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THE PALGRAVE HANDBOOK OF ASIA PACIFIC HIGHER EDUCATION

Edited by Christopher S. Collins, Molly N.N. Lee,
John N. Hawkins and Deane E. Neubauer



The Palgrave Handbook of Asia Pacific
Higher Education

Christopher S. Collins • Molly N.N. Lee • John N. Hawkins • Deane E.
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Editors

The Palgrave Handbook of Asia Pacific Higher Education

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Asian Higher Education in the Era of Contemporary Globalization: Introduction

The rise of Asian Higher Education has been the source of a significant amount of scholarship over the past three decades, triggered largely by the extraordinary degree and reach of its massification over that period. With China's decision to reform and open its higher education system to significant expansion in 1998, a process was initiated unlike any previously seen as the higher education system was expanded for new millions of students utilizing resources from both private and public sectors. The same can be witnessed in India and Indonesia where even a small percentage rise in the gross enrollment ratio to higher education would see additional huge numbers of students admitted into the higher education systems because of their huge population base. Previous decades had witnessed similar growth in Korea, Japan, and Taiwan as those societies also provided significant resources to radically expand access to higher education.

We, like many others, find the forces underlying and propelling these events to be directly related to what we view as the overall forces, dynamics and effects of contemporary globalization. Among its other properties observable since shortly after the conclusion of World War II has been the significant movement of manufacturing and industry from the "older industrial countries" into those of the then-perceived "third" world to initially and then massively gain the advantage of relatively inexpensive labor within manufacturing processes. In terms that quickly became commonplace, the world grew accustomed to referring to the "de-industrialization" of the USA and Europe, the rise of "new economies" in Latin American and Asia accompanied by the re-emergence of Japan as a rebuilt industrial power propelling a newly invented "quality movement."

Within a decade significant amounts of the global shipbuilding industry had moved to Asia, most notably in Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. The "multinational corporation" quickly progressed from being a novel economic term to being a signifier of "new ways" of aggregating capital and placing it in global production (Barnett and Mueller 1974). By the mid-1980s large segments of non-manufacturing industries in fashion and clothing manufacture had relocated to Southeast Asia, and the entire region had become a major player in relatively

new industries ranging from consumer electronics and services to pharmaceuticals and medical equipment to novel service occupations such as call centers. (These dynamics are comprehensively described within the recent review of globalization by Steger et al. 2014.) Off the center stage for many was the equally rapid and important development of a global financial structure that “re-centered” critical aspects of global capital from national to regional and global patterns of interaction, a process accompanied in various ways by global redistributions of wealth. By the end of the 1980s, David Harvey would signal elements of this transition of a familiar world into one of newer and unpredictable patterns as “the condition of post-modernity”—marking a break between important elements of familiarity in the structures of society and their processes and those emergent in this postmodern world of globalization (Harvey 1989).

While globalization has been centered on finance and manufacturing, its progress has been less clear in such cultural and traditionally nationalistic areas as education. Indeed there has been a nationalistic resurgence of higher education as the “internationalization” efforts so widely touted in much of Asia have given way to an inwardness in areas such as student mobility, exchanges, faculty joint research efforts, publications, and several other indices. There has also been a unique and stimulating discussion of Asian educational roots, or the rise of hybrid (Asian and Western) forms of higher education, as distinct from the previous “western transfer” paradigm.

The pursuit of massification of higher education is one goal that has been adopted in much of Asia, largely influenced by the experience in North America. Martin Trow, in 1974, generalizing from structures and dynamics he was observing in the USA, postulated that higher education was on a trajectory to pass through three stages (Trow 1974). In the first, which he named as the *elite* stage, up to 15 percent of the population would have access to higher education, a generalization familiar to much of the literature on the sociology of industrial and pre-industrial societies which views the primary historical *function* of higher education to have been the social reproduction of elites, creating a supply of educated persons to “run and sustain” society and its most important institutions. The next stage of higher education expansion in which 15–50 percent of the population is engaged, Trow termed a *massification* stage wherein a significant portion of the population is drawn into higher education and the skills and knowledge imparted through the processes that have become themselves part of the macro social structure of role and skill reproduction. The third stage of the process, in which more than 50 percent of the population is exposed to higher education, he termed *universalization*, meaning in effect that anyone choosing to seek a higher education experience can have access of some sort to the process.

As the chapters in all of the following sections of this *Handbook* detail, this process of higher education massification has been one of the dominant themes within all of Asia over the past three decades. It has presented an interesting dilemma as well, as higher education systems begin to develop in a region long characterized by a small elite sector, buttressed by a burgeoning private sec-

tor, and challenged by competing notions of access and equity. There remain many issues related to differential missions of each of the sub-sectors of higher education (elite, provincial/public/private, community college and vocational technical, research oriented). High stakes testing regimes remain a powerful sorting device for most nations in the region in the midst of discussions about testing reform and its implications for access and equity. All of this illustrates the complexity of the competing forces and factors of globalization and national interests (and the hybrid policies that emerge from this interaction).

The plan of this *Handbook* reflects the various ways in which this complex pattern of globalization/national interest dynamics operating among other forces has continued to frame and be expressed within the wide variety of higher education structures and experiences that exist within the Asian environment.

The first section (Part I) presents seven chapters that elaborate on the nature and dynamics of these various globalization forces as they are articulated within discrete higher education settings. Taken collectively, they are intended as a “sketch” of the breadth and variety of formations and impacts global dynamics have on regional higher education and its institutional structures.

The second section (Part II) focuses explicitly on the nature of regionality in Asian higher education with a broad set of chapters that seek to trace elements of commonality and affinity within the complex notions of what constitutes “Asia.” In addition they also take note of discrete differences that arise about the notion of “region” which necessarily implies elements of similarity. The reality of “Asia” as a historical, social and intellectual construct admits to significant differentiation that results from the lengthy, complex and powerful national histories which have served as the framing platform for the contemporary social experiences of these nation states.

The third section (Part III) focuses explicitly on four processes that are necessary elements of the massification process which underlies so much of this regional higher education: the roles played by the issues of access, equity, capacity, and quality. As documented by these chapters, access is the critical first step to higher education massification. The countries represented in this collection of higher education experiences have approached and accomplished the pursuit and acquisition of access with both commonality and difference. How access is approached and accomplished is intimately related to issues of capacity: to what “things” and “processes” is access being created, and for what purposes? Indeed as we see in these chapters the critical policy question of “higher education for what?” is never absent from the process and how that question is both posed and answered, in turn, owes much to how policy discourse is shaped and attenuated by yet other superordinating globalization influence such as the role that neoliberalism has played and continues to play in defining and articulating the higher education sector of these societies.

The complex interplay of these two forces is given both an important portion of its rationale and its expression in how they are articulated within the context of creating equity. The discourse (s) of equity is (are) conducted differently within each of these societies, reflecting the particular historical, cultural and national

experiences that have been carried forward into the contemporary era, for example, with respect to race, gender, religion, and class, language, but as we see in the chapters presented in this section, equity plays a significant role in all stages of massification. For example, initially it enters boldly into considerations of for whom access will be created and under what conditions, and in later stages in terms of how continued development of systems of higher education will be “built out” and for what purposes. Here also are the presence, and in some respects, dominating structures of high stakes testing and “shadow” education. As we will see, equity issues more recently have entered into almost all higher education systems in the construct of what has commonly come to be termed the “alignment dilemma,” the situation that exists when systems of higher education generate large numbers of graduates for whom uncertain prospects of societal employment exist.

Finally, as we will see throughout this section, issues of quality are never absent from this process, but change their features as systems expand, mature, develop, and become more sophisticated. Quality within higher education is an issue present in any and every system wherever located. As a property of a higher education system and as an “outcome,” it is a “thing” that is expected and required from all institutions. However, even a brief inspection of quality as a concept reveals its varying complexities, a circumstance that only increases as one seeks to develop and apply “standards” of quality across widely differing structural situations.

The chapters in this section of the *Handbook* weave these four elements of the contemporary higher education experience together in a variety of contexts, ranging from how their interplay works in a given discrete country circumstance to broader conceptual examinations of what these complex elements of the higher education experience can and do mean in comparative contexts.

The final section of the *Handbook* is devoted to country studies. In most cases we have offered one per country, but in the case of China, given its relative size and influence in the region, we have provided two. In working with the individual chapter contributors, we asked them to examine the broad focus on the framing that the dynamics of globalization have had on higher education and emphasize those elements that in their view were the most salient. In some cases this has involved including a particular country “lens” as well through which to articulate the issue. The result, we believe, is an excellent blend of attention to nation-specific detail and linkage to the broader elements of globalization to which this volume is committed.

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Framing Essay Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Historical Context

John N. Hawkins

The future growth and success of this dynamic region will hinge on the degree to which the countries in Asia/Pacific are able to continue to develop and grow both the capacity and quality of their educational systems, particularly their higher education (HE) systems (Hawkins et al. 2011). Indeed, many have concluded that it was precisely because of the region's early commitment to a first-rate educational system that Asia has reached the level of global economic dominance that it has over the past two decades.

The outlook for the future continues a pattern of the past few years of steady economic growth. While the growth of trade, GDP, capital inflows, and other economic measures remain positive for both the long-term and short-term economic outlook for Asia, there are areas where improvement is needed in order to avoid downside risks. Reduction of inequality is one such area, especially regional inequality between East and Southeast and South Asia. Within countries inequality remains an issue even in such high-growth economies as China. There needs to be continued effort to raise employment prospects, an area obviously linked to education and essential for social stability. Increasing domestic demand vis-à-vis international demand for goods and services will also likely be a priority in the years ahead. This will have an important impact on training and education in the technical training sector of the educational systems in the region (Asia Pacific Outlook 2011).

Included among the educational topics that continue to loom large in the region and which were reflected in the comments of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) members in the 2011 Honolulu meeting on quality issues were those that have been enduring since the region began its post-World War

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II (WWII) growth, as well as other topics that are of more recent import. In this chapter, four such framing issues will be explored with a focus on HE. At the top of the list continue to be issues related to access and equity. Although some national educational systems, such as Japan, Korea, and Taiwan, have come close to universal access (K–16), many nations in the region continue to struggle with rural–urban differences, peri-urban lack of access, discrimination against minorities, women, and other excluded groups and in the unique case of the Philippines a conversion of its increasingly dysfunctional K–10 pre-tertiary HE system into a more conventional K–12 system.

A second area that is directly related to the access and equity issue is that of quality and quality assurance (QA). As regional educational systems have grown and more capacity becomes available, the question of “how good is it?” is raised by various stakeholders. QA has become a hot topic especially in HE as nations in the region have bought into the rankings race, and the quest for “world class” status.

Although student and scholar mobility and migration has long been an important dimension of the educational landscape in Asia, it has assumed new importance as it has shifted from being largely outward oriented (targeted to the West) to being a mix of inward and cross-border regional exchanges. This represents a third enduring trend as students and scholars (and ideas) are moving through the region in increasing numbers only to be confronted by a variety of questions as to the degree of impact that this movement in fact represents.

Finally, a fourth area to be explored, inspired perhaps by the federalism of the USA as well as efforts to “harmonize” education in the European Union (EU), is the issue of regionalism. This has assumed renewed importance in Asia, as nations seek to find ways to expand their historical economic cooperation to one that includes education and human resource development. This has proved more difficult than expected but opens up many new challenges for education and national development in the Asian region.

ACCESS AND EQUITY

The concepts of access, equity, and capacity and the varieties of practices that flow from them have dominated the HE discussion in Asia-Pacific for at least two decades. Educational policy makers became aware of the more complex nature of the relationship between educational expansion, access and equity, and the ultimate goal of providing more equality for those who would attend HE (Lee 2002). At the front end of this discourse is the issue of equity of access, that is, who gets into the expanded HE system. It is difficult to find a case in Asia where there is not a diversified population, certainly by social class, gender, and also by ethnicity, language, religion, caste, and so on. Decisions or lack of decisions must be made to account for these differences and actions taken or not taken to facilitate access to HE.

But even if “affirmative” action is taken to ease admittance to the tertiary sector there is the issue of making the grade. Once in, how does one survive?

Is this important at all to educational policy makers? Are programs in place to assist “under-represented” populations to compete with those who more traditionally attend HE? Once in how do you stay in is the question.

The issue gets further complicated when we look deeper into the variations in the relationship between access and equity. Family income is the most obvious variable when looking at these relationships. Income distribution among those admitted to HE is strongly related to such measures as “capability poverty” (Laderchi 2002) where such basics as nourishment, health, and education factor into the capacity of certain populations to compete equitably with others on the road to HE admissions. Here is where decentralization can become a disincentive for equity and access and a case can be made for state intervention to level the playing field.

There is also great regional diversity in the Asia region as well as within countries, which factor into the access and equity equation. Regional disparities of certain population groups may hinge on structural, political, or ethnic issues as certain groups occupy “marginal lands” and find their opportunities for entrance to HE are also marginalized. Regional disparity looms large and in the case of China, has influenced national policy at the highest levels as reference is consistently made to the “problem of the west,” in this case, western rural China (Chen 2009).

