countries; it is already the case in eight countries worldwide. It is also assumed that this is where the scholarships come in numbers that student mobility is facilitated, as in Europe with the Erasmus Program and North America.

Is internationalization without risks? Not quite. There is first the risk that some differentiation occurs between students who have studied abroad and others, the first enjoying better jobs and higher salary. This phenomenon exists in all countries including developed ones, because all students do not study abroad. However, given the cost of studying abroad, presumably, only affluent students can benefit from it making these an unequal education. This may become even more important as the best-ranked universities in international rankings have agreements with their peers in the world. This selective matching can relegate students from other universities to lower-quality training and opening towards less significant opportunities, creating more inequality.

To facilitate the accreditation of student diplomas (Fave-Bonnet, 2011) and therefore their mobility, internationalization may induce a convergence of courses and curricula. Some question the impact of this trend on both cultures on languages—English may emerge as the universal academic language. Finally, the attraction of foreign qualifications, especially those in Western universities is such that unscrupulous companies were established in developing countries, offering cheaply and in a short time misleading and worthless training. UNESCO and OECD have spoken out against these practices and have developed guidelines (OECD, 2004) calling all players in the world of higher education to ensure that all courses offered abroad are of the same quality that the ones in the country of origin.

Internationalization of universities is an inevitable and irreversible trend; however, the present model presents some risks. Before it spreads, the consequences of those risks should be measured to mitigate them.

Funding

The resources universities may have is a subject of constant de bate and is exacerbated by the situation of state budgets becoming more difficult than ever. Two means are then available to universities: to increase registration fees or to trade their expertise with the private sector.

On average, the average cost of a student in OECD countries is around $12 000 per year. But in some countries, these expenditures may be lower than 50% and in others 70% higher (see table below).

As the table shows, the countries that have the highest expenses are not the ones that necessarily have the highest fees (see the case of the Nordic countries).

Table 3. Annual expenditures and fees at public universities in US dollars (PPP) - (2011)

Countries	Annual Expenditure	Annual Registration Fees
Canada	14312	4288
Korea	6856	5395
Denmark	19868	0
United States	12638	5402
Finland	20321	0
France	14225	200 to 1402
Japan	8579	5019
Norway	20647	0
Sweden	18638	O

Source: OECD (2014)

In theory, higher education should be free because their costs are covered by taxes. This is the approach taken by some countries like France, where fees are generally very low, or by the Nordic countries, where fees are nil. But one can also argue that as higher education is mostly benefiting the better off, it is normal that they contribute at least partly to the funding of universities. Especially it is possible to show that higher education is more benefit to students than society: students withdraw 65% of the benefits of education and society less than 34% (OECD, 2012). Consequently, in some countries like the United States, Canada and the United Kingdom, but also in Korea and Japan, registration fees are much higher. Must it be that other countries, short of resources, do the same to solve, at least in part, their funding problem? If this is the case, we can expect strong reactions from students. One remembers what happened in England in 2010 when tuition fees have risen sharply to reach almost 10,000 pounds.

The second way to increase the financial resources of universities is to contract with research or expertise companies. This practice, which brings together the worlds of work and education is beneficial to both and ultimately students and the economy in general. It enables companies to benefit from the research capacity of universities to develop new technologies and new techniques; universities to find outlets for their basic research on the one hand, and alternative financing, on the other; students to acquire skills that better meet the needs of local employers; and finally to the whole economy by increasing its competitiveness. As noted above, the regional presence of universities helps to better achieve these objectives.

This approach, however, is not perfect. The main criticism is that it is based on the model of American universities (Masseys-Bertorèche, 2011), the university "markets" in the sense that it now operates as a private business and depends more on private money than public. Another criticism, the university risks that its research moves away from the Humboldt objective and turns to a search which, without being entirely mercantile, becomes much more applied and forwards immediate profit. This raises a number of problems: first, a problem of independence of university research vis-à-vis the private sector that can, without any malice, wanting to steer research in one direction rather than another. Then an ethical problem: when the chairs are funded to the tune of several thousand dollars or more by private companies can one be sure that licensees are not in a conflict of interest situation (Boer de, 2015). Finally, this practice may tend to favor large universities at the expense of smaller ones because the former have a volume and quality that are more attractive and also more competitive offers. These inequalities create greater financing difficulties it is not easy to compensate.

University funding will remain a difficult problem for many universities especially those still dependent on public funds; increasingly in the future they will have to turn to the private sector. This implies that these universities will have to introduce significant changes in their management and also to review some of their main priorities.

Digitization

Digitization can help the university become more efficient. The traditional mode of academic knowledge transfer leading to the development of knowledge is made easier by the use of digital equipment through modernization of traditional teaching and learning methods with tablets and computers. Tomorrow, new didactics and pedagogies will be developed, totally dedicated to digital tools, hence their effectiveness will be multiplied. But the conditions for this are not yet in place, including the development of appropriate software.

With Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), learning can also improve; students can avoid going to crowded lecture halls in inaudible courses and courses can focus on practical questions; the theory being supposed known to all (the flipped classroom). MOOCs present some advantages such as: reduced costs of universities, classroom, personnel, equipment, electricity; ubiquity of service; democratization of courses, equal access to the most prestigious courses; access anytime; no traveling; and low fees. They also present some disadvantages such as: no relationship between students and teachers; no social relations among students; need to have a computer; lack of interpersonal stimuli for concentration; low value on the job market; and possible cheating. Therefore it is necessary to further improve the model. Still, this method allows for the dissemination of knowledge more widely and at a much lower cost than before which results in a certain democratization of higher education.

Future trends

Given these trends, the paramount question is to determine what are the universities that best suit them and quickly, with the aim of trying to discern what could be the future of universities in the world?

The adaptation of universities to these trends depends primarily on the severity of their initial situation. It can be high, medium or low as shown in the first three columns of the table. Then the adaptation can be done at a high speed, medium or slow as can be seen in the last three columns. Finally, the answer will depend largely on the countries where the universities are located. The table summarizes the analysis which can be distinguished from the situation in emerging countries (EC), other developing countries (DE), Anglo-Saxon countries (AGC), Europe (E), and Japan and Korea (JK).

Table 4. Current status of universities adapting to current trends

Current Trends / Situation and Adaptation	1. Situation of High Severity	2. Situation of Medium Severity	3. Situation of Low Severity	4. Quick Adaptation	5. Average Speed Adaptation	6. Low Speed Adaptation
1. Massification	DC	EC, E	AGC, JK	AGC, JK	E	DC, EC
2. Excellence Policy	DC	EC, E	AGC, JK	AGC, JK	E	DC, EC
3. Professionnalization	DC, EC	E, JK	AGC	AGC	JK, E	DC, EC
4. Regional Roots	DC, EC, E, JK	EC, E	AGC	AGC	JK	DC, EC, E
5. Internationalization	DC	EC	AGC, JK, E	AGC, JK, E	PE	DC
6. Financing	DC	EC, E	AGC, JK	AGC, JK	E, EC	DC
7. Digitization	DC, EC,	EC, E	AGC, JK	AGC, JK	E, EC	DC

The table shows that universities in Anglo-Saxon countries and those of Japan and Korea are facing the current trends presumably in a situation of a low gravity and that their adaptation to trends is faster than elsewhere. These conclusions are based on the objective observation that universities from these countries in the past 20 years have been quicker than others to evolve as circumstances and national policies have changed. This holds less true for European universities; let alone for those from emerging countries and eventually even less for those of all other developing countries.

One can note in columns 3 and 4 that the Anglo-Saxon countries have a competitive advantage in all areas; Japan and Korea have one in five areas; that Europe ranks third with only one domain while other countries have none. As seen in column 1, the Anglo-Saxon countries have no weak point. For Japan and Korea and Europe, it is the regional presence; for emerging countries, professionalization of education; regional roots; and digitization, and for developing countries all points. So the hierarchy that prevails at present could strengthen universities in Anglo-Saxon countries, primarily in the United States and England, followed by the universities of Japan and Korea. The universities of Europe come in third in strong competition for this position with that of emerging countries like China and India.

Conclusion

In a world that has deeply changed, the role that universities can play increased sharply to become paramount to their future. But universities are today facing immense challenges that force them to introduce major transformations to adjust themselves to new conditions and to avoid the avalanche that was promised to some (Barber, 2013). Presumably, these adjustments will be faster, as we have seen, in Anglo-Saxon countries but also in Japan and Korea. This means that Europe could again accuse a delay. Now, and increasingly, the resolution of the challenges faced by universities, apart obviously from funding, depends mainly upon universities themselves. This point is crucial. It is in their initiatives, managerial skills, innovations and strong commitments that their future is written, but also that of their region and of their country.

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Higher Education Growth in India: Is growth appreciable and comparable?

K. M. Joshi* and Kinjal V. Ahir**

Abstract: The Indian higher education system is the largest in the world in terms of the number of institutions and second largest in enrollments. About 33.3 million students are currently enrolled in higher education institutions, but the Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) is still very low at 23.6%. There are about 757 universities and 38,056 colleges in India. This mammoth network of higher education institutions include a large private sector that has emerged and experienced very rapid growth during last two decades. Despite this growth, Indian higher education is facing several challenges with regard to equity, efficiency and quality. It is still not inclusive, globally competitive, and innovative. The present paper examines the Indian higher education growth deception in this context and vindicate the imperative need for effective intervention policies.

Keywords: higher education, India, growth, quality, innovation, competitiveness

Introduction

The inquisitiveness to identify the factors responsible for growth of nations at different stages has led to development of growth theories. Recent empirical studies suggest that the growth of countries is associated with knowledge production largely sourced from developing human capital (Schultz, 1961; Mankiw, Romer & Weil, 1992; Romer 1986; Lucas, 1988; Spence, 1973). The contribution of education in availability of human capital and its enhancement through knowledge production and dissemination can increase the prospects of economic growth for an economy. The role of higher education in growth has been a recently-accepted phenomenon.

India has the demographic advantage of a huge and young population base. It is the world's second largest country in terms of absolute population. With 1.28 billion people, India accommodates 17.5 percent of the world population. A noticeable demographic aspect of the Indian population is that the median age population is 26.9. Moreover, the median age is expected to rise to

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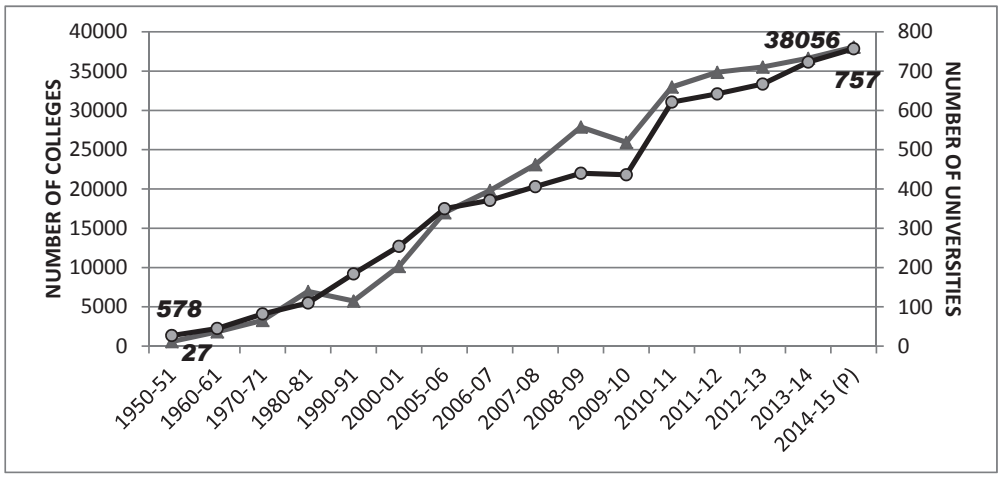
36.7 by 2050 (Worldometers, 2015). Thus, it implies that India can reap the benefits of a young population for at least another five decades, if it succeeds in imbibing apposite skills and access to quality tertiary education. If India could utilize its population to reap economic benefits then the population would truly be a dividend. In contrast, if India fails to do so the population would be a liability. Access to opportunities for gaining knowledge and skills would equip the people in India to contribute towards the growth of the nation. Knowledge production and dissemination largely happens in higher education institutions, thereby enhancing the ability of the human resource to indulge in productive work.

The present paper examines higher education growth in India in a broader perspective. It investigates whether the explicit growth is appreciable and comparable by international standards. The subsequent section of the paper discusses the comparative picture in context of global ranking; global innovation index; and global competitiveness index besides the absolute growth data.

Number of institutions

Indian higher education has witnessed mammoth growth in the number of universities and colleges since 1950-51. Notably, the astonishing growth took place in the post 2000-01 period. During 1950-51 to 2000-01, the number of universities and colleges grew at compound annual growth rate (CAGR) of 4.58% and 5.90%. However, during the 2000-01 and 2014-15 period, the universities and colleges grew at CAGR of 8.11% and 9.9% respectively. In 2014-15, the number of universities reached 757, and the number of colleges reached 38056 as shown in Figure 1 (MHRD, 2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c).



Source: MHRD (2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c)

Figure 1. Number of colleges and universities (1950-51 to 2014-15)

A major share of the growth in the number of universities and colleges during this period took place in private sector. Agarwal (2006) observed that the growth of institutions with public financing had almost stagnated (like public universities, deemed aided universities, government colleges and private aided colleges)[1] whereas the growth of institutions with private financing was observed to be rapid (like private universities, deemed unaided universities and private unaided colleges)[2]. As of 2014-15, about 35 percent of universities and about 76 percent of colleges were managed by private sector (MHRD, 2015c)

The growth of private higher education was paved by lack of sufficient public funding and increased demand for higher education. The expenditure on education as a percentage of GDP has remained below 4.5 percent of the GDP since 2006-07, and the expenditure on higher and technical education as a percentage of GDP has remained below 1.5 percent of GDP during the same period (Joshi & Ahir, 2015; MHRD, 2014b).