Once regional diversity is accounted for and one digs a little deeper still, the issue of sociocultural diversity crops up. Here the familiar categories of differentiation such as ethnic, linguistic, religious, caste, gender, and other distinguishing characteristics become central to policy making and influence HE access and equity strategies. A wide range of responses to this form of diversity can be found from outright discrimination to various forms of affirmative action. Often, the relationship between regional marginality and sociocultural marginality is strong.

Finally, structural responses and mechanisms round out the policy-making dilemma. A principal one in the case of most of Asia is the issue of high-stakes national testing regimes. The primary screening, gate-keeping mechanism for HE in much of Asia is some form of a national entrance examination. Usually offered in the latter part of secondary education, these examinations determine who is granted admission to the various levels of HE but more importantly, who is granted admission to the most prestigious HE institutions (HEIs)—those that will determine the occupational and income future of graduates.

Reforms of these systems have been attempted over the years (the most dramatic in Japan when the US occupation forces recommended eliminating them all together and in China during the Cultural Revolution when a similar reform was implemented). In all cases the testing culture has proved to be resilient and continues to this day to play the role of gatekeeper for HE admission and often drives the curriculum at all lower levels as primary and secondary teachers “teach” to the national entrance exam (Yeom 2011).

Tracking mechanisms are also often in place to guide some secondary school leavers toward the world of work and others to HEIs. The public-private

debate enters in as neoliberalism is increasingly adopted as policy in the region and responses such as preparatory or “cram” schools (*juku* in Japan; *buxiban* in Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, and Singapore; *hakwon* in Korea; etc.) provide a shadow educational system, available to all, but at a price.

A question that one might want to pose is whether access to HE is “all that it is cracked up to be.” That is to say, as various societies have rushed to address access and capacity, the dominant tendency has been to add capacity after the structural models of existing institutions and systems. This has resulted in adding many more students to systems of institutions whose historic legacy has been to function largely as centers of elite education. This has raised issues of bringing large numbers of students into HE who are often manifestly unready for the level of instruction demanded. This “problem” in turn leads to a situation in which institutions need to “water down” curricula and standards or face the prospect of finding large numbers of students unable to meet established standards. (Grade inflation in the West is a persistent reminder of the problem.) One suggestion is that the dominant discourses that constitute these three values, especially those that purport to link capacity with access may need to be re-conceptualized, perhaps with policy discourses seeking a new utilitarian base: asking the question of HE graduates for what purpose?

Asking such questions need not (as they have often recently) result in default responses that link HE solely with limited occupational-related outcomes. It may indeed be the case that in the changing and shifting climate of increased global interaction and dependence, as well as in societies increasingly based on ever-shorter innovation and adoption cycles, we need to give renewed attention to how the kinds of inputs that are being mobilized within nations are being employed (Hawkins 2011). One view is that questions of access, equity, and capacity should be framed more explicitly in terms of *mixes* of formal and non-formal HE or tertiary education. Such a move would carry us in the direction of a more differentiated education model that focuses less on world class, elite HEIs, and looks more closely at community college, technical and vocational colleges, rural cooperatives, and open universities that seek to respond to wide varieties of national and local needs. Such a shift of focus would allow us to identify discourses and outcomes that produce value across a larger slice of social endeavors. Again, these are issues that are at the forefront of educational policy throughout Asia (Hawkins et al. 2011). The rising demand for HE in Asia, especially since WWII, has resulted in the massification we see today but it has also brought about the critique of spawning a “diploma disease” and the rise of credentialism, often disconnected from the world of work (Dore 1976; Neubauer and Tanaka 2011; Yang 2011). The differentiation in HE that has occurred in the changing social structures of the late twentieth century extends across a long continuum of quality leading in turn to a resurgence of the QA movement.

Much more can be said about the complexity of access and equity in the Asian region. The factors discussed briefly above however provide a general idea of how a variety of barriers exists to those seeking admission to various

levels of HE and help frame the discussion for the issues that flow from this fundamental educational dilemma.

QUALITY ASSURANCE

In October of 2006, and for each year thereafter, the Association of Universities of Asia and the Pacific has held an annual conference, the topic of which has been focused on Asia-Pacific Quality Assurance and Accreditation in Higher Education. Representing over 200 members from 19 different countries, participants discuss issues of QA, quality indicators, quality registers, pan-Asia accreditation as well as other topics related to the desire of universities and colleges in the Asian region to achieve higher standards. These meetings (and the many others that have been held recently in the Asia-Pacific region) are symbolic of the preoccupation that higher educational leaders in the region have with “quality assurance.” Many HEIs in the region are also members of the Asia-Pacific Quality Network (APQN) based in Shanghai and which offers members the opportunity to stay abreast of new developments in this rapidly changing field. The issue of accreditation for the many new HEIs launched in the region is a volatile one as the stakeholders are understandably concerned with value for money. The rise of many questionable HEIs in places like China and India (the *minban* in China, for instance, and affiliated colleges in India) only makes this evaluation more difficult.

The context in which the heightened interest in QA occurs in Asia is worth noting. While HE decentralization is occurring on the one hand, a contradictory “central” (i.e., Ministry of Education [MOE] or other state body) obsession with QA is occurring on the other, resulting in what some scholars are referring to as “centralized decentralization” (Mok 2011, 12). This ambiguity has prompted both enthusiasm and cynicism for QA. The rise of QA in Asia is coincident with a number of forces and factors including the philosophies of neoliberalism, managerialism, corporatization, among others, all of which has contributed to the establishment of national QA or accreditation agencies, societies, associations, and other schemes to measure HE quality. There are of course good reasons why HE stakeholders are concerned with how their HEIs are performing. Massification plus diversity in HE in Asia has resulted in an increased demand for more information regarding the myriad of universities and colleges that represent the HE landscape in the region. For their part, colleges and universities can use QA for branding purposes, and to find their niche in the tangle of institutions that represent the region. At the state level, governments find QA useful to increase their control and leverage over HE and increasingly, continued state funding (albeit often diminished as a result of decentralization) is often conditional, based on the results of various reviews.

Clearly observable has been a shift from a “bottom-up” HE change process to an increase in external influences, a shift on the continuum of control from less to more. Historically, for most nations in the region, QA occurred on the front end, during the process by which the HEI was established, and apart

from periodic demands by the MOE for quantitative data, and for approval of changes in the institutional structure, there was little in the way of formal, regular evaluation. And as the locus of review moves toward national agencies, it has been argued that there is now more of an interest in accountability than in performance. One consequence of this movement is that “quality management” has replaced a more loosely coupled, and perhaps more academic, management style to assure that the ideas spawned from QA permeate the organization, and that the data that are collected and the internal assessments that occur comply with external demands. An evaluative culture has emerged in the region for better or worse.

The financial self-responsibility movement has also had an impact on QA development, as HEIs now must in many cases generate a substantive percentage of funds needed to cover recurrent costs and research. A question raised here is the degree to which this has helped or hindered QA. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development noted that the movement toward the market has had mixed results and has not necessarily improved learning outcomes. It is worthwhile to comment on the experiences of some key nations in the region with respect to the market issue. For example, it was reported that in China the MOE was aware of this movement toward the market, and was taking action to “initiate further quality monitoring and assurance reforms, including providing more information to consumers” (Li 2010). The general QA system that has evolved in China since 2002 consists of a variety of levels of review. A five-year cycle was put in place in 2002 whereby every HEI is to be evaluated every 5–6 years. The Academic Degrees Committee (ADC) of the State Council is responsible for defining the differentiated standards for degrees including the BA, MA, and doctorate, in both HEIs and research institutes. The Higher Education Department of the MOE has a disciplinary guidance committee for curricula and content. And a Committee of Accreditation staffed by the Education Development and Planning Division of the MOE defines qualification procedures for assessing educational capacities for individual HEIs. Periodic assessments of HEIs can result in the institutions being approved, put on probation, receiving warnings, and suspension. While the ADC is responsible for overall degree standards, a division of responsibility exists for accreditation.

While central, bureaucratic authorities have major responsibility for QA and accreditation in general, since 1994 there has been a movement toward independent assessment bodies such as the NGO National Evaluation Institute for Degree Granting Education. However, this approach did not yield expected results and the MOE has more recently become interested in both the US model of accreditation and agencies such as the European Foundation for Quality Management.

China’s QA system is a work in progress currently consisting of a mix of levels (central government, MOE, local provincial and institutional, and continued interest in the involvement of external, international agencies) and facing a number of challenges and questions (should QA be formative or terminal, how

much emphasis should be placed on rankings, what should be the relationship between governmental QA and other “buffer” agencies, is there too much emphasis on competition, and how should the QA assessment be used?). What seems clear is a strong policy interest in using QA to build a core of first class HEIs.

India is the other large HE system in Asia, of which recently, the government has been harshly critical. Indian HE has a long history of British regulatory mechanisms. The University Grants Commission (UGC) established in 1994, the National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC), which employed a familiar QA mechanism of self-evaluations, peer review (based on pre-determined criteria for assessment), and the application of a voluntary, graded five-point scale (Stella 2002). The primary problem India has faced has been the tradition of affiliation whereby one college takes the lead in undergraduate education and is loosely connected to other colleges and universities. As Stella notes: “Most Indian universities are of the affiliating type where the affiliating university legislates on courses of study, holds examinations centrally on common syllabi for its affiliates, and awards degrees of successful candidates” (Stella 2002, 2). Some affiliating universities have over 400 affiliated colleges, thus rendering QA a problematic exercise. Many of the affiliates are known to be substandard. An increase in private initiatives has also created difficulties for India. About 70 percent of all HEIs are run by private trusts (even though many receive substantial levels of state funding through “grant-in-aid college funds”).

The scale of the “quality” problem of Indian HE was recently divulged by the leaking of a confidential report by the NAAC, a division of the UGC. The report indicated that 123 universities and 2956 affiliated colleges across India had been evaluated and that 68 percent of the universities, and 90 percent of the colleges were found to be of “poor quality” (Neelakantan 2007, 2). Additional QA issues included reduced enrollments, unfilled faculty positions, teachers with insufficient credentials, and the absence of adequate IT. Prime Minister M. Singh at the time stated:

The country’s university system is in a state of disrepair, we need better facilities, more and better teachers, a flexible approach to curriculum development to make it more relevant, more effective pedagogical and learning methods and more meaningful evaluation systems ... (We have) a dysfunctional education system which can only produce dysfunctional future citizens. There are complaints of favoritism and corruption ... we should free university appointments from unnecessary interventions on the part of governments and must promote autonomy and accountability. (Neelakantan 2007, 3–4)

The challenges for QA in India, thus, are rather substantial. Although India has many advantages that facilitate progress toward high-quality HE, there are substantial disadvantages that the current QA system highlights but is unable to influence. There are high-quality HEIs such as the Indian Institutes of

Technology, the All India Institute of Medical Sciences, and the Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, but these institutions enroll well under 1 percent of the student population (Altbach 2005). India's proposed course of action to create a new set of globally competitive institutions thereby raising the QA level for all of Indian HE is both bold and risky (and expensive). But as Altbach notes, "without these universities India is destined to remain a scientific backwater" (Altbach 2005, 6).

While China and India struggle to push their massive HE systems forward and at the same time raise quality standards, Japan, as the traditionally undisputed HE leader in the East Asia region, struggles to redefine what it means by QA and to maintain the quality that it has already earned. Japan has a long history of formal accreditation modeled on the US system inherited as a result of the US post-WWII occupation. The Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA) was formed in 1947, founded by 47 universities and now includes over 300 universities. This represents 45 percent of all universities in Japan (Hokama 2005; Mori 2011). Up until 2004, the JUAA was the sole organization for accreditation and evaluation in Japan (the MOE, of course, had the sole authority to approve the creation of all HEIs, but provided minimum standards). All HEIs were required by the MOE to undergo a self-review periodically and the results were publicly released, but there was no explicit requirement that the institutions be reviewed by an external agency. JUAA accreditation was a voluntary and autonomous system of QA that many HEIs joined largely in order to help improve their pedagogical mission (Hokama 2005; Mori 2011).

The QA process began to change in 2000 when the MOE launched its own system of evaluation by its own agency: the National Institute for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (NIAD-EU). The NIAD-EU was modeled on a British QA system and was not accreditation in the strict sense. Stimulated by World Trade Organization (WTO) and the European accreditation movement, the NIAD-EU approach "referred to trends in European countries regarding accreditation and explained the need for QA in the context of international competitive and cross border provision of education, rather than in terms of domestic requirements for quality improvement." The MOE had never made much use of the JUAA, but universities liked it as being symbolic of participation in the international QA movement.

The School Education Act was amended in 2002 and proposed a new accreditation scheme to be enacted in 2004, the Certified Evaluation and Accreditation (CEA) system (Mori 2011). The MOE has now authorized several accreditation agencies to perform evaluations but the process is still centralized. Japan seems to be following the global trend of establishing national bodies of accreditation, a departure from the previous American-influenced JUAA, decentralized, voluntary model.

This lack of perception of ownership is likely to hamstring any serious efforts by the MOE or any other accreditation agencies to gain credibility in the QA process. Mori notes that the CEA has little to do with excellence (Mori 2011).

It is far more likely that international and local market pressures will have a much greater QA impact. JUAA has been diminished and must now report (as do all other QA agencies) to the MOE. Once again, decentralization policies toward HEIs have been countered by renewed centralization by the MOE bureaucrats. The numerous private institutions in Japan have decided to launch their own accreditation agency. For-profit and even international agencies can be certified as accreditation agencies under the new legislation. One feature of the new system will be competition. If a university or college does not like the results of one QA evaluation, it can switch agencies for the next seven-year round (Hokama 2005; Mori 2011). Again, it is argued that an improvement in QA methods in Japan would be to strengthen internal QA and empower HEIs to be individually accountable (Yonezawa and Mori 2009; Mori 2011). All of this will raise questions about the seriousness of QA in Japanese HE.

A similar search for QA alternatives is taking place in Taiwan. Since 1966, Taiwan's HE system has expanded from 21 HEIs to 163 in 2011. The expansions, combined with the international competitive forces of globalization, have put QA on the front burner for educational leaders and analysts. The MOE has put pressure on Taiwan's HEIs to compete internationally and be able to enter the "rankings" along with high-quality institutions in other Asian settings (Chen 2006). Three basic mechanisms have been utilized to spur the QA movement forward: (1) offering HEIs more basic autonomy, (2) offering increased funding as an incentive for change, and (3) at the same time developing a new and better QA system to perform periodic evaluations of both institutions and programs. The institutional accreditation methods familiar in the USA influenced Taiwan early in its QA development beginning in 1975 into the 1990s. The process was always centralized, with the MOE playing a central role. In 2005, the MOE commissioned a new organization called the Taiwan Assessment and Evaluation Association (TWAEA) and authorized it to conduct both programmatic and institutional evaluations. In addition, the Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council (HEEACT) was established to conduct a nation-wide university program evaluation and lay the groundwork for the ranking of research performance. TWAEA is a non-profit organization founded by academics and individuals from the business sector. HEEACT is a MOE body. The latest national HE evaluation involved a joint effort by the two bodies with the MOE in the lead (Li 2010). This is an on-going process viewed by some scholars as focused more on international rankings and league tables than on improving teaching, research, and learning (Chen 2006; Hou 2011).

The methods used are also a mix of the US accreditation approach and the experiences derived from the Bologna process in Europe. This means more fully involving the HEIs themselves, involving students in the evaluation process, focusing on the quality and employability of graduates, and becoming competitive internationally (Li 2005). Like Japan and China, the QA process remains highly centralized with the MOE and its agencies playing lead roles and external agencies increasingly being involved in specific aspects of QA

review (Chen 2006). In addition, Taiwan has been active in having selective international accreditation for some professional programs, such as those in engineering and medicine. At least one scholar of QA in Taiwan suggests a preferred future where the MOE would retreat to a position of assuring the integrity of the process while relying on external, more independent agencies to conduct the actual audits and evaluations (Hou 2011).

Singapore and Hong Kong offer further examples of a QA process whereby general decentralization and increased autonomy of HEIs is coupled with a continued strong presence of the state with respect to QA. Mok (2000) refers to a “re” regulation of HE in the context of QA at the same time as the state loosens its controls of HE in general. Hong Kong may have been the first HE system in the region to systematize QA when in 1997 the Executive Council empowered the UGC to begin a QA process for all HEIs: “The UGC in its mission statement pledges to uphold the academic freedom and institutional autonomy of institutions while at the same time seeking to assure the *quality* and *cost-effectiveness* of their education provision, and *being publicly accountable* for the sums of public money devoted to higher education. ... [T]he term quality assurance (the UGC means) the maintenance of the highest standards both in teaching and learning and in research and services commensurate with an institutions’ agreed role and mission. ... [S]uch terms as ‘fitness for purpose,’ ‘doing the right thing right the first time.’ ‘value added performance indicators,’ and so on, proliferate” (Mok 2000). The focus at the central level in Hong Kong then is determining that the HEIs in Hong Kong have the appropriate mechanisms for QA in place, rather than assessing quality itself (Mok 2011).

Quality Assurance Committees and Performance, Planning, Appraisal, and Development offices were established within universities to focus on four meta areas of evaluation: the quality program framework (mission statements, vision, goals, etc.), formal quality program activities, quality program support, values, and incentives (what is the reward structure for carrying out QA?). Hong Kong initiated (and Japan and Taiwan followed) a “center of excellence” scheme to encourage strong programs to develop and conversely identify weak programs. Mok concludes, “all these changes illustrate how the ideas and practices of managerialism have affected the university sector in Hong Kong. Without a doubt, university governance in Hong Kong has shifted from the traditional collegial approach to management-oriented and market models.” Hong Kong has more recently moved toward the “total quality control” model utilizing the audit method and a variety of outcome measurement tools (Mok 2005). A form of decentralization has emerged (steering at a distance) which maintains a subdued but still effective government presence (Mok 2011).

Singapore in some ways offers a contrasting approach to QA. Whereas in Hong Kong the emphasis has been on cost cutting and efficiency, in Singapore the focus is on maintaining global competitiveness. To prepare for this competition, Singapore’s two primary universities (National University of Singapore [NUS] and Nanyang Technical University [NTU]) put in place internal QA

mechanisms with the goal to transform both institutions into “world class” universities (Tan 2011). The MOE adopted a novel approach by forming an international QA team of 11 prominent academics from highly ranked American, European, and Asian universities to conduct an external QA analysis of the two universities. The goal to provide recommendations that would transform them into the Harvard (NUS) and Massachusetts Institute of Technology or MIT (NTU) of Asia. The reviews were conducted at the institutional level and the MOE buttressed these efforts by introducing policies that tightened up tenure rules, provided financial incentives for good teaching and research, promoted a more favorable faculty–student ratio, and so on (Tan 2011). In both the Hong Kong and Singapore cases, QA is very much a presence, and while occurring during a period of the hollowing out of the state, the state, through the respective MOEs, is very much involved; these are another two cases of the centralization of decentralization.

QA policy change is not limited to East Asia but is occurring throughout the region. Efforts in Indonesia and Pakistan, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Thailand to name just a few nations in the region are occurring apace and as was suggested in the introduction to this section, amid both enthusiasm and cynicism. Tadjudin, chair of the National Accreditation Board for Higher Education in Indonesia, notes that although accreditation policies date back to 1994, many stakeholders believe that more programmatic or institutional approaches to QA are not helpful. Because the HE market is not well developed in Indonesia, students are more interested in simply obtaining the degree than identifying the best academic programs. Many view QA through accreditation as a somewhat foreign concept and therefore the challenge for the immediate future is to establish a “paradigm of accreditation management (that) will also change to professionalism, transparency, accountability, and cooperation with other national and international accreditation agencies and professional organizations for better quality assurance and accuracy” (Tadjudin 2001).

In Pakistan, it was not until recently that the MOE established the Higher Education Commission (HEC), which in turn established a QA arm to get inside Pakistani HEIs with the express purpose of encouraging QA and bringing Pakistani institutions up to world standards. Quality Enhancement Cells (QEC) were established inside the universities to assist in creating general awareness of modern theories and practices of QA, develop procedures to inspire quality among academics, and introduce quality measurements for continued improvement. The QECs in turn have an advisory body of university vice chancellors, policy makers, and scholars to consult with the HEIs under review. HEC does both institutional and programmatic accreditation. In the Pakistani case, a novel feature is the significant international involvement from the APQN out of Australia, the International Network of Quality Assurance Agencies out of Berlin, and the NAAC of India. The goal and challenge for Pakistani educational policy makers is to find a way to legitimate QA and find accreditation mechanisms that fit Pakistani national and cultural circumstances while aligning HEIs with international standards.

Finally, there are a number of settings where a centralized approach is the only approach to QA. In Cambodia, despite a large World Bank loan with preconditions that an independent accreditation system be established, the proposed Accreditation Committee of Cambodia was launched but has not been an active participant in QA, and instead a new agency lodged within the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports has been charged with maintaining QA (Ford 2003). A similar situation prevails in Vietnam and Thailand where a centralized structure for QA prevails. As Ford notes: “the notion of an independent (accreditation committee) challenged some well-established traditions of hierarchy and power” (Ford 2003, 2). The decentralization policies urged by the World Bank (and other globalization forces) have been experimented with, but the urge to re-centralize seems powerful, especially when it comes to QA for HE.

MOBILITY AND MIGRATION

As we seek to identify and monitor the very complex mobility and migration aspects of global knowledge capital and its circuits within the Asia-Pacific region, a research agenda for the future would be to pay particular attention to four specific impacts on HE institutions.

One is the migration/diffusion/circulation of governance ideas, patterns, and practices. In the 1990s, for example, scholars were beginning to see the manifestations of what was commonly termed *managerialism*, efforts to organize and operate universities more as free-standing business organizations. In one way or another, these ideas spread (diffused) rather quickly throughout the Asia-Pacific region and arguably have done much to change the nature of HE. In other parts of the region, we see efforts to develop multi-campus systems, or to redefine how faculty interacts with governance structures.

Another development—and perhaps the most obvious as we have seen—has been the sweep of QA activities across the region. These efforts continue to have a pervasive effect on HEIs.

A third development is the migration of “ideas about education,” which might include all kinds of pedagogy that have “caught on” and are changing the way that either graduate or undergraduate education is pursued. One example is the sweep of problem-based learning across the curricula of many HEIs. Another is the effort, for example, made by administrators at Tsinghua and Peking Universities to mandate both freshman and senior seminars to promote initiative and research awareness in its students (Ma 2011).

Finally, we need to clarify what is meant by the term “internationalization” as measured by mobility of students and scholars. Despite obvious increases in the numbers of students and scholars that go to study abroad both within Asia and between Asia and other settings, it remains true in most instances that HE institutions in many nations continue to be domestically focused admitting only small percentages of international students and scholars (Hawkins 2011). As one of the leaders in student mobility, both sending and receiving students,

the USA has been a model for many Asian nations. Yet, despite many efforts to expand such programs, it has been repeatedly reported that far from being an “open door” model, mobility continues to be for the few (less than 10 percent of the US undergraduates), mostly from upper middle class socioeconomic status groups, and not including cultural minorities to any large degree. In fact, the American Council on Education notes that the US campuses have actually taken a step backward with respect to internationalization (Fischer 2015). Conditions in much of Asia have also turned “inward” in various ways that are not encouraging (Hawkins 2011).

Much work remains to be done before most HEIs in the region can claim to be offering opportunities for their students to prepare for a globalized world. It remains an enduring issue for most nations.

REGIONALISM AND HE

The utilization of regional organizations and partnerships for the purpose of harmonizing disparate national higher educational systems is easier said than done. This has been shown to be the case in the EU where it is still a work in progress and may well be sliding backward, and it is certainly the case in Asia where despite or perhaps because of the plethora of regional organizations, policies, and programs, to say nothing of the continuing historical tensions between nations and subregions, the process of harmonization has lurched along and questions remain as to its long-term substance.

Is economic regionalization a trend for the future? As this happens, does it herald educational regionalization thus uniting economic internationalization and education? There is sufficient disagreement over these propositions to warrant a certain amount of skepticism regarding the viability of economic, social, and cultural regionalization. Some argue that this trend is already visible in the Caribbean, the EU, and one could argue, in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN; Forest 1995). Others have argued that nationalism remains a powerful counter force, placing boundaries that regionalization dare not cross (De Witt 1995).

An interesting hypothesis might be that forms of regional HE organization and governance are more likely to occur in a narrow rather than broad sense. Furthermore, the nation-state continues to be a powerful force when it comes to regionalization, a force pulling away from this concept, largely because of neoliberalism, economic competition, accountability, QA, and alignment issues. In other words, as economics becomes more globalized, HE tries to follow but gets caught up in the centrifugal local forces mentioned above.

Regionalism may focus on political structures, security and international relations, economics, geography, literature, art and architecture, popular culture and sport, and education to name just a few. Generally speaking, two main phases of regionalism can be identified in the Asian region: old and new. The early phases (old) spanned three decades from 1950 to 1980 and consisted of country groupings of peer economies, intra-regional interactions, trade, secu-

rity, and education. ASEAN is the prime example of this exclusive form. From 1980 on, we see the reflection of neoliberalism, economic liberalism, and market deregulation in the rise of broader-based inter-regional organizations such as the APEC, the Asia/Europe Meeting, the Asia Cooperation Dialogue, ASEAN +3, and so on. Educational regionalism has been built on organizations such as these, in particular the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organizations (SEAMEO), Regional Center for Higher Education and Development (SEAMEO RIHED), the Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning (ASAIHL), among others. These groupings focus on a diverse set of HE issues such as QA, collaborative research and development, teaching and learning, student mobility, and do not exclude interacting with national settings outside of the Asian orbit (the USA and Australia) (Shameel 2003). So we see here, in these two phases, a wide range of regional organizations (ROs) from exclusive to inclusive, from intra-regional to inter-regional, and covering an equally wide range of social issues, one of which is education and especially HE.