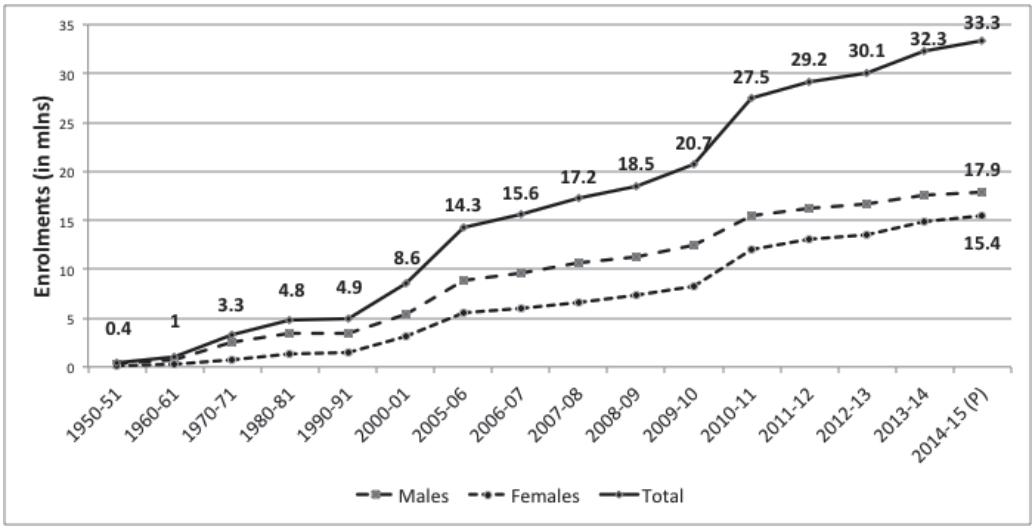
Enrollments

Absolute enrollments

In absolute terms, the number of enrollments increased from 0.4 million in 1950-51 to 33.3 million in 2014-15. Analogous to the rise in the number of institutions, enrollments too witnessed a notable upsurge since 2000-01. They rose from 0.4 million to 8.6 million in five decades from 1950-51 to 2000-01, i.e. a rise of about 8.2 millions in five decades, with a CAGR of 6.33%. On the other hand, enrollments rose from 8.6 million to 33.3 million in less than one and a half decade from 2000-01 to 2014-15 (CAGR of 10.15%) as shown in Figure 2 (MHRD, 2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c).

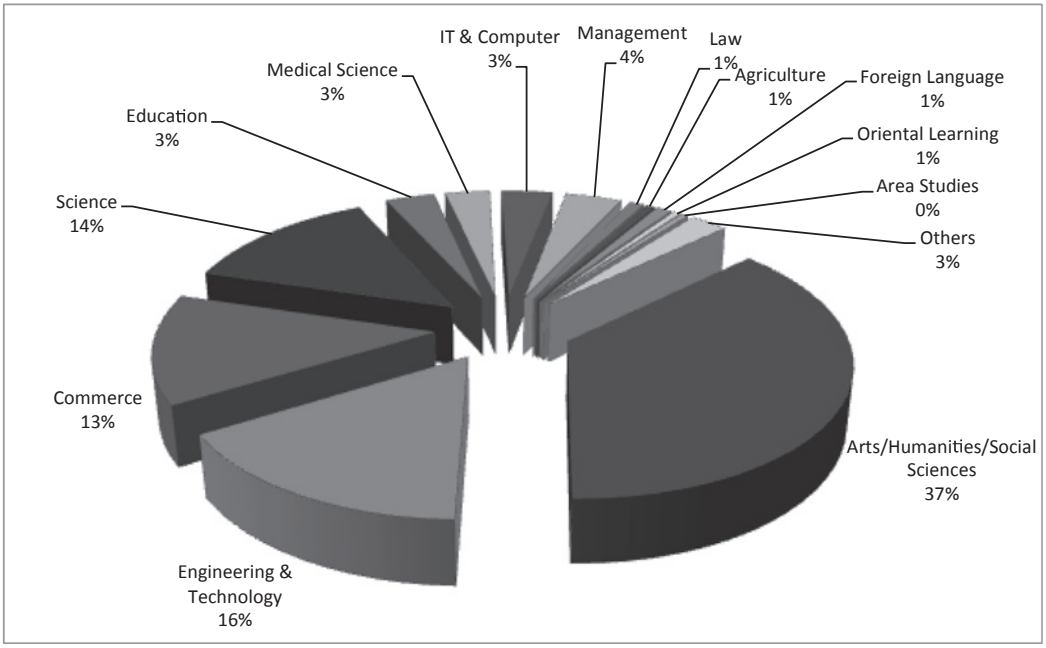
[1] The public universities include Central Universities, State Universities and Deemed aided Universities. A Central University is established or incorporated by a Central Act. A State University is established or incorporated by a Provincial Act or by a State Act. A Private University is established through a State/ Central Act by a sponsoring body viz. a Society registered under the Societies Registration Act 1860, or any other corresponding law for the time being in force in a State or a Public Trust or a Company registered under Section 25 of the Companies Act, 1956.
A Deemed University refers to a high-performing institute, which has been so declared by Central Government under Section 3 of the University Grants Commission (UGC) Act, 1956. Currently many private institutions have also acquired the status of private deemed university although they are not high performing institutions and are not aided deemed universities. The government colleges are managed by the government and funded by it. But private aided colleges are not managed/owned by the government, rather a private trust/individual manages the college and it receives financial assistance from the government.

[2] Private universities (including private deemed universities) and private unaided colleges do not receive financial support from the government.



Source: MHRD (2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c)

Figure 2. Enrollments 1950-51 to 2014-15



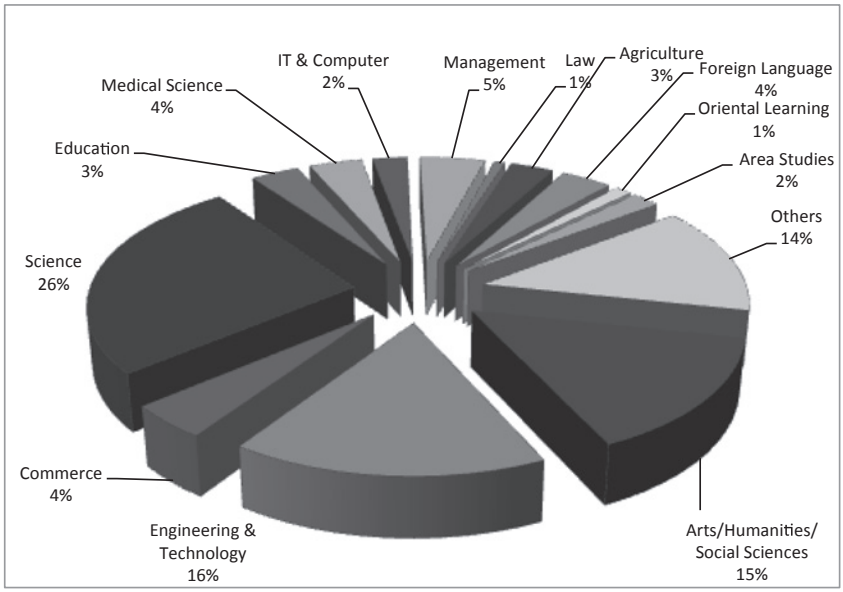
Source: Calculated by authors from MHRD (2015b)

Figure 3. Discipline-wise enrollments in undergraduate and postgraduate level programs combined

The growth in enrollments and Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER) can be attributed to increased transition rates from secondary to tertiary education at 67.5 percent (MHRD, 2013); higher private rates of returns for graduates (15.87 percent) (Agrawal, 2011); growing aspirations of the people to participate in the national growth trajectory and expectations of people that higher education leads to an ascent in the social status. The enrollments of females have remained lower than males since decades, but the enrollment gap has been narrowing with the passage of time. More females are now being enrolled in higher education as compared to the past. But a gender bias can be observed with respect to the choice of disciplines, with females more in favor of disciplines like education, home sciences, cultural studies, etc. and less in disciplines like engineering and technology, law, and agriculture, etc. (Joshi & Ahir, 2016).

Collectively undergraduate and postgraduate courses accounted for 91.2 percent of the total students pursuing higher education in India in 2014-15 (MHRD, 2015c). As shown in Figure 3, about 37% of the students are pursuing higher education in Arts/ Humanities/ Social Sciences courses, followed by about 16% in Engineering and Technology, about 13% in Commerce and about 14% in Science. While the percentage of students who opted for engineering and technology almost doubled by 2013-14 as compared to 2005-06, the percentage of enrollments in Arts/ Humanities/ Social sciences and Science has declined. Most of the growth of enrollments and institutions in professional courses like engineering and technology, education, and medicine occurred in the private sector.

Despite an increase in the share of professional courses in higher education, the unemployment rate for graduates and above in the age cohort of 18-29 years was about 28% percent during 2013-14 (Ministry of Labor and Employment, 2015). The unemployment rate data for the various levels of education for this age cohort show that the higher the level of education, the higher is the unemployment rate. We can infer that the labor market needs and the higher education programs are not synchronized. There is sufficient empirical evidence to suggest that a large section of Indian graduates lack employment skills and in particular in professional courses like engineering and management (Gowsalya & Ashok Kumar, 2015; Chandna, 2013; Blom & Saeki, 2011). Research suggests that graduates largely lack language skills; problem solving and analytical skills; innovation and creativity involving high order thinking skills. Most research findings suggest stronger industry-institute linkages to provide more hands on experiences to the graduates to enhance analyzing and creative problem solving skills rather than only remembering and understanding the knowledge imparted during the education tenure. Recent policy directives emphasize the enhancement of employment skills as an inherent part of the higher education system to assure increased employment at various levels of higher education.



Source: Calculated by authors from MHRD (2015b)

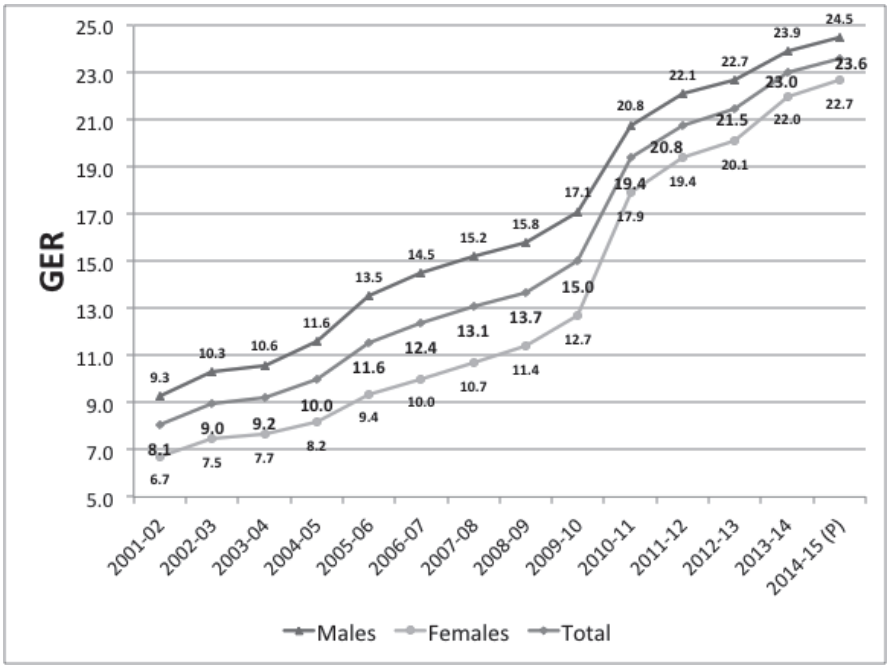
Figure 4. Discipline-wise enrollments in M.Phil. and Ph.D. Combined

Enrollments in research-based programs like M.Phil. and Ph.D. was 0.49% of the total in higher education in India in 2014-15 (MHRD, 2015c). A large share of enrollments in M.Phil. and Ph.D. were in disciplines like Science (about 26%), Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences (about 15%), Engineering and Technology (about 16%), Management (about 5%), Medical Science (about 4%), Foreign Language (4%) and Commerce (about 4%). These disciplines together contribute a major share of about 74% of the enrollments in M.Phil. and Ph.D. as shown in Figure 4 (MHRD, 2015b)

Gross Enrollment Ratio (GER)

In India, the GER in higher education considers enrollments as a percentage of population belonging to the relevant age cohort, 18-23 years.

The GER in Indian higher education has shown a consistent rise since independence. The GER increased at a faster pace in particular since 2000-01. In 2000-01, GER was 8.1 and increased to 23.6 in 2014-15, with CAGR of 8.57% as shown in Figure 5. The rise in the GER coincides with a parallel rise in the number of higher education institutes and enrollments since 2000-01 (MHRD, 2014a, 2015c). It is significant because it shows that the growth of enrollments occurred at a faster pace than the growth of the population belonging to the relevant age cohort. While the GER for both males and females has increased, the rise in the GER for females has been slower than that of males. Unfortunately, the gap between the male and female GER has not narrowed substantially with the passage of time.



Source: MHRD (2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c)

Figure 5. Gross enrollment ratio for males, females, and total (2001-02 to 2014-15)

In light of Trow's definition (1974), India has moved from an elite system to a system of massification, but the universalization of higher education at par with developed countries is yet too far from accomplishment.

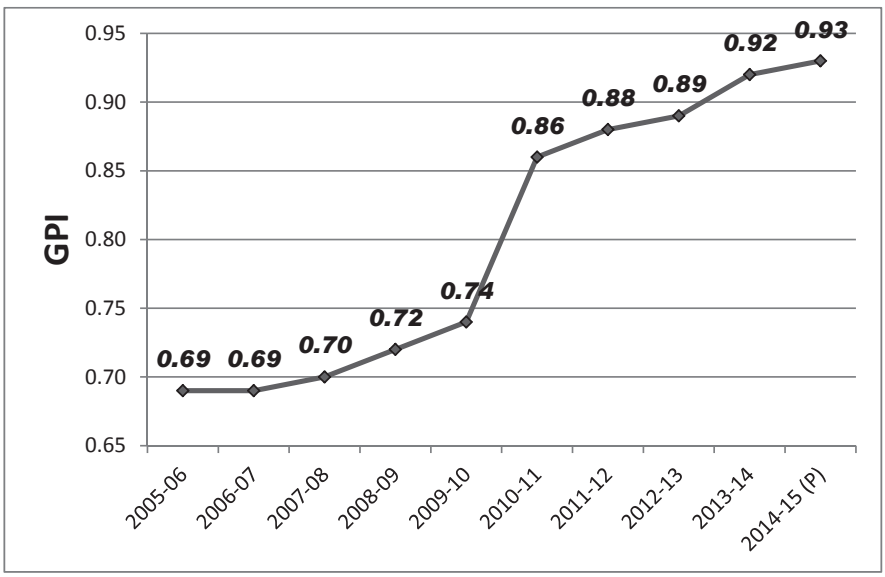
Table 1. Comparison of enrollments and GER for selected countries

Country name	Enrollments in million (2013)	GER (2013)
Brazil	7.3	NA
Russia	7.5	78
India	28.2	23.89
China	34.1	30.16
South Africa	1.0	19.7
United States	19.9	88.8
United Kingdom	2.4	56.9
Developed countries	47.2	74.1
Developing countries	137.7	26.7
World	198	32.8

Source: UIS (2015)
Note: NA is 'Not available'

As can be observed in Table 1, China ranks first in absolute enrollments with 34.1 million, India second at 28.2 million and United States third at 19.9 million. It connotes that China and India alone account for more than a quarter of tertiary global enrollments, about a quarter more than the enrollments of all developed countries combined and almost half of the developing countries combined. The enormous size of enrollments asserts that the higher education systems of China and India are very huge. At the same time, the challenges posed by the mammoth size of the system are unique to both. Despite the increase in enrollments, the flow of enrollments of the eligible age cohort could not keep pace with the rising population. This resulted in low GER, far from being 'universal'.

The GER for India is lower than China, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom. It is lower than the GER of developed countries, global GER, and GER of developing countries. In India, increased opportunities of access to higher education is required to keep pace with the rising population of the eligible age cohort and their aspirations to pursue higher education. Besides lower GER, the disparity in terms of access to higher education between males and females is also an issue of concern. The disparity has also narrowed over the period of time with effective policy measures and social outlook, which is depicted in Figure 6. The upward movement in the Gender Parity Index reflects a better and near equal opportunity of access to higher education for males and females.



Source: MHRD (2014a, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c)

Figure 6. Gender Parity Index (2005-06 to 2014-15)

The interprovincial (better known as interstate) disparity in terms of GER is also noteworthy. Some provinces like Chandigarh (GER－55.6), Tamil Nadu (GER－44.8), and Delhi (GER－43.3) are either approaching or have achieved 'universalization' comparable to developed countries. But unfortunately, some provinces like Bihar (GER－12.9), Chhatisgarh (GER－14.4), and Jharkhand (GER－13.4) still have an elite higher education system (MHRD, 2015c). Disparities among various socio-religious-economic groups too highlight the unequal access to higher education.

Knowledge production – Patents and publications

One of the core functions of a higher education system is to contribute in knowledge production through research. The variables that capture contributions in this regard are: patent filing, research publications and citations by higher education institutions.

According to World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO, 2014), India ranked 22nd in the world with total 49,272 patents in force. In India, the Office of the Controller General of Patents, Designs, Trade-marks and Geographical Indication, (CGPDTM) under the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Government of India is responsible for filing and supervising the implementation of Acts related to various forms of intellectual property like patents, designs, trademarks and geographical indication. CGPDTM (2014) in 2013-14 reported a total of 611 filings of applications by the top ten Indian applicants for patents from scientific and research and development organizations and 689 filings by the top ten Indian applicants for patents from educational institutes and universities out of a total 10,941 patent applications filed: The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR －267 applications), the Defense Research and Development Organization (DRDO－116 applications) and the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR－71 applications) were the top three scientific and research and development organizations to file patent applications. IITs collectively (342 applications), Amity University (92 applications) and Saveetha School of Engineering, Saveetha University (74 applications) were the top three educational institutions and universities to file patent applications. The maximum patents were filed in the fields of chemicals, computer science/ electronics, mechanical, drugs / medicines, electrical, biotechnology, etc. (CGPDTM, 2014). In contrast, according to a report by WIPO (2012) comparing global higher education institutes, United States ranked first with 30 out of 50 universities among the top patent filers followed by Japan (7), South Korea (7), Israel (2), and Australia, China, Denmark and Singapore with one each. With 277 published patent applications the University of California topped the list of universities followed by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (179) and the University of Texas System (127) (WIPO, 2012). Indian universities failed to endorse its presence.

The poor global performance of Indian higher education reflects the overall non-appreciable performance of India in the context of protecting Intellectual property rights. The Global Intellectual Property Center International IP index (GIPC index) developed by the United States Chamber of

Commerce (2015) provides an overview of the overall IP environment in thirty economies. The challenges that India faces in the context of maintaining intellectual property are many. India scores lowest with weak patenting environment (score 1 out of 7); third lowest in copyright environment (score 1.47 out of 6); fourth lowest in trademark environment (score 2.75 out of 5); and low performance with trade secrets too (score 0.5 out of 2).

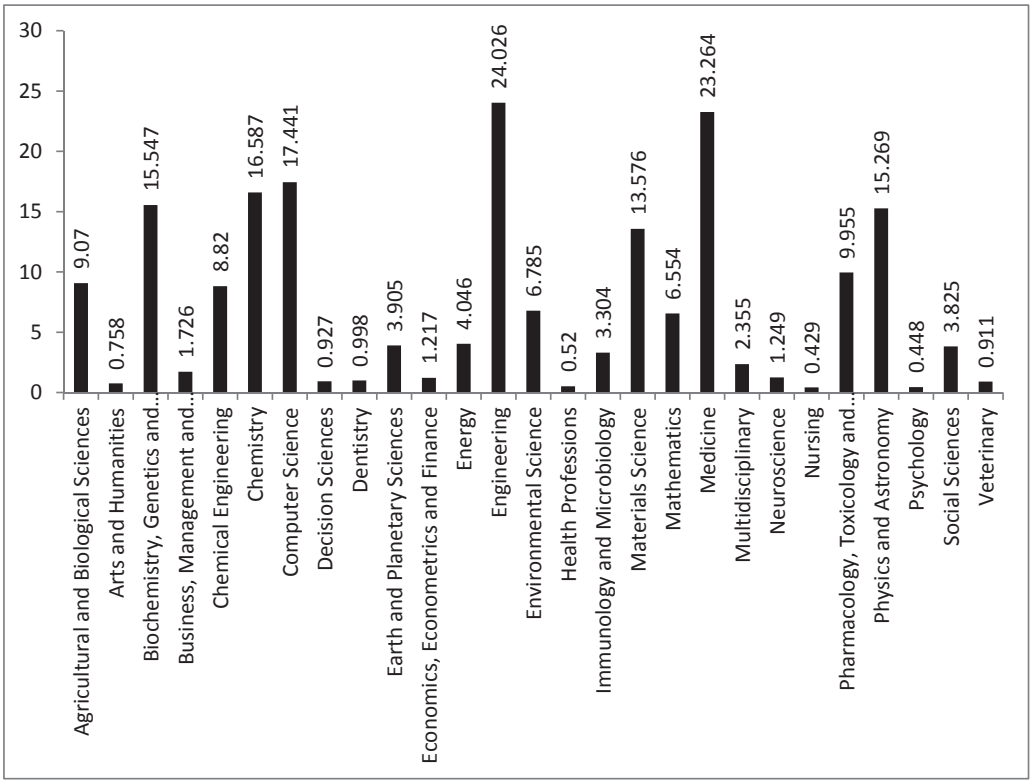
In terms of research output, India has had remarkable quantitative growth but quality concerns persist. SCImago Journal & Country Rank 2014 ranked 239 countries on the basis of research publications and citations (SCImago, 2015). The ranking for India largely ranged from 6 to 12 for most of the criteria for 2014, except H-Index (22) and Citations per document (184) as shown in Table 2. Thus, in terms of research output the performance of India has improved since 1996. Citations per document shows average citations per document published during the source year to documents published during the year. The citable documents comprised of 92.69 percent and non-citable documents comprised of 7.31% in 2014 for India. However, 16.21% documents were cited whereas 83.79% were uncited. In contrast in 1996 the cited documents comprised of 79.14% and 20.86% were uncited. However it should be noted that the documents in 1996 were 20,625 whereas in 2014 were 114,449—more than a five-fold rise in less than two decades. Therefore, with a five-fold rise in the number of documents the cited documents percentage declined by one-fifth. Similar trends can also be observed for China and the United States as well, with the United States performing better than China and India. Further, only 16.36% of documents had more than one country in terms of international collaborations for India. This implies that the research output of India in terms of documents published is appreciable, but the quality of research papers as measured by citations needs to be further enhanced for an improved rank in research output.

Table 2. Performance of India and the best performers in the respective categories of research output in 2014

Indicator	India's Performance	India's Rank	Best Performance (Country)
Documents	114,449	6	552,690 (United States)
Citable Documents	106,078	6	494,790 (United States)
Citations	34,961	12	352,934 (United States)
Self-Citations	15,607	9	194,831 (United States)
Citations per Document	0.31	184	6.8 (Saint Lucia)
H-Index	.383	22	1.648 (United States)

Source: SCImago (2015)

But compared to the United States and China, the Indian publications are far fewer. Both the United States and China lead the league tables in terms of research publications and citations on almost all criteria except citations per documents.



Source: SCImago (2015)

Figure 7. Research documents published in various fields in India in 2014

In India in 2014, the maximum documents were published in the fields like engineering, medicine, computer science, chemistry, biochemistry, genetics and molecular biology, physics and astronomy and materials science as shown in Figure 7.

The overall low quality of research output and fewer patent filings can be attributed to insufficient public funding to sponsor research, inadequate university-industry linkages, lack of appropriate infrastructure, etc.

Availability of teachers and quality of teaching are required to maintain the quality of higher education. With the growing enrollments, the number of teachers has also registered a continuous rise: from 0.024 million in 1950-51 (UGC, 2013) to 1.41 million in 2014-15 (MHRD, 2015c). The rise is about 59 fold. Even though the number rose sharply, the pupil teacher ratio for India was 21.5 in 2013. The pupil-teacher ratio for Brazil was 19.9 (2013), Russia 14.4 (2012), the United Kingdom 16.4 (2013), the United States 12.8 (2013) and for China 19.5 (2011) (UIS, 2015). It is difficult to trace accurate and updated data for faculty shortage, but an estimate by UGC (2011) showed that the shortages in various State universities was over 40%, Central universities 35%, Deemed universities about 25% and affiliated colleges about 40%. Such faculty shortages impair quality education and

burden existing faculties with additional workload. Moreover, financial constraints also restrict the provision of temporary faculty appointments, in particular when freezing of permanent appointments is extended for a longer duration.

Global ranking, competitiveness and innovation

The performance of a country's various higher education institutes is analyzed by Global University Rankings. It is assumed that high-ranking higher education institutes can provide a conducive environment for the growth of knowledge economies. Such growth is propelled by innovation, thereby increasing the competitiveness of an economy.

Various stakeholders of higher education are increasingly using Global University Rankings as they present comprehensive and comparative analysis. Methodological issues continue to pose challenges, but they have successfully presented a performance evaluation along common criteria to compare global universities. Hence, such global university rankings show the performance and position of various universities and their potential to compete globally. The three widely discussed global university rankings for analysis here include Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings 2015-16 (THE, 2015); QS World University Rankings 2015/16 (QS, 2015); and Academic Ranking of World Universities (AWRU) 2015.

Table 3. Number of Indian universities in three global university rankings

	THE	QS	AWRU
Institutions in top 100	None	None	None
Institutions between 100-200	None	Two	None
Institutions between 200-500	Five	Nine	One

Source: THE (2015); QS (2015); AWRU (2015)

For most of the Global University Rankings, the highest scoring institute was the Indian Institute of Science (IISc). But the rank of even IISc is not appreciable (THE between 251-300, QS-147th and AWRU between 301-400). Four Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) appeared in the top 500 in THE rankings. IIT Delhi appeared in 100-200 ranking while six more IITs along-with University of Delhi appeared in 200-500 ranks in QS rankings.

Most of the top five frequently globally ranking higher education institutions have a large number of student enrollments and also offer a large number of undergraduate and postgraduate courses as shown in Table 4. Due to these features, a lot of diversity exists in these institutions, facilitating and encouraging multidisciplinary knowledge sharing, production, and dissemination. On the other hand, the top ranking Indian institutions have comparatively fewer student enrollments. They are also largely specialized in specific disciplines and so offer very limited undergraduate and post-graduate

courses. The top five frequently globally high ranking higher education institutions, are able to attract international students comprising approximately 20% to 35% of their total students. In context of faculty, such institutions are able to attract about 40% to 55% of international faculty or faculty of international standards. The knowledge and experience sharing among such a diverse group of students and professors create a multicultural learning environment for students. It creates a very conducive environment for innovations and research that can provide solutions to global issues. Subsequently, knowledge production and dissemination undertake a global outlook.

Table 4. Comparison of certain attributes of selected global universities with top Indian universities

Name of the Institution	Students Enrollments	No. of Faculties	Undergraduate Programs	Graduate/ Masters Programs	Doctoral Programs
Harvard University	21,708 (23%)	4184 (52%)	50	118	11
Stanford University	16,407 (22%)	3844 (47%)	66	81	NA
The Massachusetts Institute of Technology	11,051 (33%)	2980 (56%)	44	124	NA
The University of California, Berkeley	37,210 (24%)	3392 (42%)	83	99	87
The University of Cambridge	18,977 (35%)	5084 (41%)	50	99	106 (+47 research programs)
IISc, Bangalore	3,512 (1%)	504	6	9	NA
IIT, Delhi	7,399 (1%)	444 (<1%)	12*	56*	25*
IIT, Bombay	9,870 (<1%)	669 (2%)	NA*	NA*	NA*

Source: QS & AWRU

Note: 1. Numbers in the parentheses represent respective international participation.
2. Numbers with an asterisk (*) sourced from respective institute's websites.
3. NA represents not explicitly available.

Analysis of global university rankings by fields of study highlights that in THE, only IISc ranked 99th in engineering and technology. In AWRU ranking none of the universities rank in top 100 rankings for various fields. In QS rankings 5 IITs score in the top 100 universities for engineering and technology.

The quality of higher education greatly influences the growth of knowledge economies. The Knowledge Economy Index (KEI) prepared by the World Bank (2012) represents for 146 countries their economies readiness to compete in the knowledge economy. KEI is an average of four sub-indexes, Economic and institutional regime index and the three sub-indexes collectively termed as the Knowledge Index comprising of the Education Index, the Innovation Index, and the ICT index. Each of the four sub-indexes are based on four indicators further derived from 148 structural and comprehensive variables. The scores are normalized on a scale of 0 to 10. Out of the 12 indicators,

three are largely associated with tertiary education, namely Tertiary GER, Patents granted by USTPO per million people and S and E journal articles per million people. Besides these, many variables accommodated in the 12 indicators are largely linked with tertiary education: the Human Development Index; science and engineering enrollment ratios; researchers in R and D; total expenditure in R and D as a percentage of GDP; university-company collaboration; high technology exports; capital goods imports; S and E articles; its citations and international co-authorships; employment in industry and services; professional and technical workers as a part of the labor force; brain-drain; professional management reliability; localized availability of specialized research and training services; labor force; and unemployment with tertiary education and many more. India ranked 110th with a score of 3.06 in the KEI 2012. The score for Brazil was 5.58, Russia 5.78, China 4.37, and South Africa 5.21. India ranked the lowest amongst the BRICS nations. India's performance on 'innovation and technological adaptation' was appreciable with a score of 4.5, in 'economic incentive and institutional regime' it was 3.57 and in 'information and communications technology infrastructure' it was the least at 1.9. The score for 'education & training' was 2.26. Sweden received the highest score (9.43) in KEI 2012. India's score was about one-third of Sweden's.