All of this raises a number of issues that will warrant on-going research and observation as ROs continue to grow and develop and HE is increasingly an integral component of this phenomenon. Yepes points out that the relationship between regionalism and HE in Asia is developing in the context of interaction between the ROs and those regional efforts in other global settings (Yepes 2006). The exemplar and paradigm that is most often mentioned is Europe, the EU, and the Bologna process and related activities. It is worthwhile to recap some of this to put the Asian efforts into a more comparative perspective and judge to some degree how relevant such a comparison is.

Efforts have been made to include HE in existing ROs since at least the 1950s when ASEAN explored collaboration with East Asia by establishing ASAIHL in 1956. In the 1960s, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)'s Asian and Pacific Regional Bureau for Education (UNESCO Bangkok) began to work with SEAMEO to better integrate HE in the region. Expanded to include Japan and other non-ASEAN nations, SEAMEO RIHED was established to "respond to needs related to policy and planning, administration and management of higher education" (Yepes 2006, 7). For its part, ASEAN established the ASEAN University Network (AUN) in 1995, housed at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand to manage collaborative exchanges of students and faculty and grant scholarships, provide information networking, joint research, and an ASEAN-wide course syllabus and is now in seeking to establish links with Japan, China, Korea, the EU, India, and Russia.

The list goes on, with University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP) in 1990s, the ASEAN-EU University Network Program in 2000, the Asia Link Program around that same time, all designed to create regional opportunities and knowledge between Asia and other world regions. There are regional and inter-regional initiatives directly involved with HE cooperation such as the East Asia Vision Group (EAVG) established in 1995 and in 2001 Kim Daejung proposed to combine ASEAN+3 with HE harmonization and the EAVG to pro-

duce a strong regional identity and “East Asian Consciousness” (Yepes 2006, 8). When the goals and objectives of these various regional HE efforts are summarized they collectively focus on:

- Regional lifelong learning collaboration,
- Regional credit transfer systems,
- Mobility and scholarships for students and faculty,
- Cooperative R&D,
- Promotion of centers of excellence for e-learning,
- Curriculum development, and
- Regional-wide QA cooperation.

These goals are remarkably similar to those proposed by the Bologna Process. But in the Asian case, there has been little in the way of coordination of these various efforts and indeed many of the initiatives mentioned above (and there are more that have not been mentioned) have either stalled or are no longer very active. Yepes suggests that an organization such as UNESCO could provide the umbrella coordinating organization, WTO provide assistance with reviewing regional conventions on diplomas and degrees, and the World Bank, or the Asian Development Bank provide funding for such an effort, but this does not appear likely (Yepes 2006).

Other scholars have concluded that true regionalization in Asia will not occur as long as the previous exclusive organizations (i.e., ASEAN, SEAMEO, etc.) are not able to effectively draw in the “big two” East Asian nations (China, Japan) and find a way reasonably to include the USA (Rozman 2005). The argument is made that Japan and China’s difficulty in resolving historical tensions and animosities has presented a major obstacle to moving forward with a form of regionalism that would include harmonization of HE: “the problematic state of relations between Beijing and Tokyo has increasingly emerged as the foremost hurdle for East Asian regionalism” (Rozman 2005, 402). Given that half of global GDP and a third of the world’s population are in Japan, China, and the USA, in many respects, these three countries represent the core of the emerging twenty-first century global political economy, including many of the HE indicators of concern to those proponents of HE regionalization. The successes of ASEAN and all of the other regional associations put together are highly dependent on these three countries and the models they represent. Rozman concludes that regionalism is likely not the wave of the future, at least in Asia, and probably not in the EU as well. Given the economic and increasingly cultural interdependency of the region there may well be a slow, tortuous path to a regional community, but if that is put up against the rise in nationalism on the part of all three of these core nations, it is not likely to be meaningfully successful. History and cultural memory cast a huge shadow over trust in such areas as HE harmonization, shared curriculum, and other educational policies.

A counter argument, looking at the issue from the inside, is that the Asian nations have much more in common with each other than they do with the

West and therefore, there is a basis for forging substantive regional affiliations (a *centripetal* force).

Whichever view is proposed, it is not clear at this time that there is a substantive regional identity between East and Southeast Asia.

Although efforts have been made to make sense out of the many ROs and partnerships that have emerged or are emerging in the broad region of East Asia and the implications thereof for a more harmonized HE interaction, much more needs to be done. Kuroda and Passarelli (2009) agree that at the very least, some questions need to be addressed (Kuroda and Passarelli 2009):

- How much and what kind of regional cooperation with respect to HE is already going in the region?
- What kind of governing principles and policies already exist that encourage or discourage ROs and HE harmonization?
- What does an examination of existing frameworks and organizations currently involved in ROs such as ASEAN+3, Asia Pacific Research Universities (APRU), and the many others referred to above reveal?
- What would a study of the actors involved, not only countries but also HEIs, tell us?
- What can we learn from a comparative study of other examples in Europe and North America?

HE and educational policy makers will have to attempt to strike a balance between these forces if any true “harmonization” is to occur in Asian HE. Important “small” steps are being taken in this direction as evidenced by the 2011 announcement by Tokyo University that they will change their academic calendar so that it is more aligned with that of the rest of the world (other HEIs in Japan will likely follow suit) (Koh 2012). These unilateral but symbolic steps will likely accumulate to create a more regional approach to HE short of the establishment of a major new RO.

CONCLUSION

It has been argued here that in the immense complexity of the region that is called “Asia-Pacific,” there exist at least four enduring challenges facing education in general and HE in particular. These have been discussed, albeit briefly, above and will appear in various forms in the remainder of the essays in this *Handbook*. This is not to say that these are the only issues that are useful to dissect and analyze education in Asia. This effort is to provide a loose frame for viewing this complexity. Certainly, there is a large and interesting literature on the notion of “the knowledge society” and what it means for dynamic regions such as Asia (see, e.g., Neubauer 2011). The issue of diversity and intergroup relations remains significant. One could discuss at length the complexities of education and occupational alignment and so on. However, it should be remembered that the four chosen here are not bounded by impermeable borders but are conceptually porous. Capacity, access, and equity of course include

issues of diversity, and regionalization has implications for mobility and migration. Furthermore, QA is of importance for each of these challenges. More importantly for the purposes of an essay covering such a complex and large topic as “education in Asia” is that questions are raised that will provoke discussion and invite others to explore at more length and in greater depth the variety and excitement of how HE is done in this dynamic and rapidly changing world region.

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A Journey Back to the Center: Asian Higher Education in Global Context

Sheng-Ju Chan

INTRODUCTION

Asia, as the largest continent on the planet, has the largest population and number of countries. If we turn our attention to Asia's cultural legacy and tradition, this continent also has a diverse and glorious past, with notable examples from China, India, Muslim societies, and even small regions such as Angkor Wat in Cambodia. They have produced influential political entities during certain historical periods with astonishing achievements in the military, science, culture, economy, art, and religion. Long before the rise and dominance of the modern Western world, these Asian societies had led social, economic, and cultural transformations on a global scale. In line with their remarkable contributions and impacts upon the world, some countries are known for the grand empires established beyond the region of contemporary Asia extending into Europe or Africa, such as the ancient Arab Empire (A.D. 632–945), the Yuan Dynasty of China, and the Mongol Empire (A.D. 1206–1368).

In viewing herself as the most important and central country in the world, China represents a nation situated at the core of planetary civilization. Notably, there were widespread and mature systems at the tertiary level, called Shu Yuan (書院), since the Song Dynasty of China. The Indian Nalanda University probably was the most influential and prestigious institution in the sixth century with impact stretching across Asia. In addition, the historic achievements in mathematics and astronomy of medieval Islamic societies played a major role in world academic advancement. However, after the Age of Discovery and the advent of the industrial revolution in Europe, Asian countries gradually lost their global influence in the arts and sciences, replaced by Western counterparts.

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After World War II, European and North American countries occupied the central position of cutting-edge technologies and knowledge. Their higher education systems and institutions have been regarded as the “center” while Asian counterparts (and others from developing countries) tend to be regarded as “peripheral.”

But in recent times, Asian higher education systems are gradually drifting back to the spotlight of world knowledge frontiers. Along with the increasing prevalence of tertiary education, social and economic transformation, and technological advancement, we have seen an upswing in Asian higher education. An examination of world university rankings, academic publications, and high-technology firms helps support this assertion. Mahbubani (2008), Singapore’s former Permanent Representative to the United Nations, stated that the two most salient features of the new historical epoch are the end of Western domination and an enormous renaissance of Asian societies. Nevertheless, Altbach (2010, 4) has stated that “a number of structural, academic, and cultural factors may inhibit even some of the best Asian universities from rising to the pinnacles of academic quality in the near future and are likely to some extent inhibit the improvement of Asia’s universities in general.”

It is within this wider context that this chapter aims to examine how much Asian higher education has achieved so far and points to the major impediments ahead to long-term success. The focus is on the relative improvements and achievements gained in higher education over the past two decades compared to other counterparts. Moreover, institutional, social, and cultural issues are also examined to highlight difficulties in achieving continuous advancement.

The Glorious Past of the Intellectual Tradition in Asia: Cases of China and the Arab World

In demonstrating the central position that the ancient Asian intellectual tradition occupied, this section highlights Chinese and Arab contributions to global scientific knowledge and academic development. Ancient China produced “Four Great Inventions” (四大發明): the compass, gunpowder, papermaking, and printing. These had an enormous impact on the development of Chinese and global civilization. Gunpowder, for example, spread to the Arab world in the thirteenth century and thence to Europe. According to the English scholar Francis Bacon, writing in *Novum Organum*:

Printing, gunpowder, and the compass: these three have changed the whole face and state of things throughout the world; the first in literature, the second in warfare, the third in navigation; whence have followed innumerable changes, in so much that no empire, no sect, no star seems to have exerted greater power and influence in human affairs than these mechanical discoveries. (Bouée 2010, 84)

In fact, Chinese achievements in science and technology were highly recognized worldwide until the Ming Dynasty (明朝). China was responsible for central developments in pharmacology, metallurgy, astronomy, calendar making,

mathematics, hydraulics, and geography. In addition to these natural or hard sciences, Chinese researchers and thinkers were also famous for their contributions to philosophy, epistemology, political science, logic, and the fine arts.

Regarding tertiary institutions, the Chinese *Shuyuan* (書院) displayed certain features still emphasized in modern higher education. For example, dating back to the Tang Dynasty (唐朝) in the eighth century, the *Shuyuan*, mainly privately funded organizations, were established where scholars could teach and study the classics. Without governmental support, they managed to build spaces away from cities and towns with books collected nationwide. The relatively isolated surroundings provided scholars a place to engage in studies and contemplation, and teach without external distractions. In this institution, scholars could do research and disseminate their knowledge and thought to their colleagues or students. Moreover, the collection of books, documents, and written materials could be preserved for a long-term use. Therefore, *Shuyuan* represents the functions of teaching and research, similar to teaching and research features seen in universities today. In the Northern Song era (A.D. 960–1127), many such institutions were established with government encouragement. In deepening its connection with government, *Shuyuan* gradually became preparatory schools for the Imperial examinations. The focus of this institution shifted to preparation for civil service to the empire, though there were still some such institutions that functioned as centers of study and research.

We have also witnessed notable achievements in mathematics and astronomy of medieval Islamic societies in the Golden Age (A.D. 750–1258). Three main factors facilitated this occurrence (Falagas et al. 2006). The first can be attributed to the use of a common language, Arabic, that made communication possible within the Muslim Empire. The establishment of libraries in major cities in Iran, central Asia, and Spain proved to be effective in disseminating new knowledge. Moreover, small bookshops with a wide range of titles operated in several cities. The final factor had to do with the emergence in Baghdad in 1004 of *the House of Wisdom*, a formal academic institution resembling a university.

This organization, from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries, attracted a wide range of learned scholars from Jewish and Christian backgrounds participating in research and translating books into Arabic. As noted, scholars associated with the *House of Wisdom* also made many remarkable contributions to various academic fields including mathematics, astronomy, medicine technology, alchemy and chemistry, zoology, and geography and cartography. Thus, Arabic societies occupied a leading position in the academic community in the Medieval Ages. However, this role eroded and was substantially replaced by the modern Western regimes since the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

A Peripheral Status: Losing Tradition and Adopting Western Regimes

Despite the historical existence of such scientific knowledge, technological advancement and prototypes of higher education institutions (HEIs), such as *Shuyuan* and *the House of Wisdom*, Altbach (2004, 15), has insisted that

“contemporary Asian higher education is fundamentally influenced by its historical traditions. No Asian university is truly Asian in origin—all are based on European academic models and traditions, in many cases imposed by colonial rulers, and in others (e.g., Japan and Thailand) on voluntarily adopted Western models.” The comprehensive invasion of military colonialism and the economic impacts on Asian societies provided a powerful venue for European (higher) educational systems to be widely adopted (Cummings 2003). Along with the triumph of these new regimes, most Asian universities, voluntarily or reluctantly, began to import or implant the Western university model in place of local institutions. Despite such adoption, Asian HEIs (aside from Japan) have been regarded as peripheral entities without substantial impacts upon the scientific community—until the 1990s.