Knowledge generation has a direct impact on the innovation capabilities of a country that further lead toward the growth of knowledge economies. The Global Innovation Index (GII) 2015 provides detailed metrics for 141 countries, while analyzing 79 indicators for each contained in seven innovation sub-indexes, also reflects the nature of tertiary education in these economies. India ranked 81 in GII with a low score of 31.74 out of 100. However, GII tagged India as an outperformer to its peers on various parameters. It identified the top Indian universities like IISCs; IITs and IIMs; and citation of publications as the areas of strength to facilitate innovation. It was suggested that admissions for students in such institutes like the IITs (1 out of 50) and IIMs (one out of 150) was more fierce than even the top American institute with one out of ten admitted students of those who applied. The Indian contributions in the top one percent ranking journals have quadrupled and the citation impact has increased, but in relative terms, they still present a gloomy picture. However, the issues related to higher education access and very low inbound mobility of foreign students in Indian institutions needs to be addressed to enhance the position of India in GII rankings. Along with improving university-industry partnerships, enhancing the quality of professors is further expected to contribute to an improvement in GII. India has shown better performance in the context of certain indicators like the average score of the top three QS university ranking institutions; high-technology exports; creative exports; citable documents H index; and 'innovation efficiency ratio' (innovation output derived from innovation input). The efforts focused on enhancing skills through recent national policies are appreciable. In terms of the quality of innovation, India's position is less than half (less than 100 score for quality of innovation) compared to the high-income groups (above 200) in terms of scores, whereas China (crossed 150) is soaring upwards narrowing the gap to get closer to the high-income groups' scores. It is important to note that the success drivers identified for top ranking

economies like the United States and the United Kingdom are largely associated with higher education institutions like world class universities, high citation and impact scholarly research publications and filing of patents (Cornell University, INSEAD & WIPO, 2015).

The Global Competitiveness Report 2015-16 by the World Economic Forum (WEF, 2015) reveals the competitiveness of 140 countries, accounting for 98.3% of the world GDP. 'Higher education and training', and 'innovation' are two of the 12 pillars used to measure competitiveness that is linked with higher education. India ranked 55th (score 4.31) on a scale of 1 to 7, an improvement from 71st rank in 2014-15. India ranked 90th in 'higher education and training' with a score of 3.87 and 42nd in 'innovation' with a score of 3.65. Within the pillar of higher education and training, the 'gross percentage of tertiary education enrollment' was ranked 86th and 'quality of management schools' was ranked 55th (score 4.4). Amongst various aspects of the pillars of innovation, India ranked 50th for 'university-industry collaboration in R&D' (score 3.9), 49th for availability of scientists and engineers (score 4.2) and 45th for quality of scientific research institutions (score 4.1). Despite improvement, more efforts are required to be globally competitive. Effective and relevant higher education policy can contribute significantly to enhancing India's position globally in research, innovation, and competitiveness.

Conclusion

The Indian economy is witnessing a decisive demographic phase that presents historic opportunities along with imperative challenges. As a labor abundant economy India can reap enormous economic benefits by leveraging upon its population. The creation of a skilled workforce can give a great impetus to India's development in the race of knowledge economies, in which higher education will have to contribute significantly.

The Indian higher education system is the largest in the world in terms of institutions and second largest in terms of enrollments. Despite enormous growth, it faces many challenges related to equity, efficiency, and quality. The GER in higher education is 23.6, which means that a large segment of the eligible age cohort is still out of higher education ambit.

Inequity with respect to gender, economic condition, spatial (rural-urban), inter-state, ethnicity and religion is also persisting. This connotes that the higher education growth is still not being served by higher education, although the system has transformed from an elitist to a system for the masses. Policy efforts to enhance access to higher education for impoverished groups of the society has helped in narrowing the gap between impoverished and advantaged groups.

In the context of quality; issues like availability of qualified and experienced faculty; lack of infrastructure to facilitate the delivery of quality higher education; lack of improvement in curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation; the disconnect between higher education institutes and industry; non-cited research; insufficient patent filings, etc. are collectively responsible for poor performance.

Enhancing access to financial resources—public, private and philanthropic—is vital to enhance quality. Appropriate and effective policy measures can address the issues of equity, efficiency and quality of the Indian higher education system in a pragmatic manner. Indian higher education will have to transform itself at a rapid pace to be globally competitive and innovative.

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Intergovernmental Regional Cooperation in European Higher Education

Manja Klemenčič*

Abstract: Intergovernmental regional cooperation is one of the defining characteristics of political Europe. This article investigates it in the area of higher education and research. Specifically it explores what types of intergovernmental regional alliances exist and to what extent their member countries coordinate their higher education and research policies. The article focuses on six most prominent and most formalized intergovernmental regional alliances: the Benelux, Norden–The Nordic Cooperation, the Visegrád Group, the Franco-German Cooperation, the Western Balkans, and the Baltic Cooperation. There has been much research devoted to study of policy diffusion from the European to the national level, but the intergovernmental regional level has largely been ignored. This article argues that there clearly exists a multi-level governance system in the area of higher education and research, in which regional intergovernmental alliances also perform policy coordination. Therefore, the politics of European higher education policy-making cannot be fully understood by ignoring intergovernmental regional cooperation.

Keywords: regional cooperation in higher education and research; higher education policy coordination; Europe; Benelux; Franco-German Cooperation; Nordic Cooperation; Baltic Cooperation; Visegrád Group; Western Balkans; European Union; the European Higher Education Area

Introduction

Before the European Union's (EU) strengthened emphasis upon policy initiatives in the area of higher education, which began around 2001 with the Lisbon Strategy (European Council, 2000) and before the Bologna Process towards establishment of the European Higher Education Area (EHEA), which commenced in 1999, government officials in European states when faced with legislative reforms or new policy would perform a "health-check" of the higher education system, and compare key indicators and policy ideas to several other comparable systems. It is to the systems in the same

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region that countries inevitably compare themselves; they benchmark themselves against the frontrunners and seek to replicate their successful policies and practices. The higher education systems in the same region tend to be similar in some ways; perhaps they originate from the same university tradition; have had similar political regimes and economic models into which higher education sector is embedded; and/or have developed similar policies and practices due to the extent of interactions and transactions which often come with geographic proximity. The intensity of political and economic transactions between countries, similarity in socio-economic circumstances and cultural affinities has motivated many countries in geographic proximity to form intergovernmental regional alliances. This is how regional alliances, such as the Benelux, the Norden–the Nordic Cooperation, the Baltic Cooperation, the Visegrád Group, and the Franco-German Cooperation came to existence. In the latter example, it was also the profound interest of both governments never to engage in war again as reflected in the Élysée Treaty of 1963. In other cases, such as in the case of the Western Balkan states, the incentive, even pressure, for formal intergovernmental regional cooperation came from outside: from the European Union and various donor agencies.

Intergovernmental regional cooperation is one of the defining characteristics of political Europe and has been reinforced by the emergence of the supranational political entities, such as the European Union and specific to the area of higher education, the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). It hence comes as a surprise that not more attention has been devoted to investigate intergovernmental regional cooperation. While ample studies exist on the policy convergence between European and national higher education systems (Curaj, Scott, Vlasceanu, & Wilson, 2012; Elken, Gornitzka, Maassen, & Vukasović, 2011; Klemenčič, 2013; Zgaga et al., 2013; Vukasović, 2014; Vukasović, Jungblut & Elken, 2015), regional policy coordination is largely absent from these studies or mentioned only in passing.

This article investigates the intergovernmental regional cooperation in the area of higher education in Europe. Specifically, it explores what types of intergovernmental regional alliances exist and to what extent their member countries coordinate their higher education policies.[1] It focuses on the six most prominent and most formalized intergovernmental regional alliances in Europe: the Benelux (Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands); Norden–The Nordic Cooperation (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden); the Visegrád Group (Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia); the Franco-German Cooperation (France and Germany); the Western Balkans, also called the South-East Europe (Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, FYR Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, and Serbia); and the Baltic Cooperation (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania).

Empirical data was obtained from publically-accessible official documents and other documentary material and triangulated with interviews with officials from the national ministries responsible for higher education and/or quality assurance agencies. The historical accounts on the

[1] Higher education policy typically includes research and also makes references to innovation.

development of the intergovernmental regional alliances has drawn for all cases, but the case of the Western Balkans, from the unpublished PhD thesis on the role of regional intergovernmental alliances in European Union negotiations (Klemenčič, 2006). For the Western Balkans, the author draws historical data from personal involvement in the Stability Pact of South East Europe, which was from 1999 until 2008 a political framework to coordinate donor relations to the countries in this region and offered a platform for regional cooperation. In 2008, this framework was replaced by the Regional Cooperation Council, which is discussed below.

Regional cooperation in multi-level governance in Europe

Higher education policy in Europe is far from being an exclusively national affair. Both the European Union and the Bologna Process have significantly influenced national higher education reforms (Curaj, Scott, Vlasceanu, & Wilson, 2012; Elken, Gornitzka, Maassen, & Vukasović, 2011; Vukasović, 2014; Vukasović, Jungblut & Elken, 2015). The European Union and the Bologna Process, and the EHEA – that resulted from it, have emerged as major supranational arenas for policy deliberation and sharing know-how and information on higher education. This is the case despite the fact that each member country, 29 in case of the European Union and 48 in the case of the EHEA, has retained full competencies, indeed full sovereignty, to legislate and regulate in their higher education systems. These two policy arenas have altered the pathways of diffusion of policy ideas and practices in national higher education systems, but they have not made regional comparisons nor regional cooperation superfluous. On the contrary, the fact that these two supranational entities are so influential makes national policymakers eager to influence the policy agenda of the European Union and the Bologna Process and not only to "download" the European policies. Regional partners often lend themselves convenient, like-minded coalitional partners in European-level policy deliberations; their systems are similar and often, but not always, they have shared interests and concerns. Intergovernmental regional alliances contribute to the efficiency of complex European policy negotiations, which are characterized by multiplicity of actors and heterogeneity of interests.

Two reasons speak to this effect. First, intergovernmental policy negotiations within supranational entities are extremely complex and difficult processes.[2] Coalition-building is the necessary mechanism to break down the complexity in terms of number of players and their preferences and add efficiency to the negotiations. Regional blocks prove convenient coalitional allies. Regional partners do not always vote the same in the negotiations' end game, but they play a crucial role in the background work preceding the end negotiations. The bulk of policy-making is on technical issues and these are agreed upon by the government officials, not the politicians. Government officials have ample contacts to their regional partners in all policy areas; they exchange

[2] For an elaborate account of the nature of intergovernmental negotiations within the EU, see Klemenčič (2006).

information and policy intelligence; jointly develop policy positions and help issue coalitions to emerge (Klemenčič, 2006).

EU negotiations are an extremely complex process with 29 member states, involvement of different EU institutions and interventions from European stakeholders. The pronounced differences in national higher education traditions often result in highly heterogeneous national preferences. The scope and depth of policy-making on higher education has accelerated since 2001, with the adoption of Education and Training Program (ET 2020) in association with the Lisbon Agenda (European Council, 2000), which paved the political way for deeper higher education policy-making within the EU (Klemenčič, 2012, 33). Since then, the EU institutions have regularly released a set of influential policy documents under a common label known as the 'modernisation agenda for European higher education' (Klemenčič, 2012). Since the EU institutions do not have legislative competences in the area of higher education, policy-making is subject to the so called open-method-of-coordination (OMC). OMC implies voluntary cooperation of member states and uses soft law mechanisms such as guidelines and indicators, benchmarking, and sharing of best practice to stimulate compliance and ensure policy convergence (Veiga & Amaral, 2006, 2009).

The policy developments within the EU have become intertwined with the Bologna Process, which resulted in the establishment of the EHEA. The Bologna Process is voluntary intergovernmental policy coordination, but comprises 48 member states well beyond the European Union, plus the European Commission and the consultative members which are European stakeholder organisations (Veiga & Amaral, 2006). These actors need to agree on common objectives, which are then transposed onto the national level by way of policy convergence through mechanisms of mutual policy learning processes; social benchmarking; and communities of practice (Klemenčič, 2015). Again, regional blocks can reduce complexity of players and heterogeneity of preferences in such negotiations.

Second, the European Union actively promotes intra-European cooperation, of which regional cooperation is an important part. Indeed, regional cooperation projects often tend to be favored in funding considerations because they directly address some of the EU's primary objectives, such as the historical challenge of preventing animosity – and violent conflicts – among neighbouring nations. More specifically, the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) now combines the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF), the Cohesion Fund (CF), and several others, which have strengthening of regional partnerships and cross-border collaboration as one of their primary objectives. They can be combined with Horizon 2020 — the EU's research fund and with Erasmus+ which funds various higher education activities (European Union, 2014). Most of these Programs are conceived in a way that projects are necessarily transnational and require collaboration of partners from several Program countries. Regional alliances lend themselves as helpful platform for initiation of project proposals in both programs, Horizon 2020 and Erasmus+ (Ewert, 2012). For example, Germany and France pride themselves that 90% of projects in the New

Materials and Nanotechnology areas in Horizon 2020 include Franco-German collaboration, and that France and Germany are jointly involved in a large number of major European initiatives and networks, such as Joint Programming Initiatives, Era networks, European Technology Platforms (ETPs), European Infrastructure Consortia (ERICs) and Knowledge and Innovation Communities (KICs) (BMBF & MESR, 2013).

Conceptualizing intergovernmental regional cooperation

Intergovernmental regional alliances present political "sub-systems" within the larger political systems of the EU and the EHEA (Gänzle, 2011). These relationships involve geographically proximate members with shared historical experience and cultural affinities, as well as shared regional concerns. The formalization of cooperation ensures that intergovernmental interactions are reiterated regardless of the changes in domestic political and external circumstances. In fact, they display certain regularity over time and become a routine for governments involved. However, there are also substantial differences between these formal relationships in terms of depth and scope of policy coordination, and hence policy outcomes.

The primary motivations for intergovernmental regional cooperation, as for any strategic partnership, are political and economic. Countries cooperate when cooperation yields advantages which exceed the costs (Klemenčič, 2006). Intergovernmental policy coordination on political and economic issues is followed by policy coordination in other areas, such as higher education and research, which are seen as complementary to reaching the primary objectives. Often the sheer volume and complexity of transactions between the countries prompt them to formalize the cooperation. If countries negotiate as a block with other larger entities, such as, for example the EU or Russia, they have stronger bargaining power. Or countries develop intergovernmental cooperation to maintain peace, such as in the case of Franco-German Cooperation and the Western Balkan states.

The drive to form intergovernmental regional cooperation can be *endogenous* or *exogenous*. In the case of endogenous cooperation, countries come to a collective decision to cooperate. They typically sign some form of agreement which specifies the objectives and terms of cooperation. They may also decide to form joint institutions to which they confer competencies to initiate, implement, and enforce common policies. Exogenous regional cooperation is initiated by an outside body. The only example of exogenously initiated policy coordination among alliances discussed here is Western Balkan cooperation. It was the EU together with foreign donor agencies which initiated and financially supported the formalization of regional cooperation.

What is common to all the above-mentioned relationships is the existence of some official document that defines the purpose, the terms, and scope of cooperation. In other words, partner states *formalize* their intent to cooperate. Although the relationships described are all based on formal documents, the character of these documents differs significantly. Benelux, Nordic and

Franco-German Cooperation are based on international treaties, which under international law impose legal obligations upon the signatory countries. Governments legally bind themselves to commonly agreed rights and obligations. International agreement, as in the case of the Baltic Cooperation, also has the status of a treaty as defined by the Vienna Convention. The Visegrád Declaration has, however, a purely 'declarative character' without being legally binding. The same is the case with the declaration establishing the Regional Cooperation Council in the Western Balkan cooperation.