According to comparative research on six core nations (Cummings 2003), these educational regimes in Europe and America increasingly gained wider acceptance throughout Asia. The German model had significant impacts upon the Japanese higher education system. On the other hand, the English system had direct influence on India, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Malaysia. Other Southeast Asian nations such as Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam can trace their educational roots back to France or Russia. These intertwined linkages confirm a hypothesis that higher education in Asian countries seems to follow those of Western regimes and models instead of their own traditions. However, an alternative way to conceptualize the development of Asian higher education suggests that the earlier institutions, such as *the House of Wisdom* and Chinese *Shuyuan*, “had sophisticated and well-developed HE long before the Western impact and that it is reasonable to suggest that embedded values, forms, and practices have found their way into the Western template that has come to occupy formal HE as we know it today in those societies” (Hawkins 2013, 52). Nevertheless, it is true that in the past century, Asian higher education has been characterized by serious losses in confidence, talent, and even real scientific innovation and contributions.

Looking into the flow of students and researchers, a brain drain from Asia to Western societies can be identified. Before the 1990s, vertical student mobility from developing countries in Asia to European and American universities had been a prominent phenomenon (Chan 2012). Many talented students from Korea, China, Malaysia, India, and Taiwan choose to study abroad and stay in the host countries after graduation. Their vital professional knowledge and skills were not being utilized by their home countries. Such talent loss has even been identified as a primary negative factor in economic growth for some nation-states in Asia and Africa (Docquier and Rapoport 2012). Moreover, Asian higher education also lacked critical scientific innovation and engagement with high-end knowledge production along with its peripheral status since the eighteenth century.

Catching Up With the West: The Rise of Asia

After centuries of lagging behind in the academic community and knowledge innovation, Asian countries have begun to catch up with the Western powerhouses since the late 1980s and the 1990s. We have witnessed dramatic transformation of some countries in this region, which now have the potential to compete with the rest of the world. For example, a greater concentration of high-technology products in information communication technology (ICT) and computers has arisen in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. The provision chain between these countries and the Western market has been strengthened as Asian societies train a competent workforce and export-quality products in a cost-effective way. Financial and service centers have emerged in Hong Kong and Singapore for the wider Asia-Pacific region, while software design in India has also become influential worldwide. Moreover, China has gradually transformed its role from a “world factory” to a “world market,” leading global economic growth since the 2000s. Many Western countries are keen to maintain intensive trade and commercial relationships with China. International student mobility is also becoming more of a two-way exchange, with more students from western countries coming to Asian countries such as China (McCafferty 2013) and outbound students returning to their country of origin.

These clear changes in industrial development in Asia indicate that the region is on a rapidly rising curve. The Asia Development Bank (2014, 10) has employed a Knowledge Economy Index (KEI), developed by the World Bank, to measure the relative performance of 28 Asia and Pacific countries in four pillars: (1) economic incentive and institutional regime, (2) education and skills of the population, (3) innovation and technological adoption systems, and (4) ICT infrastructure. There are four countries/societies that exceed the average score of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (8.25): Taiwan, Hong Kong, Japan, and Singapore. Korea is slightly below the average. The other countries score below 6, with an average score of 4.39. Thus, while some countries in this region have made substantial progress over the past decades, others are still lagging in terms of the KEI.

In addition to the KEI, various ways to estimate the relative positioning of Asian higher-education systems exist. Here is employed a three-dimensional approach to analyze the progress that Asian higher education systems have achieved. These three dimensions cover the “input,” “processes,” and “outcomes” of higher education. The indicators employed here are research and development expenditure (percent of GDP), gross enrollment ratios in higher education, high-technology exports (percent of manufactured exports), and scientific and technical journal articles. The first indicator represents the “input” factor, denoting whether Asian higher education has sufficient resources to boost knowledge and research development. Gross enrollment figures signify the “process” factor to determine whether the overall capacity and level of higher education have expanded. The focus on high-technology

exports and published articles comprises the “outcome” factors, indicating the extent to which higher education systems are able to convert their capacity into real products or academic publications.

All raw data have been collected from the World Bank’s latest database. In order to accurately estimate the holistic developments of Asian higher education, an intercontinental and country pack comparison is made. Here are nine different groupings for mutual benchmarking. Due to the geographic grouping used by the World Bank, “East Asia & Pacific” (developing countries only; all income levels) are the main concerns while “Europe & Central Asia” (developing only) will be touched upon as we see fit.

Sufficient expenditure is fundamental in pushing high-quality research and innovations within higher education. Figure 2.1, illustrating the “input” factor, indicates the changing levels of research and development expenditure as a proportion of GDP. Those of East Asia and the Pacific (developing countries only, indicated by the brown line) have been on a continuous rise from 1996 to 2011. During these 15 years, all developing countries in this region have increased their investments in R&D from 0.5 percent to 1.8 percent. This is quite significant compared to other regions, where no obvious change is observed. North America, OECD members, and East Asia and Pacific (all income levels, indicated by the dark green line) are the highest groups on this indicator. Their average investment ratios are from 2.1 percent to 2.75 percent during this period. Therefore, taking Asia as a whole, we have witnessed gradual growth with respect to R&D expenditure.

Figure 2.2 focuses on the “process” factor of higher education by using gross enrollment ratios. In general, larger ratios of higher education participation rate symbolize rather advanced development. Figure 2.2 shows that all regions made progress between 1970 and 2013. However, a quite differ-

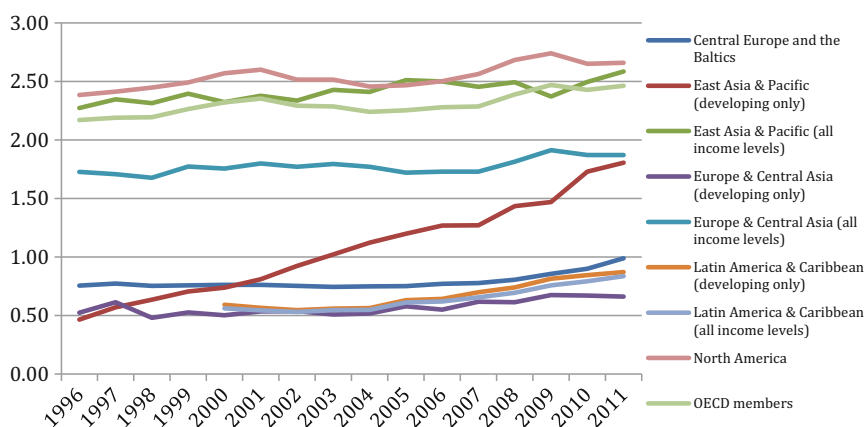


Fig. 2.1 Research and development expenditure (percent of GDP) (*Source*: World Bank (2015))

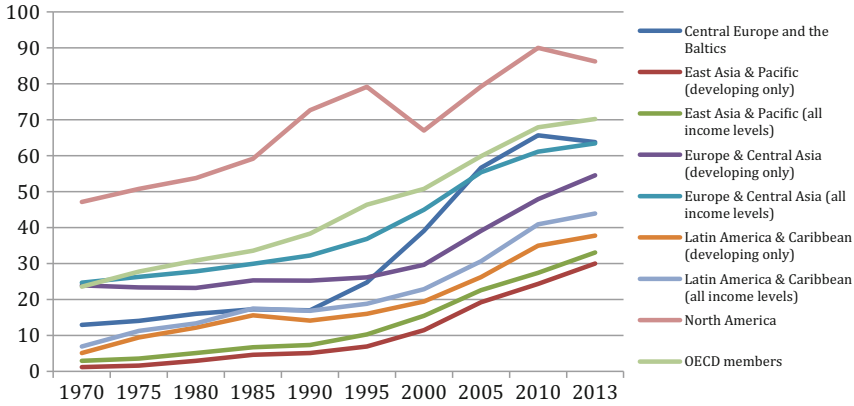


Fig. 2.2 Gross enrollment ratios in higher education (percent) (*Source: World Bank (2015)*)

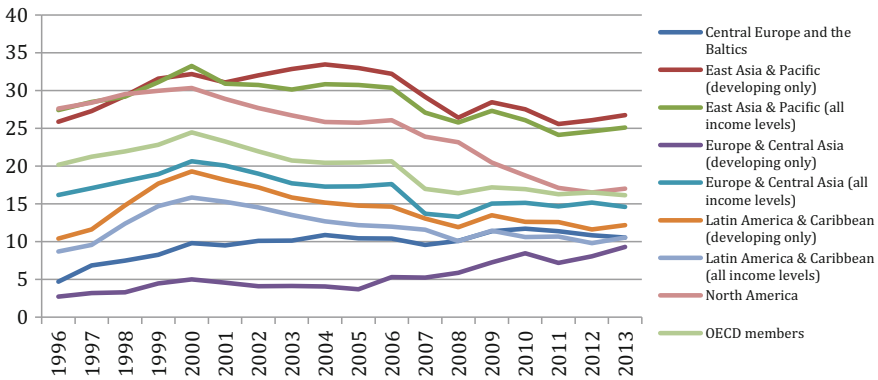


Fig. 2.3 High-technology exports (percent of manufactured exports) (*Source: World Bank (2015)*)

ent scenario emerges in comparison to the previous indicator. East Asia and Pacific (developing only, indicated by the brown line) and East Asia and Pacific (all income levels, the dark green line) regions have the lowest proportion of higher education enrollment ratios compared to other regions. This means that the expansion rate of higher education in this region overall has been relatively slow. Central Europe, the Baltic nations, and OECD members enjoyed more rapid growth. Even if we confine our analysis to the years between 1995 and 2013, the result for Asian countries is still the same.

Turning our attention to the first “outcome” indicator of higher education, Fig. 2.3 illustrates the proportions of higher-technology exports as manufactured products. During the period between 1996 and 2013, a converging

trend can be observed from the nine different measurements. This denotes that different regions have joined this competition for exporting high-technology products. However, we can see that East Asia and Pacific countries (developing only, the brown line; all income levels, the dark green line) managed to maintain their export levels of high-technology products and are gradually taking over the shares of North America and to some extent, OECD countries. In addition, developing countries in central Asia, central Europe, and the Baltics appear to have expanded their output over the past two decades. In general, Asia performed very well on this indicator and has retained a dominant position with respect to high-technology exports.

Our final indicator is journal publication, as seen in Fig. 2.4. We have seen an overall increase in scientific articles globally. In comparison to other regions, East Asia and Pacific (developing only, the brown line) and East Asia and Pacific (all income levels, the dark green line) have made significant progress in terms of publishing papers. For the former, the total number increased from nearly zero in 1996 to 10,000 in 2011. The latter, East Asia and Pacific (all income levels), has doubled article output from below 10,000 to more than 20,000 during the same period. This achievement is only matched by OECD members. Regarding the total number of articles published, the wider Asian region (with about 30,000 publications) seems comparable to North America as well as Europe and Central Asia (all income levels). Therefore, we can conclude that Asian countries are catching up with the leading publishers such as European and American countries.

These four indicators provide in-depth information regarding the progress of Asian education and technology. Asian higher education has maintained investment at a high level and has produced more scientific papers and high-technology exports. Surprisingly, the gross enrollment rate ranks at the lowest level on the global stage, in part a reflection of the large population base of several Asian countries. Therefore, we can say that higher education in Asia has

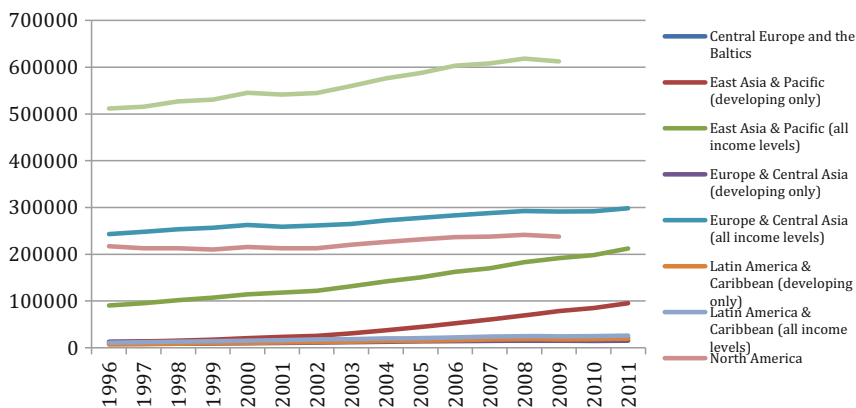


Fig. 2.4 Scientific and technical journal articles (*Source: World Bank (2015)*)

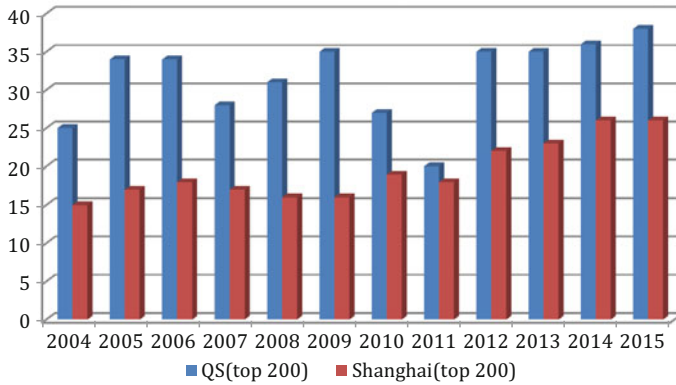


Fig. 2.5 Top 200 universities in Asia (*Source:* QS (n.d.); Shanghai Ranking Consultancy (n.d.))

used high R&D investment rather than increased university capacities (student numbers) to produce quality technology products and more academic papers. This would indicate a very efficient and effective utilization of limited human resources to increase Asian higher education’s position in academic circles.

Another meaningful way to estimate the achievement of Asian higher education is through world university rankings. Most Asian countries have been devoted to boosting their national flagship universities to world-class status since the late 1990s (Hazelkorn 2011; Shin et al. 2011; Lo 2014). Here I examine the relative positioning of Asian universities in well-recognized world league tables. Figure 2.5 shows how many Asian universities were ranked within the top 200 in QS World University Rankings and Academic Ranking of World Universities by Shanghai Jiao Tong University from 2004 to 2015. Based on Fig. 2.5 as a whole, we can infer that the total number of top universities in Asia has gradually increased both in QS and in Shanghai rankings. Given the changes in methodology employed by QS (and THE before 2010), the consistency is not so stable. However, the amount of top-ranked Asian universities has been stable for the past four years. In addition, Shanghai has seen a steady growth of top 200 universities from 15 in 2004 to 26 in 2015, representing a 70 percent increase. The share of Asian countries in 2015 is 13 percent. Though this proportion is not high, we can fairly conclude that the overall capacity of Asian higher education is on the rise and catching up with the Western world.

Challenges Ahead

Previous empirical evidence seems to suggest that Asian higher education has gained substantial progress in returning to the academic center over the past decades. Altbach (2010, 4) cautions that “in China and elsewhere in Asia a

kind of ‘glass ceiling’ will soon be reached. ... The rise of Asian higher education is by no means inevitable, at least in the near future.” His warning should be heeded as serious challenges lie ahead. This is because “an academic culture that is based on meritocratic values, free inquiry, and competition—combined with elements of collaboration and at least some mobility—is central to a world-class university” (Altbach 2010, 4). Some Asian countries did follow Jamil Salmi’s (2008) recipe for success (i.e., concentration of talent, abundant resources, and appropriate governance). However, the soft infrastructure of academic culture is the cornerstone for long-term development and excellence. In other words, some potential barriers to Asian universities achieving top status worldwide persist.

As far as academic culture is concerned, Altbach has noted some negative points (2010) in relation to achieving ultimate academic results. The first is associated with the emphasis on personal connections and networks (*guanxi*, 關係). This emphasis in Asia may cause academic inbreeding and has been detrimental to the principles of meritocracy and true competition. A tendency to adhere to a rigid academic hierarchy in relation to seniority could also stifle the free inquiry that knowledge creation critically requires. Moreover, some Asian HEIs still use traditional teaching and research methods that de-emphasize innovation. In addition, the lack of a formal tenure system and practices of academic freedom also constitute major barriers. A notable example is a liberal arts college formed by Yale University and the National University of Singapore; Yale’s faculty has voiced concerns with regard to the record of academic freedom in Singapore (Gazit 2015). Moreover, some instances of academic corruption in Asian countries have created questions about whether the “glass ceiling” still exists. One leading Korean expert in biotechnology, Hwang Woo-suk, was found fabricating a series of experiments so as to publish in high-profile journals. Other academic scandals took place in Taiwan, including an internationally covered case of a peer review scam in 2014 (Ferguson et al. 2014).

The current Asian higher education system has largely abandoned the ancient and native elements outlined above, adopting Western standards, institutions, and practices. Nevertheless, Altbach has argued that this does not guarantee the success of universities in Asia in this increasingly competitive world. Echoing this position using a Chinese example, Yang (n.d.) has proposed that if skilled diaspora returnees are expected to work in China, the culture in higher education has to change. Cummings (2010) has insisted that Asian science has a “practical bias” and is not interested in focusing on the fundamental breakthroughs of “pure research.” Cummings (2010) also notes that Asian academics find it hard to adjust to emerging knowledge subjects such as the rapid changes taking place in the biological sciences. Academic appointments tend to focus on traditional fields rather than reflect the needs of novel areas. Furthermore, with the tight control of central governments, legalism (legalistic restriction) continues to frustrate academic researchers in Asia. In addition, traditionally weak ties between academia and the private sector are obstacles in elevating university performance.

A book released in 2015, entitled *Asia: The Next Higher Education Superpower*, published by the Institute of International Education, investigates the extent to which Asian higher education has become dominant in the global academic community. The editors conclude that significant quality gaps remain between institutions in Asia and the West. “Quality is going to be a real issue for countries moving forward” (ICEF Monitor 2015; Institute of International Education 2015). Miguel Lim (2015), author of another chapter of the book, adds that “given the developed regions’ other advantages, [Asia] clearly still has some way to go before it can achieve superpower status.” The main emphasis here is on the educational quality that HEIs in Asia provide. Although they have undergone increasing expansion and quality improvement, countries such as Korea, Malaysia, and Singapore are still seeing students leave for education in the West. This quality discrepancy remains a primary hurdle that Asian higher-education institutions should overcome if they want to return to the center of the global academic community. Moreover, other countries aspiring to become higher education powerhouses are not standing still. The European Commission just launched its Horizon 2020 project by increasing its research budget to €80 billion (\$85.5 billion USD) from 2014 to 2020. This global competition for excellence and leading status poses challenges to emerging Asian countries’ higher education and will test their ability to get ahead.

Conclusion

The general development of Asian higher education on the global stage is on a journey between the center and periphery. Unique academic structures and scientific innovations in ancient Asia once occupied the central stage of the knowledge world. However, the rapid rise of Western power houses over the past 200 years has marginalized the status of other developing regions. The global spread of Western higher education models has implied a reduced status for Asian institutions and organizations in higher education. Consequently, universities in this region have faced serious losses in confidence, talent, and even creativity. However, since the 1990s, we have seen obvious improvements in different aspects of Asian higher education.

Statistical evidence suggests that Asia has made great progress in terms of both the inputs and outcomes of higher education. Marginson (2011) has even proposed a Confucian model to explain the rise of East Asian higher education. He points out four interdependent elements: (1) a strong nation-state, (2) universal tertiary participation, (3) one-chance national examinations, and (4) accelerated public investment in research and world-class universities, as the definitive factors of this model. No matter whether this model is valid or not, our analyses also show that there is a long way to go, as Altbach (2010) suggested (with the exception of Northeastern Asia). The major barriers challenging the Asian educational progress include a wide variety of factors. An appropriate culture for world-class universities includes academic freedom, meritocratic values, free inquiry, competition, and so on. Therefore, some

traditional practices and values in Asia should be modified to reflect that culture. Such traditional values include seniority, personal relationships, and emphasis on collective benefits instead of competition (Hawkins 2013).

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Asian Higher Education: Achievements, Challenges, Prospects

Anthony Welch

The multifaceted jewel that comprises Asia is the world's most dynamic and diverse region, no less so in higher education. Just as Asia's dynamic development in general over the last several decades, and its economic growth in particular, has prompted worldwide interest, so too have the growth and development of its higher education systems, especially more recently (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2014; Bhandari and Lefébure 2015; Centre International d'étude pédagogique 2015; Welch 2015a). Here too, there is much to be admired, most notably the opening up of higher education opportunities to a much greater number and proportion of regional populations, but also moves to enhance quality and promote intra-Asian regionalism.

At the same time, there have been challenges as well as achievements. Some are in part a product of expansion, as the growth of national systems has not always been matched by adequate regulation, finance, or transparency, either in the public sector or in the swiftly growing private sector that has become a significant feature of the higher education landscape in a number of Asian systems. Attention to quality, and further capacity development, is still needed in many systems. Regionalism, too, has at times been more evident at the level of rhetoric than reality, while inequality has been a persistent, even growing,

"The East is a university in which the scholar never takes his degree"
Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India designate (1898).

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feature of numerous regional higher education systems. All in all, the higher education landscape is highly diverse.

The following analysis reviews several of these key achievements and challenges, from a developmental perspective, focusing on the decades since independence was achieved, and largely on East and Southeast Asia. Such geographic focus is not merely a recognition of the substantial dynamism of these two regions, and their growing integration, but also a recognition of the diffuse understanding of Asia that embraces some 45–50 nations, with a total population of over four billion, and is generally held to include South Asia (India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Maldives, and Sri Lanka), Central Asia (Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan), East Asia (China [including Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau], Mongolia, Korea(s), Japan), Southeast Asia (the ten member states of Association of Southeast Asian Nations, ASEAN) and parts of the middle East (Israel, Jordan, Bahrain, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Lebanon, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, United Arab Emirates, Yemen) as well as what is often termed the Caucasus (Turkey, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia). While the composition of the subregions is by no means universally agreed (what the West terms the Middle East and Near East is now more commonly named West or Western Asia), the inventory above provides a sense of the complexity of Asia as a concept, as also the difficulties of doing justice to the growth and diversity of higher education within it.¹ Regionalism, ethnic relations (often by no means coextensive with national borders), and the diffusion of globalization represent further conceptual problems for any analysis of recent decades, as argued below (Eimer 2014; Welch 2015c).

COLONIAL TO POSTCOLONIAL

Considerations of change and development must acknowledge the importance of the pivotal decade following World War II, when several Asian states either won independence from former colonists or experienced major regime change. Japan was occupied by the US forces, under General MacArthur, from 1945, a move that heralded major reforms in higher education, largely modeled after the US pattern (Finn 1951; Altbach 1989; Hawkins and Furuto 2008). India gained its independence in 1947, although largely retaining major features of the British system in higher education (Agarwal 2009). China's Communist revolution of 1949 heralded the wholesale reform of higher education, including the end of the private sector, and at least for a time, major influence from the then Soviet Union (Hayhoe 1996; Gu et al. 2009). In Southeast Asia, nationalist forces in Indonesia declared independence in August 1945, after some 350 years of Dutch rule, although actual sovereignty was not achieved until December 1949. (Also, after centuries of European colonialism, Malaya's independence was not declared until 1957, although retaining a strong British influence in higher education.) The Philippines finally achieved independence in 1946, after originally declaring its independence in 1898, during the Spanish–

American war, after ousting the Spanish, and promulgating Asia's first democratic constitution. Persistent American influence in postwar higher education was at least in part a product of the Philippines' status as a US colony, from 1898. While Thailand, alone of Southeast Asian states, was not colonized by Europeans, it has been argued that Europe left its mark, along with the effects of the Japanese invasion of 1941. Vietnamese forces' final defeat of the French military in 1954 ended the latter's influence in higher education, as well as ending, more generally, more than six decades of lucrative French colonialism, which also embraced Laos and Cambodia, collectively known as *Indochine*. The US influence in higher education persisted in South Vietnam, until the defeat of the US and allied forces in 1975 led to the country's re-unification, while in the North, the influence of the socialist world, most notably the USSR, persisted, at least until the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, after which Vietnam tended to follow the Chinese model (Welch 2010).

The end of colonialism left several Southeast Asian systems facing significant issues in replacing departed colonial administrators with locals, including in higher education. Adding to this challenge, in a region characterized by long-standing traditions of valuing both education and the role of the teacher highly, were rising demands for higher education and the challenge of building a national higher education system as a pillar of national development. As more youth completed the secondary stage of education, aspirations for higher education rose. The pressures of youthful demography within Asia also drove demand for higher education in many states, with the proportion of the population under the age of 15 at the turn of the twenty-first century ranging from 25 to 35 percent in many Southeast Asian states, for example (Welch 2011a, 11). In India, too, the proportion hovered around 30 percent (World Bank n.d.). This was very different to the population profile in East Asia, where Japan faced a declining and rapidly aging population, which led to weakened demand and reduced enrollments, particularly in more vulnerable private sector higher education institutions (HEIs) some of which were forced to close. In the rest of East Asia, South Korea, Taiwan, and finally China were also coming to face an aging population profile, with implications for the higher education sector. In Taiwan, too, some more marginal private sector HEIs were forced to close their doors in the early years of the new millennium, while in Korea, an estimate by the Korean Educational Development Institute projected the closure of around 100 universities by 2040. Already in 2012, both Myungshin University and Sungwha College, both private, were ordered to close.

MASSIFICATION

These were aberrations however: the story of Asian higher education is in large part one of growth, especially in recent decades. Table 3.1 reveals the striking rates of enrollment growth in selected East and Southeast Asia over the period 1980–2007.