Governments typically decide to formalize their relationships if they have a number of policy areas and issues on which they wish to cooperate (Klemenčič, 2006). Formal structures of cooperation are costly in terms of investment of administrative resources and risky in terms of lost opportunities to cooperate with other countries; such investment would not pay out had there been only a single area of cooperation. Hence, one of the prevailing characteristics of formalized cooperation is the breadth of policy areas covered. The structures of relationships ensure certain regularity in contacts between government officials regardless of changes in domestic politics. These, in turn, foster mutual understanding and create opportunities for sharing information and exploring further opportunities for cooperation. In other words, these cooperative arrangements develop their own polity with rules, procedures, and norms of appropriateness pertaining to the relationship, as well as a common framework of ideas and shared meanings among the partners (Krotz, 2002). With longevity of relationship, certain routines may be established which may make cooperation between the governments in the future more 'automatic' and more 'convenient' (ibid.).

Furthermore, the partner governments *institutionalize* their cooperation in the sense that they develop an institutional framework for regular and structured interactions and that these relationships permeate different levels of government structures (Klemenčič, 2006). Policy coordination may be institutionalized informally only as a set of norms and rules guiding collective decision-processes or partners may decide to form joint supranational institutions. In cases where they exist, joint institutions can perform executive, advisory, and/or judicial functions. In terms of the depth of cooperation, the Benelux Union is the most formalized and institutionalized among all regional intergovernmental alliances; its institutions have legislative, executive, and judicial powers (Klemenčič, 2006). In other alliances, the meetings of Prime Ministers result in the main political directions for the intergovernmental cooperation, supported by various sectorial ministerial councils (Table 1). All alliances rely on national coordinators, but Nordic and Baltic Cooperation also have Ministers responsible for regional cooperation and joint Ministerial Councils responsible for cooperation. The Benelux, Norden, Baltic Cooperation and the Western Balkan states (as of 2014) have also formal inter-parliamentary cooperation by a way of regional inter-parliamentary structures (Table 1).

In sum, all regional intergovernmental alliances here have formalized coordination processes, i.e. they have committed in formal documents to align their policies with another state or states in chosen areas, and they institutionalized policy coordination by establishing rules of how to come to collective

Table 1. Depth of cooperation in European intergovernmental regional alliances (updated from Klemenčič 2006)

Regional alliance	The Benelux	Norden –The Nordic Cooperation	The Franco-German Cooperation	The Baltic Cooperation	The Visegrád Group	The Western Balkan (South-East Europe)
Year established	1944/1958	1952/1962/1971	1963	1990/1994	1991	1999/2008
Member Countries	Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands	Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden	France and Germany	Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania	Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, FYR Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia
Legal Bases of the Cooperation	Treaty Establishing the Benelux Economic Union (1958) subsequently extended through various protocols on new areas of cooperation	Treaty of Cooperation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (the Helsinki Treaty) (1962, subsequently amended); in 1972 the Council of Ministers was established	Élysée Treaty (1963), Declarations (2003, 2013)	The Agreement on Inter-parliamentary and Intergovernmental Cooperation between the Baltic States (1994, 2003 Protocol) and Terms of Reference for the Baltic Council of Ministers (1994, amended in 2003) [All need to be ratified by the national parliaments.]	The Declaration of cooperation (1991); Contents of Visegrád Cooperation (2001); Declaration on Visegrád Cooperation (2004) [All signed by the Prime Ministers, not binding to ratification by the parliaments.]	The Stability Pact (1999) and Sarajevo Summit Declaration (1999); Joint Declaration on the Establishment of the Regional Co-operation Council (RCC) (2008); Statute of the RCC (2013); Memorandum of understanding on inter-parliamentary cooperation in SEE (2008)
Highest Legislative/Governing Body/Bodies	Committee of Ministers [All government ministers responsible for different policies]	Nordic Council of Ministers (Prime Ministers level) and Ministers for Nordic Cooperation and the Nordic Committee for Cooperation [Nordic Council of Ministers consists of almost 20 individual councils.]	Joint Ministerial Councils: Franco-German Defence and Security Council; Franco-German Economic and Financial Council and Franco-German Environmental Council	Baltic Council of Ministers and Baltic Assembly, i.e. the Baltic Council which meets annually; Co-operation Council of the Baltic Council of Ministers	Meeting of Prime Ministers; Meetings of Sectorial Ministers [Not a governing body]	RCC Board: RCC National Coordinators (senior civil officials in each RCC participant country plus representatives of the EU and other funding bodies)
Other Institutions and Bodies	Council of Economic Union; Benelux Court of Justice; Committees and working groups (responsible for implementation)	Committee of Senior Officials responsible for implementation [More than 30 joint Nordic institutions]	Joint Franco-German committees reporting to the national ministers; Franco-German Youth Office; Franco-German High Cultural Council	Presidium of Baltic Assembly; expert committees of both institutions	International Visegrád Fund	South-East European Cooperation Process (SEECP); SEECP Chairmanship in Office; RCC National Coordinators
Inter-Parliamentary Cooperation	Inter-parliamentary Consultative Council ('Benelux Parliament'): consultative with own secretariat and two advisory bodies (the Economic and Social Committee and the College of Arbitrators)	Nordic Council (established in 1952): the Plenary Assembly, the Presidium and Standing Committees	Franco-German Friendship Group at the Bundesrat and the Senate of the French Republic (no legislative function); regular inter-parliamentary meetings	Baltic Assembly (a Presidium)	Inter-parliamentary meetings	Declaration on the inauguration of the SEECP Parliamentary Assembly (2014)
Independent Secretariat	General Secretariat: approx. 60 permanent civil servants in Brussels (Secretary General)	General Secretariat: approx. 100 staff in Copenhagen (Secretary General)	No: each governments appoints a Commissioner for Franco-German Cooperation and (since 2013) joint Franco-German Committees reporting to national ministries	No: rotating Secretariat held by the Presidency	No: Visegrád coordinators in each administration responsible for cooperation (meet twice annually)	Secretariat: 38 staff (36 in Sarajevo) and 2 in Brussels (Secretary general)
Financial Independence	Yes – annual budget prepared by the Secretary General and confirmed by the Committee of Ministers	Yes – approx. 130 mio EUR in 2015	No - Both countries co-finance joint institutions and initiatives	No	No – only for the Visegrád Fund (approx. 8 mio EUR annually)	Yes – through EU and donor funding
Presidency	Yes: 6-month rotating Chair of the Committee	Yes: rotating annually	No	Yes: rotating annually	Yes: rotating annually	No

decisions on joint polices; have created norms and expectations for cooperation; and organized structures and processes providing for regular interactions of national policy makers. The question raised by this article is about the nature of policy coordination within regional alliances in the area of higher education. One aspect of this question concerns the existence of specific governing or advisory bodies responsible for the area of higher education, and the ability of these bodies to carry out the executive function in this policy area. The other aspect concerns whether the regional groupings have a joint budget to fund cooperative activities in order to ensure implementation of policies. These questions are addressed in the reminder of the article.

Higher education policy convergence among intergovernmental regional alliances

This section explores formalization and institutionalization of policy coordination in the area of higher education among the six regional alliances.

Formalization of policy coordination in the areas of higher education and research

Intergovernmental regional alliances in Europe differ greatly in the way their policy coordination in the areas of higher education is being formalized (Table 2). Not all treaties or agreements establishing intergovernmental regional cooperation have affirmed explicitly the intent of these governments to cooperate in the field of higher education. The most explicit commitment to policy coordination in this area is in the founding treaties of the Franco-German and Nordic Cooperation. The Élysée Treaty (1963) establishing formal cooperation between France and Germany states unambiguously that:

> Regular meetings will take place between the responsible authorities of the two countries in the fields of defense, **education** and youth…
> … The competent authorities in both countries will be asked to speed up the adoption of arrangements ensuring that terms of study, examinations, university awards, and diplomas correspond.
> … Research organizations and scientific institutions will develop their contacts beginning with the fullest possible exchange of information. **Coordinated research programs** will be set up in disciplines where this is feasible.
> … Young people in the two countries will be given every opportunity to strengthen the bonds which link them and to increase mutual cooperation. In particular, collective exchanges will be increased…This organization will have at its disposal a joint Franco-German fund to be used for exchanges between the two countries, of school children, students, young artisans and workers.

Similarly, the Treaty of Cooperation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, the Helsinki Treaty (1962), contains provisions on cooperation in education and research:

> Article 9: Each High Contracting Party should maintain and extend the range of opportunities for students from other Nordic countries to pursue courses of study and sit examinations at its educational establishments. A student should be permitted to count part of an examination

> passed in one Nordic country towards a final examination taken in another Nordic country, whenever it is realistic. It should be possible for students to receive financial assistance from their home countries, irrespective of the country in which their studies are being pursued.
> …
> Article 12: **Co-operation in the field of research** should be so organised that research grants and other resources are coordinated and used in the best possible way, including the establishment of joint institutions.

In both cases, the provisions were further elaborated and extended in subsequent formal agreements. The declaration establishing the Regional Cooperation Council also refers explicitly to cooperation in "building human capital" as one of the priority areas and in subsequent documents this provision is further elaborated.

In other alliances, the initial formal documents do not refer to cooperation in this area, but are added or made explicit in later official documents, as, for example, in the case of the Visegrád Declaration (2004). In the case of Baltic cooperation, formalization of cooperation in the area of higher education only began in 2000 with agreement on recognition of educational qualifications. However, this agreement was followed by several official documents which affirm the commitment of the Baltic States governments to develop a common Baltic higher education area: a Resolution on the Development of a Common Baltic Higher Education Area (2001) and a Resolution on a Uniform Higher Education Policy in the Baltic States (2007). The latter states explicitly the objective

> …to strengthen interstate cooperation in developing a common higher education area in the Baltic States by harmonizing normative acts and by creating common or competing institutions with equal legal power for assessing the quality of higher education;
> …to coordinate and target the use of EU funds in order to avoid duplication in the Baltic States;
> …to take into consideration the need for balanced growth of our states by ensuring development of study programmes in the regions; and
> …to coordinate, insofar as possible, the number and location of specific study programmes requiring substantial funding and to create a uniform system for conferring academic degrees…

The most recent official document in this area passed by the three Baltic States is a memorandum of understanding on closer cooperation in higher education, research and innovation (2012), which makes clear that the motivation for the document comes among other things also from "the conditionality recommendations of the EU for structural funds". The respective governments evidently recognize that enhanced regional cooperation would be beneficial also in terms of access to EU funding. A similar memorandum was also agreed to by the Visegrád Group in 2015 specifically committing to regional policy coordination in the areas of innovation and startups (Table 2).

Finally, the Benelux's first formal document, which was adopted in 2015, in the area of education and research concerns mutual recognition of qualifications. Despite heavily formalized and institutionalized policy convergence, the Benelux countries have not formalized policy coordination in the areas of higher education and research beyond this single official document.

Institutionalization of policy coordination in the areas of higher education and research

Formalization of policy coordination as described above is reflected in the types of joint governing structures that the different alliances have established to organize their cooperation, i.e. in the institutionalization of policy convergence (Table 2). The most institutionalized policy coordination is the Nordic Cooperation. Nordic states cooperate through a Nordic Council of Ministers of Education and Research, which consists of Ministers responsible for education and research in the member countries. The Nordic Council of Ministers also has its own secretariat consisting of senior advisers in the respective ministries and a committee of senior officials for education and research, which consists of national coordinators and senior government officials. There is also a Culture and Education Committee under the Nordic Council, the inter-parliamentary structure. Highly institutionalized policy coordination in higher education and research is also present in Franco-German Cooperation which has the Franco-German (Ministerial) Council on Cultural Exchange. Most high-level decisions in the area of higher education and research are typically taken at the Franco-German Ministerial Council, which is the biannual regular meeting of the ministerial cabinets of both governments. The joint declarations from these Ministerial Councils frequently refer to policy coordination in the area of higher education. The Benelux, the Western Balkans and the Baltics have specific inter-parliamentary committees covering this policy area, but not specifically designated intergovernmental bodies. The Visegrád Group has neither. However, in all these alliances more or less regular intergovernmental meetings take place on political level — Prime Ministers and Ministers — or senior official level, which then result in the resolutions, declarations, memoranda of understanding, and other official documents discussed earlier.

In addition, various advisory bodies have been formed to assist with implementation of policy objectives, such as the V4 innovation Task Force established by Visegrád Group or in the case of Baltic cooperation, the Joint Ministerial Working Group for closer collaboration in higher education, research and innovation and the Joint Baltic research infrastructure expert group. The Regional Cooperation Council has one advisory body, which is the Task Force Fostering and Building Human Capital of the Regional Cooperation Council.

Intergovernmental cooperation tends to also initiate cooperation in other sectors. In the higher education sector, various non-governmental regional groupings exist, all of which reflect or are directly initiated by intergovernmental alliances. There are regional associations of universities, for example, the Visegrád University Association (VUA); [3] the Franco-German University (FGU);[4] the Association of Nordic University Rectors Conferences (NUS); and the Nordic Association of University Administrators (NUAS)[5]. There exist also regional cooperation agreements between

[3] http://vua.uniag.sk/
[4] http://www.dfh-ufa.org/hilfe/english/
[5] http://www.nordforsk.org/en/policy/norden/forskningssamarbeid-pa-universitets-og-institusjonsniva

national unions of students active within the European Students' Union, such as the Nordic Organisational Meeting (NOM),[6] Baltic Organisational Meeting (BOM),[7] V4+ Student Alliance for student representatives from Central and Eastern Europe, and student representatives in South-East Initiative (SEI).

Joint funding bodies and cooperative bodies and programs

Only the Benelux, Norden, and the Regional Cooperation Council have budget to support joint cooperation structures and activities. Among these regional alliances, the Nordic cooperation stands out from the rest in terms of the number of joint programs. The NordForsk is the alliances' joint funding body (Table 2). Its budget is funded directly from the Nordic Council of Ministers and amounts to approximately 16 million EUR annually, which are matched by additional two-thirds from national research funds through a "common pot" system, i.e. funding contributed by each country is combined in a shared pool. This is the most developed intergovernmental regional research funding body in Europe. Another similar body is the International Visegrád Fund, which, however, has a smaller budget and not the same formal relationship to national research agencies. Norden also has a joint funding program for intra-Nordic (plus Baltic) lifelong learning activities (Nordplus), which is in some objectives, for example mobility, similar to the Franco-German Office for Youth.