Table 3.1 Student enrollment, higher education, selected countries, Asia

<i>Country</i>	<i>1980</i>	<i>1998</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2007</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2011/1980 as percent</i>
Indonesia	543,175	–	3,551,092	3,755,187	5,634,000	1037
Malaysia	57,650	443,000	731,077	748,797	1,036,000	1797
Thailand	361,4000	1,814,000	2,251,453	2,469,808	2,261,000	626
Vietnam	114,701	810,000	1,328,485	1,590,000	2,430,000	2119
China	1,662,796	7,364,000	18,090,814	25,346,279	31,308,000	1883
India	3,545,818	–	11,852,936	14,862,962	26,651,000	752

Source: Welch 2012a, 4; UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2014

While the above rates of growth differed significantly, the percentage rise over the period was, in all cases striking, ranging from over 600 percent (Thailand) to over 2100 percent (Vietnam). Moreover, Gross Enrollment Ratios (GER) in higher education continued to rise in the first decade or so of the new millennium: over the years 2000–2013, the GER rose from 6.6 to 29.7 in China, from 9.5 to 31.5 in India, from 14.9 to 31.5 in Indonesia, from 25.7 to 37.2 in Malaysia, from 28.8 to 38.8 in Philippines, from 35.1 to 51.2 in Thailand, and from 10.5 to in 25.6 Vietnam (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2015). While rising demand and increased aspiration from a young population hungry for higher education was partly responsible, it is also true that governments throughout the region increasingly subscribed to the knowledge economy thesis, one of the key assumptions of which was that future prosperity and development would depend upon a population comprised in significant part of high-skilled individuals: the innovators and wealth creators of coming decades. International organizations such as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) helped reinforce the same message: “human capital is now seen as central to the development of advanced economies and democratic societies” (OECD 2002, 118). “Human capital supports economic output” (OECD 2002, 128). While the knowledge economy thesis was criticized on a number of grounds, notably that significant numbers of individuals without these skills were likely to either lose their jobs entirely or become part of the labor precariat² (Standing 2014), with inadequate pay and working conditions, nonetheless governments throughout the region largely proceeded as though this latest version of human capital theory had merit. Given that higher education was the key site of production for these highly skilled knowledge workers, governments proved keen to expand opportunities for higher education to greater proportions of the population.

They proved much less willing to finance this explosion of enrollments, however, at least to anything like the same extent, as recent research by the Asia Development Bank illustrated (Asia Development Bank 2012; Welch 2012a). Indeed, as enrollments and GERs spiraled, an increasing gap opened up between enrollments and the willingness or capacity of governments to support this growth (Welch 2011a, 2012a). In Vietnam, for example, per-student

state support fell by almost a third in the final years of last century (Welch 2011a, 149). If, as the World Bank and others have argued, universities were the critical incubators of the highly skilled talent upon which the knowledge economy was based (World Bank 2002), then higher education was indeed a major pillar of the knowledge economy scenarios envisaged by Asian governments (Jain 2015). So why did Asian governments increasingly renege on funding this enrollment growth to anything like the same extent as the growth in numbers suggested?

There were two parts to the answer, both economic. At one level, as wider demands on Asian governments extended to greater support for health, welfare, and the like, national budgets came increasingly under strain. Adding to this pressure was the competitive nature of the international economy, in which large multinational enterprises shopped around for the best deal among regional economies keen to attract the investment and jobs that new facilities promised (Martin and Schumann 1997; Sassen 1998; Robertson et al. 2009). This often entailed providing incentives such as tax breaks, subsidized energy costs, and publicly funded infrastructure, denuding national governments of much-needed income, which could be devoted to supporting higher education, among other priorities.

The second part of the rationale is that a linchpin of human capital theory holds that the user should pay, if not for basic education, and perhaps not for vocational training, then at least in more discretionary areas such as higher education, where it was argued that benefits accrued largely to the individual, in the form of higher earnings (the so-called education wage premium). As even many economists acknowledged, however, this argument conveniently ignored, or at least parenthesized, the public good benefits of higher education, which are substantial (World Bank n.d.). Although precise estimates of public and private rates of return differ significantly, depending on the specific methodology used to measure the effect, there is no doubt that higher education confers both.³ Assumptions about private rates of return also ignored the fact that mass higher education in Asia was leading to spiraling graduate unemployment and underemployment in a number of systems, especially in the world's largest higher education system, China, which by the second decade of the new millennium was pumping out at least 7 million graduates a year, from a total enrollment of more than 30 million. More and more of them came to be either unemployed or crowded together in so-called Ant Tribes—the underemployed in China's first tier cities (Si 2009; UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2014). (In 1997, the number of Chinese university students graduating with a four-year degree had totaled a much more modest 400,000 [Minzer 2013].) Despite this evidence of eroding returns on higher education and of growing graduate unemployment, what this meant was that, while regional governments largely continued to sustain basic and perhaps vocational education sectors, they were much more resistant to fully supporting the expansion of higher education to anything like the levels of enrollment growth.

China most clearly illustrates this regional tension between the twin, contradictory imperatives: to expand higher education, on the one hand, while at the same time controlling the impact on the government purse, on the other. As a direct result of government intervention, notably by former Premier Zhu, Rongzhi, higher education enrollments rose more than 500 percent within just a few years from the end of last century. Enrollments mushroomed from 1,084,000 in 1999 to 5,461,000 in 2006, while state support increased by a much smaller amount. Overall public spending on education, of which higher education was only a component, accounted for a mere 2.8 percent of the People's Republic of China's gross domestic product, which was significantly below the mandated figure of 4 percent, and much less than the recommended target of 6 percent (Xinhuanet 2010). Effectively, over the 1998–2003 period, higher education enrollments rose by 230 percent, but increases in state funding during the same period were by no means commensurate, rising by only 140 percent (Zhao and Sheng 2008; Sun and Barrientos 2009, 192; Wu and Gao 2010).

THE PATH TO PRIVATIZATION

In effect then, the challenge of growth in many systems was not being met by public sector provision alone. As demand grew, accelerated by the forces indicated above, as well as ubiquitous government ambitions to make higher education more available to wider sectors of the population, the financial implications for national budgets became more and more pressing. Students, their parents, and governments may have shared the ideal of expanding higher education provision, but in practice, higher education budgets were limited, and had to compete for resources against equivalent rising demands in areas such as health, housing, transport, and welfare. In the face of a widening gap between spiraling enrollments and limited resources, a common response was to allow the private sector to expand (UNESCO 2009). But here too, there were significant differences across the Asian region. In the Philippines, for example, private higher education had long occupied the lion's share of enrollments. In Indonesia, too, albeit less starkly, the private higher education sector was significantly larger than the public sector. In both Japan and (South) Korea, private sector enrollments were above 75 percent (Levy 2010). In socialist Vietnam and China, by contrast, the proportion of private enrollments was between 10 and 15 percent (see Table 3.2). Even these two sisters in socialism, however, saw significant signs of change (Welch 2010, 2011a, b, 2012c; Wang 2013), with Vietnam's expressed target being 40 percent by 2020, and some Chinese projections indicating 50 percent or more by the same date; it was already the case by 2010 that private HEIs occupied 25 percent of the total number of China's HEIs (Pan and Li 2005; Welch 2010; Ministry of Education 2010, 2014; Wang 2013; Ly and Hayden 2015). In Vietnam, the number of private HEIs quadrupled over the decade 1998–2008, from 16 to 64 (Welch 2011, 157). The subcontinent too saw significant growth in

Table 3.2 Proportion of students, public, and private HEIs, selected Asia, 1997–1998, and 2011^a

<i>Country</i>	<i>Public 1997–1998</i>	<i>Private 1997–1998</i>	<i>Public 2011</i>	<i>Private 2011</i>
Indonesia	44	56	38	62
Malaysia	100	0	57	43
Philippines	25	75	37	63
Thailand	60	40	82	18
Vietnam	100	0	85	15
China	100	0	90	10
India	<70?	>30?	70	30

Source: Gonzalez 1999; Kaul 2006; Zeng and Wang 2007; Agarwal 2009; UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2014; Yan and Levy 2015

^a Or most recent year available

private higher education, amid associated concerns about quality and regulation (British Council 2012).

Quality was an issue, with many of the newer private sector HEIs in the region falling into what the US scholar Dan Levy termed the “demand-absorbing” category (Levy 1986). Ambitious targets such as that of Vietnam cited above were faced with significant capacity constraints. Where would the highly qualified faculty needed to staff the proposed proliferation of private HEIs be found? In a developing country context, where would the resources be found to establish and develop the institutions and facilities needed? And what would be the equity implications, in a context where, like many Asian systems, the gap between rich and poor was growing? A common response to the shortage of qualified faculty to teach at private HEIs was to employ faculty from public HEIs, part-time. While many such faculty were happy to do so, since pay rates at the private HEI were often double or triple those they earned at their public sector HEI, the effect was to erode quality in both. Full-time public sector faculty took on extra duties at private HEIs, thereby reducing the time available to students at their “mother” institution, and the time available for research. Simultaneously, the limited time spent at private sector HEIs, perhaps in the evening or weekends, also provided inadequate support to those students.

The growth of private HEIs, which tended to emphasize high-demand areas such as business, languages, and information technology, to the exclusion of other programs, also strained the capacity of numerous Asian systems to regulate quality, a long-standing problem that the regional currency crisis of the late 1990s only deepened (Welch 2011a). In Indonesia, for example, the work of the national agency charged with assessing the quality of higher education programs and institutions ranged across a sprawling archipelago of 6000 islands, more than 2700 private HEIs (numbers of which were *tidak terakreditasi*, or non-accredited), and several hundred languages. While it is true that HEIs were largely concentrated in areas of significant population density, particularly on the island of Java, the proliferation of private HEIs posed a challenge to

the relevant national agency *Badan Akreditasi Nasional*. For some decades, the desire to see at least one state university in each province had been paralleled by the mushrooming of often unofficial and unaccredited private HEIs, whose degrees were held in little regard, and were not accepted as a basis for civil service employment. Numbers of universities were established that lacked basic physical facilities such as classrooms, laboratory equipment, libraries, or adequate full-time faculty. In numerous cases, the profit motive seemed to outweigh considerations of prestige, or of academic quality (Murray Thomas 1973; Welch 2011a, 31). This poorly regulated expansion meant that, whereas enrollment numbers in both public and private HEIs had each totaled around 200,000 in 1974, and 400,000 in 1983, growth in the latter subsequently outstripped the former. By 1994, private enrollments had risen to 1.4 million, whereas public enrollments had only risen to around 600,000 (Hadijardaya 1996). In part, this was because of spiraling demand, as the growing number of young Indonesians who had completed secondary schooling was not matched by equivalent increased capacity within public HEIs. To greater or lesser degree, this trend occurred elsewhere in Asia, although in each case, local factors were influential (Welch 2011a, 158). But expansion tested the limits of state capacity to regulate both the growth and quality of higher education in several systems. Under pressure of expansion, moonlighting became common, both because low public sector salaries among faculty were not adequate to sustain a reasonable lifestyle, and further because the expansion of private HEIs outstripped the production of well-qualified faculty. It was estimated that among Indonesian faculty, well in excess of half had a second job or associated small business in the 1990s, and that many private HEIs could not have survived without also using faculty from public HEIs. The net effect, as indicated above, was to reduce quality and energy in both sectors, while the fact that some well-qualified faculty leave, to take better-paid jobs in industry only added to the problem. Much the same pattern was noted in other systems, such as Vietnam (Welch 2011a, 157).

CORRUPTION

Transparency was also tested, with widespread use of fee-based “after hours” classes by poorly paid faculty in Myanmar and Indonesia, for example. Without attending such classes, students found themselves unable to pass the requisite exams. Among other dubious practices, not uncommonly adopted among private sector HEIs were stratagems to circumvent national evaluation procedures. A private sector HEI in Indonesia, faced with an imminent inspection, but aware that its levels of infrastructure and equipment were inadequate, might resort, for example, to borrowing items of equipment from a local engineering firm, that would ensure that it gained the required rating. On gaining the satisfactory result, upon which its continuing enrollments depended, and after the departure of the accreditation team, all equipment would be returned to its source. This was not uncommon in disciplines such as engineering, where

“many private schools provide engineering education without sufficient equipment to support the curriculum and end up compromising the quality of their graduates” (Buchori and Malik 2004). In Vietnam, in a context where private sector HEI enrollments were strictly regulated by the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET), some private institutions were found to have enrolled three times their allotted quota. Entry standards were another common site of corruption, with some faculty found to have been taking bribes to assist students pass the entry exam, and, at Dong Do private university, to have passed students whose entry scores were a fraction of that required (Vietnam News 2002a,b). At times too, poacher turned gamekeeper, as officials from the MOET were caught up in scandals that included bogus private HEIs enrolling thousands of students and issuing worthless degrees (Vietnam News 2002c; Welch 2011a, 144–5). In China, too, periodic crackdowns on fake universities, known as *ye ji da xue* or “wild chicken universities,” have been ordered periodically to close (FlorCruz 2013; Garner 2015).