The Nordic Cooperation comprises a large number of cooperative bodies and programs financed through the Norden budget. Their regional network of quality assurance agencies (NOQA); regional center for recognition of qualifications (NORRIC); and cooperation to establish joint study programs in the Nordic region, The Nordic Master Program, are only some of such bodies, which clearly contribute to implementation of joint policies. Under the Nordic Cooperation several joint research institutes also exist (Table 2). No other alliance comes close to Norden's policy output in terms of joint programing. Joint research funding in Franco-German collaboration happens only on the initiative of both research agencies which make a specific call or otherwise encourage collaboration. There are, however, two other notable joint institutions in Franco-German cooperation. One is the Franco-German University, which does not provide training itself but supports and approves Franco-German and multinational courses of excellence, and Franco-German graduate schools (BMBF & MERS, 2013). The other is Centre Marc Bloch, which is a collaborative social science research center (ibid.).

Within the Regional Cooperation Council, the Education Reform Initiative of South Eastern Europe (ERI SEE) is the regional platform for cooperation in the field of education and training, whose purpose is among other things to link regional reforms and capacity development to European frameworks for education development. Another similar platform for research cooperation (WISE)

[6] http://lss.lt/en/nordic-organisational-meeting/
[7] http://lss.lt/en/baltic-organisational-meeting/

Table 2. Intergovernmental regional policy coordination in the area of higher education (Compiled by the author)

Regional alliance	The Benelux	Norden –The Nordic Cooperation	The Franco-German Cooperation	The Baltic Cooperation	The Visegrád Group	The Western Balkan (South-East Europe)
Established	1944/1958	1952/1962/1971	1963	1990/1994	1991	1999/2008
Member Countries	Belgium, Luxembourg and the Netherlands	Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden	France and Germany	Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania	Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, FYR Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia
Agreements and Declarations	Decision of Benelux Committee of Ministers on automatic mutual recognition of higher education diplomas (2015)	Treaty of Cooperation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (the Helsinki Treaty) (1962, subsequently amended); Agreement on Cultural Co-operation (1971); Nordic Co-operation Programme for Higher Education (1991); Nordic Declaration on Recognition of Diplomas, Degrees and Other Qualifications in Higher Education (The "Reykjavik Declaration") (2004); Agreement concluded by Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden on Admission to Higher Education (1996, amended 2012)	Élysée Treaty (1963); Joint Declaration at 40th Anniversary of Élysée Treaty (2003), 50th Anniversary of Élysée Treaty (2013); Joint declaration of the Franco-German Ministerial Council (2003; 2014); Franco-German Agenda 2020 (2010); Schedule of measures of the Franco-German Ministerial Council (2012)	Agreement on Academic Recognition of Educational Qualifications in the Baltic Educational Space (2000); Resolution on the Development of a Common Baltic Education Area (2001); Resolution on a Uniform Higher Education Policy in the Baltic States (2007); Memorandum of Understanding on Closer Co-operation in Higher Education, Research and Innovation (2012)	Contents of Visegrád Cooperation (1999); Visegrád Declaration (2004); Memorandum of Understanding for Regional Cooperation in the Areas of Innovation and Startups (2015); Agreement on the Visegrád Patent Institute (VPI) (2015)	Memorandum of understanding between Ministers responsible for education, research and science in South-Eastern Europe (2003; 2007); Joint Declaration on the Establishment of the Regional Co-operation Council (RCC) (2008); Memorandum of understanding on the role and organisation of education reform initiative of South Eastern Europe (ERI SEE (2010); Statute of the RCC ("building human capital") (2013); Strategy and Work Programme of RCC (SWP) 2014 – 2016); SEE 2020 Strategy (2013)[1]
Specific Governing/ Advisory Bodies on higher education	The Benelux Inter-parliamentary Consultative Council (Benelux Parliament): Culture, Education and Public Health Committee	Nordic Council of Ministers for Education and Research (MR-U); Nordic Secretariat of to the Nordic Council of Ministers; The Nordic Council/ Culture and Education Committee; Nordic Committee of Senior Officials for Education & Research (EK-U)	Joint council on cultural exchange (1988) (HCCFA / DFKR)[2]; Forum for Franco-German research cooperation (2002-)	Baltic Assembly: Education, Science and Culture Committee; The Baltic Higher Education Co-ordination Committee (BHECC) (rectors, QA, ENIC NARIC, etc.) (1994); Joint Ministerial Working Group (for implementation of Memorandum) (2013); Joint Baltic Research Infrastructure Expert Group (2013)	None specific: V4 Innovation Task Force	South-East European Cooperation Process (SEECP): SEECP Parliamentary Assembly/Committee on Social Development, Education, Research and Science[3]; RCC/The Task Force Fostering and Building Human Capital (2008)
Non-Governmental Bodies		Association of Nordic Universities Rectors' Conferences; The Nordic Association of University Administrators; Nordic Organisational Meeting of Student Unions (NOM)[4]		Baltic Organisational Meeting for student unions (BOM)[6]	Visegrád University Association[5]; V4+ Student Alliance for student representatives from Central and Eastern Europe	South-East Initiative of student unions (SEI)
Joint Funding Bodies/ Programs		Nordic research board (NordForsk)[7] (research funding and cooperation) (under Council of Ministers);	The OFAJ (Franco-German Office for Youth)[12]; bilateral	Nordplus (Baltic states are eligible)	International Visegrád Fund (2000)[11]	

		Nordplus (Nordic CoM programme in lifelong learning for the Nordic and Baltic countries)[8]; Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (NOS-HS)[9]; Nordic Network for Adult Learning (NVL); Joint Committee of the Nordic Medical Research Councils (NOS-M)[10]; Joint Committee for Nordic research councils for the Humanities and Social Sciences (NOS-H); Nordic Co-operation Board of Natural Sciences (NOS-N)	collaboration between research agencies			
Cooperative Bodies and Programs		The Nordic Master Programme[13]; Nordic Institute of Asian Studies (NIAS); Nordic Institute of Maritime Law (NIfS); Nordic Volcanological Center (NORDVULK); Nordic Institute for Theoretical Physics (NORDITA); Nordic Sami Institute (NSI); The Nordic Africa Institute; Nordic National Recognition Information Centres (NORRIC)[14]; Nordic Quality Assurance Network in Higher Education (NOQA)[15]	Franco-German University[16]; Centre Marc Bloch (social science research centre)			RCC/Education Reform Initiative (ERI SEE)[17]; Western Balkans Research and Innovation Strategy Exercise (WISE) Facility (under construction)[18]; Southeast Center for Entrepreneurship Learning (SEECEL)[19]
Policy Coordination in the Area of Higher Education/ Research	No explicit policy coordination except recognition of degrees	High	Medium-High	Medium-High	Low	Low

Note: [1] http://www.rcc.int/pages/72/about-see-2020
[2] http://www.dfkr.org/
[3] http://rspcsee.org/en/pages/read/seecp-parliamentary-assembly/social-development-education-research-and-science-committee
[4] http://lss.lt/en/nordic-organisational-meeting/
[5] http://vua.uniag.sk/
[6] http://lss.lt/en/baltic-organisational-meeting/
[7] http://www.nordforsk.org/en/about-nordforsk
[8] http://www.nordplusonline.org/
[9] http://www.nos-hs.org/
[10] http://www.norden.org/en/nordic-council-of-ministers/council-of-ministers/nordic-council-of-ministers-for-education-and-research-mr-u/institutions-co-operative-bodies-working-groups-and-projects/co-operative-bodies/
[11] http://visegradfund.org/home/
[12] https://www.ofaj.org/
[13] http://www.norden.org/en/nordic-council-of-ministers/council-of-ministers/nordic-council-of-ministers-for-education-and-research-mr-u/apply-for-funding/nordic-master-programme
[14] http://norric.org/
[15] http://www.nokut.no/noqa
[16] http://www.dfh-ufa.org/
[17] http://www.erisee.org/
[18] http://www.wbc-inno.kg.ac.rs/pub/download/13947917541282_wbc_inno_university_innovation_platform.pdf
[19] http://www.seecel.hr/

is being developed. Both work under coordination of the Task Force Fostering and Building Human Capital of the Regional Cooperation Council.

Discussion on regional perspectives in European higher education

Despite the fact that each EU country is responsible for its own higher education system, certain functions of the national higher education systems have been delegated to the intergovernmental regional level, as well as to the supranational European level. Although national frames of reference in higher education policies are still important, other modes of coordination on the intergovernmental regional and European levels have emerged. There clearly exists a multi-level governance system in the area of higher education in which intergovernmental regional alliances also conduct intergovernmental policy coordination. Indeed, in Europe the borders between different arenas for policy coordination — national, intergovernmental regional and European — are blurred.

There has been much research devoted to study of policy diffusion from the European to the national level, but the intergovernmental regional level has largely been ignored. International policy coordination also exists in this "middle" level between the national and the European. Given the policy deliberations that take place in regional alliances, one cannot speak about "two-level games" in higher education policy-making, but indeed "three-level games" (cf. Klemenčič, 2006). Putnam (1988: 435) argues that "the politics of many international negotiations can usefully be conceived as a two-level game. At the national level, domestic groups pursue their interests by pressuring the government to adopt favourable policies, and politicians seek power by constructing coalitions among those groups. At the international level, national government seek to maximise their own ability to satisfy domestic pressures, while minimising the adverse consequences of foreign developments." Besides the policy deliberations within domestic political fora and the European policy arenas, both the European Union and the EHEA, government representatives also engage in policy deliberations with their partners within intergovernmental regional alliances. Therefore, the politics of European higher education policy-making cannot be fully understood by ignoring this notable policy arena.

As in any international policy coordination, formal institutionalization, by way of joint governing bodies, results in more extensive and better programing. The Nordic Cooperation is a case in point. Joint decision structures provide durable rules and procedures and recurrent and continuous interactions between policy-makers and officials at multiple levels of government and beyond. They also shape expectations of durability of cooperation; finding joint objectives; and advancing shared interests. Having joint governing structures also reduces the transaction costs of reaching agreements on cooperation activities. Joint funding programs are essential for implementation of policies and for programing.

While formal regional alliances are difficult to dissolve, they can lay dormant unless there is sufficient collective interest to implement the policy commitments or further advance policy

coordination. Access to the EU funding proves to be a powerful incentive for regional intergovernmental policy coordination and diligent implementation of joint policies. The various funding mechanisms of the EU, especially the Horizon 2020, Erasmus+ and the Structural Funds have presented an important impetus for both regional policy coordination and its implementation. This is especially the case for those regional alliances, such as Visegrád and the Baltic Cooperation as well as the Western Balkan states, whose members are economically weaker. But it also holds true for other alliances like the Franco-German Cooperation in Horizon 2020 program. The EU framework program for Education and Training (ET 2020) uses the Education and Training Monitor, which is synchronized with the European Semester, the EU's instrument for economic policy "surveillance" and policy guidance. In regular intervals, EU member states receive from the European Commission country-specific economic and budgetary recommendations, which are binding and the European Commission monitors their implementation. Targeted "to boost growth; job creation; training and education opportunities; and research and innovation",[8] these recommendations may also refer to intergovernmental regional cooperation as attested to by the official documents agreed by the Baltic states.

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Measuring the Accessibility of Study in Japan Utilizing International Admissions Procedures of English-taught Degree Programs

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Abstract. The "300,000 International Students Plan" called for a significant increase in the number of international students in Japan, from 140,000 to 300,000. It was announced by the Japanese government in 2008 and the Global 30 Project, implemented as part of the Plan, has triggered the growth of English-taught degree (hereafter "ETD") programs in Japanese universities. In this paper, the application guidelines and procedures of 20 universities which offer ETD programs for undergraduate students were collected and examined. Comparative analysis revealed that the admissions quotas for those ETD programs are, in general, limited to a small number of students and that their growth does not, therefore, necessarily lead to easier access for international students. The results of the analysis also indicated that the larger the international student admissions quota for an ETD program, the higher the accessibility of international admissions procedures provided by the respective university.

Keywords: International students, English-taught degree (ETD) program, international admissions procedures, pre-departure admissions

1. Introduction

In 2008, the Japanese government launched its 300,000 International Students Plan, which aimed to double the number of overseas students in Japan to 300,000 by 2020. As well as being driven by the need to make Japanese universities more globally competitive, the policy was designed to compensate for the shrinking domestic population of 18-year-olds, the result of a falling birthrate, by recruiting overseas students. Five core policy elements were laid out: (1) "Attracting international students to Japan", (2) "Improving access: admissions, enrollment, and immigration procedures", (3) "Internationalizing universities", (4) "Developing the student environment", (5) "Opening up society

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to international graduates" (Outline of the 300,000 International Students Plan, 2008). Elements (2) and (3) included calls to expand the provision of programs enabling students to graduate by taking classes taught in English alone, a policy which would remove the Japanese-language barrier, one of the main factors limiting access to study in Japan, and open up a route to attract exceptional overseas students who had not formerly shown an interest in Japan (Ashizawa, 2013).

Under the Project for Establishing a University Network for Internationalization (hereafter "Global 30"), a grants program implemented by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) as part of the 300,000 International Students Plan over a five-year period beginning in the 2009 fiscal year, the 13 universities selected were required to introduce English-taught degree (hereafter "ETD") programs allowing students to obtain a degree solely via courses taught in English[1]. They were to establish at least one such program at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. This prompted the increasingly widespread introduction of similar programs at other universities. According to the "Survey of English-Taught Degree Programs" conducted by the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO), which targeted all universities nationwide, the provision of such programs at the undergraduate level was restricted to just six universities (one local public, and five private) in 2008, the year in which the survey was first conducted, and to 47 universities (35 national, three local public, and nine private) at the graduate level. By the 2014 academic year, however, these figures had risen to 28 universities at the undergraduate level (4.7 times the 2008 figure) and to 76 universities at the graduate level (1.6 times the earlier figure). In their review after the Global 30 conclusion, MEXT also evaluated the growth of ETD programs positively, stating that "the confirmation of their effective role in addressing the language issue, hitherto an impediment to study in Japan, can be said to have been a major success of this project" (MEXT, 2015).

On the other hand, the number of international students at Japanese higher education institutions leveled off after peaking at 142,000 in 2012; there were 139,000 for the 2014 academic year (JASSO, 2015a). In other words, it remains unclear whether or not the establishment of ETD programs has, in fact, led to greater enrollment of international students at each university. This paper focuses on matriculation at the undergraduate level in Japanese universities. It considers whether or not the expansion of ETD programs has improved the accessibility of study in Japan through an examination of the admissions procedures for these programs.

2. Previous studies

2.1 The Japanese language as a barrier to international student recruitment

[1] MEXT and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science use the expression "courses through which degrees can be obtained solely via classes taught in English (English courses)" in their descriptions of the Global 30. In order to avoid confusion with the American English term "course" meaning "one subject of study", this paper uses the words "English-taught degree programs" or "ETD programs" throughout.

Besides insufficient provision of scholarship and a shortage of accommodations for international students, the Japanese language itself has repeatedly been cited as a factor limiting access to study in Japan. A "Survey of Student Exchange" commissioned by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 2003 pointed out that "the greatest study- and research-related issue for students from ASEAN countries is the Japanese language", mentioning also that there were many "comments from students currently in Japan that they would like more classes taught in English". In particular, it is hard for students from countries where Chinese characters are not used to acquire a sufficient level of Japanese-language competency to allow them to follow university-level classes by the end of their secondary education. As a result, a distinctive "Japan study model" has emerged in which international students first enter a Japanese-language school in Japan, studying there for one to two years before continuing on to university[2]. This requirement for one or two years of prior Japanese study, in addition to the minimum study period required to obtain a degree, imposes an even greater burden on international students in terms of both time and money, making Japan comparatively less attractive as a study destination (Ota, 2011).

On the other hand, the establishment of ETD programs at higher education institutions in non-English speaking countries has become a global phenomenon (Dearden, 2015). In Europe, the volume of English-taught programs has increased, mainly at the graduate level, in line with the growth of the Erasmus Program, which aims to foster student exchange within the European region. Malaysia[3], China[4], and other Asian countries have made it a national strategy to attract overseas universities, and higher education institutions from English-speaking countries such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia have developed offshore programs. In South Korea, Japan's neighbor, the teaching of around 30% of all university specialized courses in English has become recognized as an indication of internationalization, leading many universities to strive toward this goal in order to meet society's expectations (Bradford, 2012). As the global higher education market becomes ever flatter through the adoption of English as a universal medium, Japan, which has long clung to Japanese as the sole language of instruction, is fast becoming isolated from the global mainstream. Initiatives to break down this substantial language barrier are an urgent priority for higher education in this country.

2.2 English-taught degree (ETD) programs in Japan

[2] Of the international students enrolled at Japanese-language teaching institutions, around 80% go on to study in university or other programs in Japan (JASSO, 2015b).
[3] Monash University, which has set up an overseas satellite campus in Malaysia offering the same degree programs as those at its Australian campus, is one example (Sugimura, 2011).
[4] One such case is New York University Shanghai, established in 2013 through a partnership between New York University and East China Normal University.

Shimauchi (2012) has classified ETD programs at Japanese universities according to such aspects as their curriculum structure and composition of the student body. According to this research, there are three types: the "virtual study abroad for Japanese students" type, which focuses mainly on the development of graduates equipped to work globally and enrolls almost entirely Japanese students; the "intermingled and interactive study" type, in which Japanese and international students learn together; and the "study in Japan in English" type, which is aimed exclusively at international students. The "virtual study abroad for Japanese students" type, aimed primarily at Japanese students, is the most prevalent of the three.

The existence of many ETD programs that effectively exclude international students by requiring a certain level of Japanese-language proficiency in order to enroll suggests a disconnect between the Japanese government's much-touted policies of internationalization and openness to overseas students, and the situation on the ground at universities (Brown & Iyobe, 2013). On the other hand, many of the newly established ETD programs at national universities under the Global 30 are, in principle, only open to international students. It has been pointed out that teaching international students, who study in English, completely apart from their Japanese peers leads to the erection of a new "wall" within universities (Burgess et al., 2010). Moreover, after interviewing staff involved in running English-taught programs, both degree-awarding and non-degree awarding, at eight universities which were not selected for the Global 30, Brown (2014) stated that "there is a sense among EMI (English as a medium of instruction) stakeholders that if an EMI program were to grow too much or become too successful, it could be seen as a threat to the Japanese identity of the university," concluding that growth in the provision of ETD programs was unlikely to lead directly to an increase in overseas students.

3. Research questions and methods

Given the increasingly widespread acceptance of English as the de facto international language of higher education, establishing ETD programs means gaining access to the global student market. The entrance examinations used in Japan for international students thus far have generally required to come to each university in person in order to take that university's own written examination and undergo an interview. This is based on the assumption that international students have already arrived in Japan and are studying at Japanese language schools; it is extremely inconvenient for those living outside the country. In order to secure overseas applicants for ETD programs, it is necessary to make application and selection procedures more convenient from the point of view of international students, which is to say, more accessible. If study in Japan is relatively inaccessible to those living overseas at the initial point of entry, the admissions stage, then applicant numbers cannot be expected to grow even if the language of instruction for many courses is switched from Japanese to English.

This paper views the admissions procedures of each university with ETD programs as indices of

accessibility, going through them to identify the elements which made it easy to apply from overseas, such as the existence of fall enrollment or an online application system. The relationship between the above and the ratio of the "admissions quota allocated to international students" to the overall admissions quota for the faculty or department running ETD programs was also investigated. The "admissions quota allocated to international students" is the quota for which international students can apply with application instructions solely in English[5]. Even if all the programs in the faculty or department use English as their language of instruction, a large number of places reserved exclusively for Japanese students will make this ratio low. Each university's application procedures were obtained online or in printed format between November, 2014 and March, 2015, and any aspects which were unclear were verified by telephone.

4. Comparison and examination of applications procedures: Format and framework

The universities included by this research are listed in Table 1. There are a total of 39 ETD programs at 20 universities: five universities which already had ETD programs before the Global 30 (Pre-G30), all the 13 universities selected for the Global 30 (G30 universities), and four universities which were not selected for the Global 30 but which introduced ETD programs at the same stage or later (Post-G30). Two of the private universities selected for the Global 30 have been classified in both the Pre-G30 category for the ETD programs which they had implemented before their selection (University B and University D), and in the G30 Universities category for the programs implemented afterwards (University B* and University D*).

"University size" refers to the overall undergraduate enrollment capacity for each university. The survey included six universities with 20,000 undergraduates or more; seven with between 10,000 and 20,000 undergraduates; five with between 5,000 and 10,000 undergraduates; and two with fewer than 5,000 undergraduates, indicating that the establishment of ETD programs has expanded particularly at larger universities. Another finding of note was that while private universities tended to develop ETD programs in social science departments with the word "international" in their names, at national universities, English-taught programs were much more prevalent in natural science and engineering departments.

4.1 Structural model of program

ETD programs can be roughly classified into four models according to the format of their establishment. The distinguishing features of each, along with the universities assigned to each

[5] Some ETD programs recruit students using the same requirements without differentiating by nationality. In these cases, Japanese students, mainly returnees who have been educated abroad, are also included in this same quota.

Table 1. Universities covered by this research and admissions quota for ETD program

	Type	University	University size (undergraduate enrollment capacity)	Study field of ETD program	Establishment year of ETD program	Admissions term	(a) Admissions quota allocated to international students in ETD program	(b) Overall admissions quota for faculty or department	(a)/(b)
Pre-G30	L	A	5,000 or less	Social Science	2004	Spring	Variable#	175	8.6%
						Fall	5		
	P	B	10,000 - 20,000	Social Science	1949	Spring	64§	186	78.5%
						Fall	82§		
		C	5,000 or less	Interdisciplinary	1953	Fall	90§	620	14.5%
		D	20,000 or more	Social Science	2004	Spring	100§	600	37.5%
						Fall	125§		
		E	5,000 - 10,000	Social Science (2 programs)	2000	Spring	205	1,200	49.2%
						Fall	385		
G30	N	F	5,000 - 10,000	Natural Science	2011	Fall	Approx. 10	324	3.1%
				Engineering			Approx. 10	810	1.2%
				Natural Science			Approx. 10	150	6.7%
		G	5,000 - 10,000	Natural Science	2010	Fall	Approx. 15	250	6.0%
				Social Science			Approx. 10	160	6.3%
				Natural Science			Approx. 3	37	8.1%
		H	10,000 - 20,000	Interdisciplinary	2012	Fall	Approx. 30	140	21.4%
		I	5,000 - 10,000	Humanities	2011	Fall	Limited#	125	8.0%
				Social Science			Limited#	150	6.7%
				Social Science			Limited#	205	4.9%
				Natural Science			Limited#	270	3.7%
				Engineering			Limited#	740	1.4%
				Natural Science			Limited#	170	5.9%
		J	10,000 - 20,000	Engineering	2011	Fall	Maximum of 30	955	3.1%
		K	10,000 - 20,000	Social Science	2010	Fall	a small number#	137	7.3%
				Natural Science			small#	255	3.9%
		L	10,000 - 20,000	Engineering	2010	Fall	Only a limited number#	798	1.3%
				Natural Science			Only a limited number#	228	4.4%
	P	D*	20,000 or more	Social Science	2010	Fall	85	900	9.4%
				Social Science			20	630	3.2%
				Science and Engineering			35	535	6.5%
				Science and Engineering			25	595	4.2%
				Science and Engineering			15	540	2.8%
		M	20,000 or more	Interdisciplinary	2011	Fall	30§	850	3.5%
		B*	10,000 - 20,000	Science and Engineering	2012	Fall	30	250	12.0%
		N	20,000 or more	Social Science	2011	Spring	10	350	5.7%
						Fall	10		
		O	20,000 or more	Social Science	2011	Spring	50§	4,035	1.2%
						Fall			
		P	20,000 or more	Social Science	2011	Spring	7	305	6.6%
						Fall	13		
				Social Science		Fall	15	360	4.2%
Post-G30	N	Q	10,000 - 20,000	Social Science	2015	Spring	20	525	3.8%
		R	5,000 - 10,000	Interdisciplinary	2013	Fall	Approx. 10	380	2.6%
	P	S	10,000 - 20,000	Social Science	2011	Spring	Approx. 4§	50	16.0%
						Fall	Approx. 4§		
		T	20,000 or more	Social Science	2011	Spring	15	300	5.0%

- Source: Compiled by the authors on the basis of each university's admissions guidelines or information on their websites
- Type: N = National, L = Local public, P = Private
- Two universities are classified in both the "Pre-G30", for the ETD programs which they implemented before their selection (Univ. B and Univ. D), and in the "G30", for the programs implemented afterwards (Univ. B* and Univ. D*).
- Admissions quotas indicated by § include places available for Japanese students (these universities recruit students using the same requirements, without differentiating by nationality).
- In consideration of the fact that the admissions quotas for English-taught degree programs are stated in English in the admissions guidelines, they have been listed here using the original English expressions.
- The "Interdisciplinary" programs listed under the study fields of English-taught degree program offer a curriculum including course from both the arts and sciences fields, or integrating the two fields.
- English expressions for admissions quotas indicated by # were considered to be equivalent to the Japanese for "some/a few"; a figure of 10 was used for "(a) admissions quota" in order to calculate (a)/(b).

category, are shown in Table 2. The four models are: (1) universities which have implemented English-taught programs as a matter of institutional policy (Institutional focus model); (2) universities with multiple faculties which have introduced ETD programs involving two or more different faculties (Cross-faculty model); (3) universities at which all the classes offered by a whole faculty, or department, including to Japanese students, are taught in English alone (Whole faculty model); and (4) universities at which ETD programs aimed at international students, or at international students and Japanese returnee students, have been added to an existing faculty (Faculty add-on model). Of the 20 universities surveyed for this research, three followed the Institutional focus model, three the Cross-faculty model, three the Whole faculty model, and 13 the Faculty add-on model.

Table 2. Format of establishment

Model	Universities	Distinguishing features
Institutional Focus Model	A, C, E	ETD programs are established as an institutional policy. All three universities incorporated ETD programs into their institutional design at the time of the university's establishment.
Cross-Faculty Model	M, O, Q	Two or more different faculties jointly put together ETD programs. Multiple faculties collaborate to set up the implementing body for each program.
Whole Faculty Model	B, D, S	Almost all the courses offered by a whole faculty (or department) are taught in English. In some cases, the majority of places are reserved for Japanese students.
Faculty Add-on Model	F, G, H, I, J, K, L, D*, B*, N, P, R, T	Programs aimed at international students are added to existing faculties. Most of the programs newly established under the Global 30 are of this type.

Source: Compiled by the authors based on information from each university's website etc.
- B and D (Pre-G30): ETD programs implemented before G-30 selection
- B* and D* (G-30): ETD programs implemented after G-30 selection

These various formats of establishment show that the high degree of faculty autonomy which is a characteristic of Japanese university organization is also reflected in ETD programs. Of the 20 universities surveyed, 16 follow either the Whole faculty model or the Faculty add-on model, and since student application and selection procedures are administered separately by each faculty or department, several different admissions procedures exist at the same university, which is highly inconvenient for applicants[6].

[6] At universities in the United States and other foreign countries, one university-wide admissions process for international applicants to undergraduate programs is the norm. The shared use of a single online application system by several universities (Common Application) is also becoming widespread.

4.2 Admissions quota

As can be seen in Table 1, the number of places allocated to international students at each university is limited. Excluding the four private universities which were offering ETD programs before the start of the Global 30, the majority of universities have quotas of around 10 to 20 places. There are also some universities, mainly national, which use expressions such as "limited", "a small number", or "only a limited number" to indicate their quotas. These are presumably translations of the Japanese expression which encompasses "some/a few people", but stating that the number of places available is extremely low surely creates a psychological hurdle for international students. Furthermore, it will be difficult for such universities to gain a reputation as internationalized and open to overseas students. This kind of admissions quota was particularly notable among Global 30 universities.

A total of 29 new ETD programs were established at the 13 universities chosen for the Global 30, yet only one of these programs had an admissions quota corresponding to 10% or more of the departmental total at the undergraduate level. The majority of programs had quotas representing between 3% and 6% of the total, while four of the programs had quotas of just 1%.

4.3 Application fees

Application fee levels were divided into three categories:

(1) Universities using their standard application fee (around 17,000 yen[7] at Japanese national universities and 35,000 yen[8] at private universities)

(2) Universities charging different fees to those applying from within Japan and from overseas, or to Japanese students and international students

(3) Universities which had introduced a completely different fee for ETD programs

Category (1) included six universities, category (2) included five, and category (3) included nine (Table 3). All the universities in category (2) were private; three of them charged the standard application fee of 35,000 yen to those applying from within Japan, but charged 5,000 yen[9] to those applying from overseas. Application fees at American universities, which receive the largest global share of international students, are around 30 to 50 US dollars[10], and so it can be thought that the application fees for overseas applicants were based on these. In category (3), where a completely different fee was established for the ETD programs, one university charged no application fee, while five charged 5,000 yen to all applicants, making application more accessible to students from countries with much lower economic levels.

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[7] 140 US dollars (1 US dollar = 121 Japanese yen)
[8] 289 US dollars (the same rate above)
[9] 41 US dollars (1 US dollar = 121 Japanese yen)
[10] Application fees at American universities were taken from the following website: http://www.ryugaku.com/ugrad/basis/expenses.html (Sakae Institute of Study Abroad).

Table 3. Application Fees

	Type	University	Application fees (Yen)	Category
Pre-G30	Local public	A	17,000	(1)
	Private	B	35,000	(1)
		C	22,000	(1)
		D	Application from overseas: 5,000 Application from within Japan: 35,000	(2)
		E	Application from overseas: 5,000 Application from within Japan: 35,000	(2)
G30	National	F	Free of charge	(3)
		G	1st Screening: 4,000 2nd Screening: 13,000	(1)
		H	5,000	(3)
		I	5,000	(3)
		J	17,000	(1)
		K	17,000	(1)
		L	10,000	(3)
	Private	D*	Application from overseas: 5,000 Application from within Japan: 35,000	(2)
		M	Application from overseas: 5,000 Application from within Japan: 35,000	(2)
		B*	30,000	(1)
		N	15,000	(3)
		O	15,000	(3)
		P	5,000	(3)
Post-G30	National	Q	5,000	(3)
		R	5,000	(3)
	Private	S	Application from overseas - International students: 22,500 - Japanese students: 37,500 Application from within Japan: 35,000	(2)
		T	Application from overseas: 25,000 Application from within Japan: 35,000	(2)

- Source: Compiled by the authors on the basis of each university's admissions guidelines
- B and D (Pre-G30): ETD programs implemented before G-30 selection
- B* and D* (G-30): ETD programs implemented after G-30 selection
- Categories are defined as follows:
  (1) Universities using the standard application fee charged to applicants for other programs.
  (2) Universities charging different fees depending on the applicant's location (within Japan or overseas) etc.
  (3) Universities charging a completely different fee for ETD programs.

5. Comparison and examination of applications procedures: Selection methods

Each university bases its selection procedures for ETD programs on the screening of documents, in

order to implement pre-departure admissions. Broadly speaking, there are six documents required of applicants by all universities: (1) a certificate of completion of twelve years of school-level education (e.g. a high school graduation certificate); (2) a high school transcript; (3) an official English-language test score such as TOEFL; (4) scores from each country's standardized university entrance test; (5) an essay in English stating the candidate's motives for applying, and (6) references. The selection methods used by each university, as described below, are outlined in Table 4.

5.1 Interviews and written examinations

Although document screening is the principal basis for the selection of applicants, 13 universities, more than half of the 20 surveyed, also required an interview. Candidates living within Japan are interviewed on the university campus; candidates living overseas are interviewed at in-country test centers; and where it is difficult for candidates to reach any of these venues, interviews are carried out via the Internet. It is noteworthy that all the national universities chosen for the Global 30 call the document screening the "first-stage examination" and the interview the "second-stage examination". Two of these universities require applicants to take a written examination in addition to the interview[11], making their requirements equivalent to those of conventional entrance examinations for international students.

5.2 High school grades

Universities in Europe and the United States accord great importance to applicants' high school grades, with highly competitive institutions requiring a specific GPA score or the study of particular subjects as part of their entry qualifications. Only one institution among the 20 included in this study, a national university, went so far as to specify a particular grade, giving their recommended GPA as 3.0 or above. All the other universities simply required the submission of a transcript. In the conventional selection process at Japanese universities, the high school transcript is viewed primarily as a means of confirming that the candidate meets the application requirement of having graduated from, or being expected to graduate from, senior high school, with acceptance or rejection being entirely dependent on the score obtained in the entrance examination. In Japan, in recent years, other selection procedures which do not rely solely on written examinations have become more common, such as "admissions office selection", in which candidates are assessed on a variety of criteria determined by the individual university, or admission based on recommendation; nevertheless, even in these cases the results of interviews and essays written by the applicants are emphasized. In other words, the practice of scrutinizing and evaluating the high school grades in the transcripts of

[11] Candidates living overseas sit the examination at the overseas test center, while those living in Japan sit it on the university campus.

university applicants has not yet been adopted in Japan. For ETD programs, too, the survey results show a tendency to treat these grades as evidence that applicants meet application requirements for the program rather than to use them for screening.

Table 4. Selection methods

	Type	University	Selection procedures	Standardized university entrance tests			References: number of references if required
				Test results	Tests and conditions	EJU	
Pre-G30	L	A	documents	♥	designated 7 countries' standardized test/IB	X	1
	P	B	documents	♠	SAT/ACT/IB		2
		C	documents	♠	designated 9 countries' standardized test/IB		2
		D	documents	♠	designated 21 countries' standardized test/IB/EJU	X	Not required
		E	documents, interview	♣	submit if taken any		1
G30	N	F	documents, interview, written exam	♠	SAT/GCE-A Level/IB/EJU	X	Not required
		G	documents, interview	♣	submit if taken any		1
		H	documents, interview	♠	designated 13 countries' standardized test/IB		3
		I	documents, interview	♠	designated 16 countries' standardized test/IB	X	2
		J	documents, interview	♠	strongly recommend to submit EJU score	X	Not required
		K	documents, interview	♠	designated 17 countries' standardized test/IB		1 to 2
		L	documents, interview, written exam	♣	strongly recommend to submit	X	Not required
	P	D*	documents, interview†	♠	designated 18 countries' standardized test/IB/EJU	X	1 to 2
		M	documents	♣	strongly recommend to submit	X	2
		B*	documents	♠	SAT/ACT/IB/EJU	X	2
		N	documents	♠	designated 19 countries' standardized test/IB/EJU	X	1
		O	documents, interview	♥	mandatory if high school diploma is not issued		1
		P	documents, interview	♥	mandatory if high school diploma is not issued		1
Post-G30	N	Q	documents, interview	♣	strongly recommend to submit		1
		R	documents	♦	Not required		1
	P	S	documents	♠	SAT/ACT/GCE-A Level/IB etc.		2
		T	documents, interview‡	♣	strongly recommend to submit		1

- Source: Compiled by the authors on the basis of each university's admissions guidelines
- Type: N = National, L = Local public, P = Private
- B and D (Pre-G30): ETD programs implemented before G-30 selection
- B* and D* (G-30): ETD programs implemented after G-30 selection
- Selection methods: † = Four out of the five faculties use interviews; ‡ = Interviews are used only for applicants from within Japan
- Submission of the results of standardized university entrance tests: ♠ = Required; ♣ = Recommended, or to be submitted where such a test was taken; ♥ = To be submitted only by applicants from certain countries, ♦ = Submission not required
- Abbreviation of tests: IB = International Baccalaureate [IB Organization], SAT = Scholastic Assessment Tests [U.S.A] ACT = American College Testing [U.S.A.] , GCE-A Level = The General Certificate of Education Advanced Level [U.K.] EJU = Examination for Japanese University Admission for International Students [Japan]
- X: EJU is acceptable as a standardized university entrance test.

5.3 Results of standardized university entrance tests

The greatest variation between the practices of each university was observed in their handling of standardized university entrance tests, academic ability tests required of applicants by universities in each country (Table 4). 12 programs at 10 universities required the submission of such results as a general rule; six universities did not require them, but stated that they were "recommended" or should be submitted where applicants had taken such a test; one university did not require their submission at all; and three universities required their submission only from applicants in certain countries where high school transcripts were not issued. Even among those universities which generally required their submission, some universities required applicants from countries in which standardized tests were not held to take the United States Scholastic Assessment Test (SAT), while others asked applicants who had difficulty in submitting such results to send a written explanation of the reasons for this instead.

In this context, it is interesting that 10 out of the 20 universities include the Examination for Japanese University Admission for International Students (EJU)[12] among acceptable standardized tests. Since there are restrictions on EJU test venues and dates, it would be difficult for this examination to be used universally; however, it allows applicants to be examined on various subject areas in English, and these results are suggestive of its potential for even more widespread use by ETD programs in the future.

5.4 References

In many countries, such as the United States where university selection procedures are based primarily upon written documents it is common to submit references; however, there was a wide range of practices among the 20 universities surveyed, with some faculties or departments (programs) within a single university requiring their submission while others did not. 32 programs at 17 universities, out of the 39 programs surveyed at 20 universities, required the submission of between one and three references. Of the seven programs which did not require any, six were offered at three of the national universities selected for the Global 30. As well as guaranteeing an applicant's identity, references play a role in revealing their character through the evaluation of a person in authority who knows the applicant well. However, it would appear that they do not necessarily conform well to the traditional selection procedures at Japanese universities, which emphasize the results of evaluations, such as written examinations and interviews, carried out by the university itself. Almost all of the universities specified that references should be written by "teachers or other staff of

[12] The Examination for Japanese University Admission for International Students (EJU) is used to evaluate whether international applicants who wish to study at the undergraduate level at universities or other such higher education institutions in Japan possess the Japanese language skills and the basic academic abilities needed to study at those institutions (JASSO, 2016).

the high school most recently attended". Only three universities, two national and one private, none of which were chosen for the Global 30, added that "references may also be written by workplace supervisors", showing a readiness to widen their admissions to encompass international students who had already started their careers.

6. Examination of accessibility

Nine items which can be used to measure accessibility were extracted from the admissions procedures (Table 5). Where a measure was in place, one point was awarded, whereas where a measure had not been implemented, zero points were awarded in an attempt to give each program a score. Of the nine items, "7. Inclusion of information about scholarships" and "8. Inclusion of information about accommodation" are not directly related to the selection of applicants, but they are issues of particular concern for students who are hoping to come directly from their home countries to study at a Japanese university, and so they were added to the evaluation criteria based on the understanding that including information about them in the admissions procedures improves accessibility. Item "9. Transfer students are accepted" was included in order to evaluate a university's willingness to admit a wide variety of students, bearing in mind its degree of connection with other higher education institutions around the world.

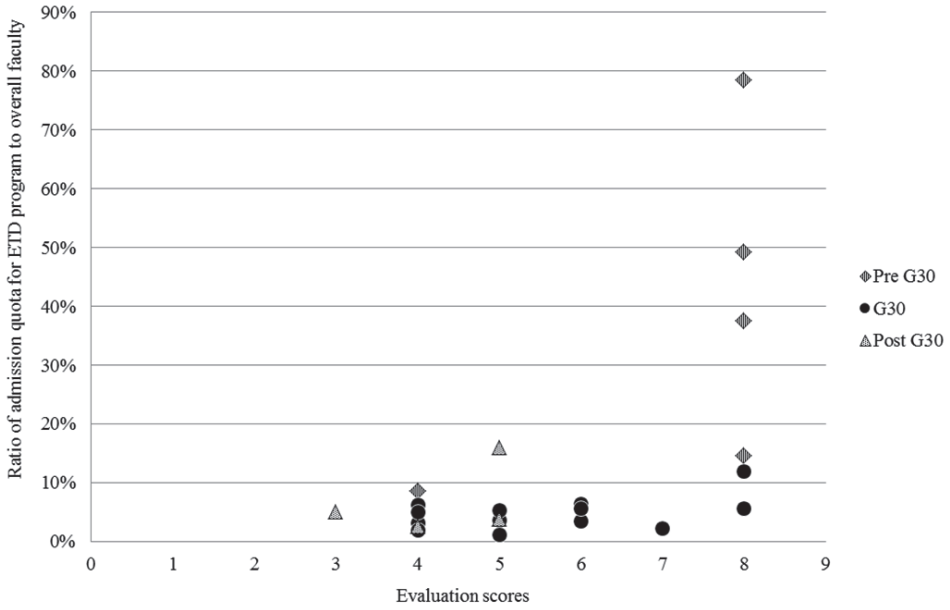
Table 5. Items used for evaluating accessibility as seen in admissions procedures

1. Admissions procedures take place using the document screening method alone.
2. Fall entry (intake) is available.
3. Application fees are set at around 5,000 yen (41 US dollars) or less.
4. Application fees can be paid by credit card.
5. Online application is available.
6. Multiple application deadlines (terms) are available.
7. Information about scholarships is included.
8. Information about accommodation is included.
9. Transfer students are admitted.

Universities with eight points or more were judged to have "high" accessibility, those with five to seven points, "medium", and those with four points or less, "low". The results show four universities in the "high" category. All were private universities. Two had both programs established before being chosen for the Global 30 and programs introduced afterwards, each of which fell into this category, bringing the total number of programs to six; nine in the "medium" category (four national or local public and five private universities); and seven in the "low" category (six national or local public and one private university). The correlation between these evaluation scores

and the ratio of the number of places available for the ETD programs, which includes international students, to the overall admissions quota for the faculty or department at each university is shown as a scatter diagram in Figure 1. Some degree of correlation was observed between the admission quota ratio and accessibility (correlation coefficient: r = 0.57).

Figure 1. Correlation between evaluation scores and the ratio of admission quota



Each of the universities with a "high" degree of accessibility had introduced ETD programs before the start of the Global 30. A distinguishing characteristic was that with the exception of one program established after selection for the Global 30, places for which international students were eligible to apply comprised between 12% and 78% of the total available, a relatively high proportion in comparison with other universities. The involvement of the institution as a whole is essential in order to create a recruitment system and study environment which will attract sufficient international students to make up more than one-tenth of the total intake of the faculty or department, and to run an ETD program on that scale. There is a link between the scale of these admissions quotas and each university's firm resolution and commitment to attract international students.

Nine universities, including seven of the 13 chosen for the Global 30, fell into the category of "medium" accessibility. The universities chosen for the Global 30 received government grants, creating an environment in which it facilitated moving forward with the various measures needed in order to recruit international students. Nevertheless, there was wide disparity between the items implemented at each university. The proportion of places available for international students was low, leading one to infer that the establishment of ETD programs has been unable to propel the

universities as a whole in the direction of further internationalization[13].

Among the universities chosen for the Global 30, five national or local public universities were found to have a "low" degree of accessibility. Many of the universities in this category made 5% or fewer of their places available to international students, and even where all the programs offered by a department were taught in English, almost all of the places available were for Japanese students.

7. Implications and questions for further research

ETD programs can appeal not only to those who have already studied the Japanese language, hitherto the main target group for study in Japan, but also to the much broader group of prospective students who have not had an opportunity to study Japanese. In this way, they have the potential of providing access to new student markets. However, in the context of vociferous calls from society for the internationalization of universities, it appears that the possession of ETD programs acts as a means of branding or window-dressing in the competition among Japanese universities, and that the most important aim is not to recruit more international students but to gain a competitive edge over domestic rivals. These circumstances are surely helping to distort the responses of the nation's universities to internationalization through the creation of ETD programs with international student admissions procedures which omit "the viewpoint of the international student applying from overseas, the degree of convenience and user-friendliness for the applicant, and which "are not open to the world". Understanding the leading role which ETD programs have to play in promoting internationalization at each university, clarifying the strategies for doing so before investing resources in them, and putting in place solid student admissions and support systems are likely to lead to improved accessibility for international students.

This paper has examined the accessibility of ETD programs at Japanese universities through their admissions procedures. The establishment of ETD programs is a global trend, however, and Japan has been late to enter the field. A study of the relationship between the establishment of ETD programs and international student recruitment practices in countries whose higher education systems have grown to maturity teaching in a single language other than English, such as South Korea, Taiwan, or parts of Europe, is particularly likely to yield some useful lessons for the ongoing development of ETD programs in Japan. We intend to address these issues in future research.

[13] At universities with a medium or low degree of accessibility, some examples were found of online course registration systems and syllabus search systems which were unable to cope with English.

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