As in Indonesia and Vietnam, quality assurance (QA) processes in China have generally been far from always transparent, as seen in the assessment by several Deans of Sino-Foreign cooperative universities that it was routine for Chinese HEIs to invent data for visiting QA inspection groups to review, and that notwithstanding deficiencies being pointed out by the review team, no re-evaluation occurred (Han 2015). Indeed, corruption continued to be widely acknowledged as a major problem bedeviling higher education, embracing entry standards, building of new campuses, research funding, and promotions (Yang and Welch 2012; Yang 2005). This was all the more significant within a governance tradition of “structured uncertainty” in China (Breznitz and Murphree 2011), in which local officials may well have had room to maneuver, but without always knowing the limits of autonomy, or when central control might be (re)invoked. Long-standing idioms, such as *tamen you zhengce, women you duice* (They have their Policies; we have our Countermeasures) and *Tiān gāo, huángdì yuǎn* (The Sky is High, the Emperor is Far Away), encapsulate something of this complex relationship between central authority and local control, including in higher education (Eimer 2014; Welch 2015a). While the central role of the Communist party remains a distinctive feature of the Chinese system, with dual authority within HEIs vested in both the President and Party Secretary, degrees of uncertainty at times also pertain to the relationship between central and local authorities in several other Asian systems of higher education. Some have argued that a trend toward decentralization of authority, as occurred rather swiftly in Indonesian education after the Soeharto regime, in fact exacerbated the problem.

BLURRING BORDERS: PRIVATIZATION OF PUBLIC HEIS

But the Janus face of privatization in higher education embraced far more than the shifting balance between public and private sectors. Its other gaze was directed toward public sector HEIs, where it also had significant impact in

many parts of Asia. As a consequence, there has been significant blurring of borders between public and private sectors, as HEIs from the former became more entrepreneurial, and came to behave more like those from the latter. Falling support by the state pushed Indonesian HEIs to expand fee-based “Extension” programs, offering much the same qualification: for high fees, but at much lower entry standards (Welch 2011a, 2012a). Declining state support for higher education, at least in per student terms, meant that, for example, in Thailand, the proportion of Thammasat University’s budget deriving from the state fell to 39 percent in 2008, while for the Faculty of Economics, it was a mere 25 percent. Unsurprisingly, this pressure pushed numbers of public HEIs in Thailand to engage in a range of strategies to make up for this shortfall. A common resort was to establish parallel programs or institutions, for profit. Thammasat’s own estimates were that some 70 percent of income in its Faculty of Economics derived from such special offerings (Poapongsakorn 2008). Often called “Executive” programs, they were taught at nights or weekends in areas such as law, education, urban planning, and hospitality management. As was common in private sector HEIs across many parts of Asia, the programs were taught by faculty from the “mother” HEI. Subsequently, PhD programs were offered to business executives, amid allegations that the requisite work was not always done by the executives themselves. Such programs, numbers of which were housed in shopping centers, led to widespread and persistent complaints of poor quality and less-than-transparent procedures being raised within the relevant national agency, the Commission of Higher Education, notwithstanding attempts to regulate the proliferation of such programs, in which fees were often around ten times that of regular programs.

In Malaysia, too, a parallel trend toward establishment of “Executive” courses, for high fees, was one response to falling state support, further blurring the borders between public and private HEIs. Public HEIs became more dependent on income derived from such private arms, which fell outside the framework of the Malaysian Qualifications Framework and did not confer eligibility for employment in the public service. The poorly regulated proliferation of Executive programs led to predictable consequences:

The National Consumer Complaints Centre (NCCC) received 450 complaints in 2007 on misleading advertisements by higher education institutions. ... Among these complaints were those regarding courses offered by “subsidiaries” of public universities offering “executive” courses. The Chief Executive Officer of the NCCC said the Ministry of Higher Education should impose some regulations on these subsidiaries. Malaysian Qualifications Authority ... Chief Executive Officer said most of the courses offered by commercial arms of public universities particularly the executive diplomas, did not fall within the Malaysian Qualifications Framework. (New Straits Times 2009)

REGIONALISM IN ASIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Much of the analysis of Asian higher education has been conducted at the system level. While understandable, and certainly illustrating the extraordinary diversity within Asia, it fails to acknowledge developing regional initiatives. While these are not as well developed, widespread, or well financed as within the European Union, for example (Robertson 2010; Welch 2012b, c, 2014), such initiatives began to reshape the Asian higher education landscape. Once again, East and Southeast Asia offer significant insights into a developing phenomenon. Two examples are briefly offered here: Islamic Higher Education and China–ASEAN relations in higher education.

THE ISLAMIC IMAGINARY IN ASIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Islamic higher education, which has existed for centuries in the region now known as Southeast Asia, embraces elements of higher education systems within Indonesia, Malaysia, and Brunei, as well as numbers of HEIs located in southern Thailand and the Philippines. It both illustrates and challenges conventional understandings of higher education regionalism, since there is also a significant trans-regional element. Students from the region have long furthered their studies in Egypt's storied Al-Azhar, founded in 970 CE, for example, while some Indonesian HEIs are part of pan-Islamic higher education networks, such as the Federation of Universities of the Islamic World. Indonesia is also part of the pan-Islamic Organization of Islamic Conference, in particular its committee dealing with higher education accreditation and QA. More recently, the tide of the faithful has turned: of Malaysia's international higher education enrollments during the first decade of the new millennium, eight of the top ten source countries were (largely) Muslim (Welch 2015b).⁴

Of more regional strains, while there have long been private Islamic HEIs in Indonesia, for example, and six universities were under the control of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, none of the six were listed as members of regional consortia, such as the ASEAN Universities Network (AUN). Nonetheless, thousands of Indonesian students were enrolled in Malaysian universities, mostly in the private sector, but notably including the International Islamic University of Malaysia (IIUM). Some Malaysian private HEIs also established branch campuses in Indonesia, while of the substantial number of Chinese students enrolled at IIUM, all were Muslims. Indeed, given that there are some 25 million Muslims in China, it is likely that a substantial number of 10,000 or so Chinese students enrolled in Malaysian higher education were Muslims, although existing data did not allow a precise count.

Lastly, the rise of Islamic extremism, and the associated collaborative networks within the region cannot be discounted. Small, shadowy examples of radical Islamist movements had been evident in Indonesian, Philippine, and Malaysian universities for some decades, prompting de-radicalization efforts in both states in the new millennium. Aiming at strengthening the capacity

of universities to resist terrorism, the programs, that some criticized as rather vague and of limited value, largely consisted of supporting visits by radical clerics from Egypt, for example, as part of attempts to temper radicals (Institute for Policy Analysis of Terrorism 2014; Welch 2015d). Probably more successful were university visits from members of, for example, the Survivors Foundation (*Yayasan Penyintas*) and Association for Victims of Terrorism Bombings in Indonesia, who shared their stories with students and staff. But it was recognized that such campaigns to mitigate the effects of Islamic extremism would need to be long term.

CHINA–ASEAN RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Once again, while current blossoming relations between China and ASEAN higher education systems and institutions support the assumption that such networks are new, closer attention reveals long-standing elements.

Several fundamentals underpinned complex and growing China–ASEAN relations in higher education. Many were centuries old. Indeed, relations between the Chinese Dragon, and the dynamic Tiger Cub economies of current Southeast Asia are at least two millennia old. Intra-regional trade has been traced back to the third century BCE, was extended in the Three Kingdoms period, and further during the Tang dynasty (618–906), although it was not until much later that it grew significantly (Wang 2000). Zheng He's Ming dynasty voyages, in the early fifteenth century, provided a further important link, albeit not taken up, on his return.⁵ But trade in ideas was just as important as trade in goods, with Chinese poetry, astronomy, medicine, and arithmetic very influential in much of what is now northern Vietnam, as was Confucianism, which over the course of centuries became the dominant mode of higher learning in the region. The long-standing Chinese diaspora in the region formed a further pillar of the relationship, with strikingly differing proportions of Chinese citizens in various ASEAN member states, paralleling diverse histories and relations. Vietnam's history, for example, comprised a mix of dependence and resistance, whereas by contrast, some 90 percent of Chinese Malaysians continued to send their children to Chinese schools (Welch 2011b, 2012c).

But economic relations remained the most commonly cited pillar of regional relations, notably the signing of the China–ASEAN free trade agreement in 2010. ASEAN's trade with China surpassed that of Japan in 2011, to become China's third-largest trading partner, with predictions of significant further growth. Total bilateral China–ASEAN trade had grown from US\$39.5 billion in 1990 to US\$139.9 billion in 2006, of which service sector trade, including in higher education, formed a rising proportion. This was despite significant territorial disputes centered on the South China Sea, and involving several of China's neighbors: Vietnam, Philippines, and Malaysia. Simmering anti-Chinese sentiments in Indonesia, Vietnam, and Malaysia continued to issue in periodic riots, targeting Chinese citizens (including on occasion higher

education students) in Indonesia, and more recently in Vietnam, for example, while Malaysia's long-standing practice of using ethnic quotas confined many Chinese Malaysians, either to private sector HEIs or to pursue their studies abroad.

Nonetheless, higher education relations between China and ASEAN grew in both scale and density, underpinned to a degree by the passage of the Global Agreement on Trade in Services, which specifically included education. Asia, the most dynamic region for trade in higher education services, developed Eduhubs such as Singapore and Malaysia, each of which attracted thousands of Chinese students to its universities. The number of ASEAN students studying in China also continued to rise, supported by a generous number of Chinese scholarships. Other important planks in the platform included the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Human Resources Development Working Group, which embraced China, Singapore, Malaysia, and Vietnam, and regional consortia, such as the AUN where, in 2009, a decision was made to establish an ASEAN+3 university network and to encourage further cooperation between ASEAN and Chinese universities. The Association of Pacific Rim Universities was another, comprising 42 Asia-Pacific university members, including HEIs from China, Singapore, and Malaysia, but not Vietnam (Welch 2011b, 80–81). The ASEAN-China Rectors conference, which included several substantial Chinese HEIs, proved a further vehicle for successful collaboration.

The account above reveals something of the complexity of Asian higher education development. Major achievements were seen in opening up participation to wider sections of the populace, most spectacularly in China and Vietnam, as seen in Table 3.1. At the same time, much of this growth stemmed from the private sector, as state support declined, at least in per-student terms. This lack of support increased the pressure on public sector HEIs to diversify income sources, leading many to establish for-profit arms that were widely criticized for their lack of quality and transparency.

In consequence, existing problems of maintaining and regulating quality deepened. Widespread corruption in the sector proved difficult to eradicate. Both problems were exacerbated, as indicated above, by persistently low public sector salaries among faculty, leading to widespread moonlighting.

While pan-ASEAN regionalism grew in higher education, the rise of China began to raise the prospect of China–ASEAN as a region, underpinned by growing partnerships and consortia. A rising sense of pan-Islamic identity also influenced regional higher education, if not always positively.

While the above picture of Asian higher education shows striking growth (if more in quantitative than qualitative terms), significant challenges remain. What is likely to sustain substantial further development are the growth, dynamism, and enduring value attached to higher learning, throughout the region.

NOTES

1. Of notable Asian scholars who problematize the concept in various ways, see, for example, Edward Said (1994), and K-H Chen (2010). Afghanistan is here included in Central Asia, but is sometimes/often included in South Asia. For The Association of South East Asian Nations, see <http://www.asean.org/asean/about-asean/overview>. A widely used taxonomy of subregions within Asia is the UN's Geoscheme for Asia, <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/methods/m49/m49regin.htm>.
2. "Those in it have lives dominated by insecurity, uncertainty, debt, and humiliation. They are becoming denizens rather than citizens, losing cultural, civil, social political, and economic rights built up over generations. The precariat is also the first class in history expected to endure labor and work at a lower level than the schooling it typically acquires" (Standing 2014, Preface).
3. As the World Bank acknowledged, such differences are due to the inherent difficulty in quantifying social returns and to varying definitions (e.g. whether to take into account externalities or not, the specific costs included).
4. This includes Nigeria, the population of which is 70 percent Muslim.
5. The Ming court proved little interested in the results of the voyages of exploration and trade, but Zheng He, himself a Muslim, would have found companion spirits in several parts of Southeast Asia.

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Prospects for Higher Education in the Midst of Globalization

Deane E. Neubauer and John N. Hawkins

INTRODUCTION: SOME RELEVANT QUESTIONS

Higher education (HE) continues to expand and diversify across Asia: countries are expanding their HE systems outward by constructing new universities, hiring more faculty, and encouraging the private provision of HE. At the same time, they are also expanding upward by providing more graduate programs so as to ensure a steady supply of qualified professors, researchers, and those with advanced science and technical degrees. This generalization holds even as one that recognizes that the Asian region—taken as a whole—is very diverse, consisting of countries of different sizes, levels of social and economic development as well as possessed of different political orientations, cultural traditions, and educational experiences. As a result, the challenges and issues faced by middle-income countries can be quite different from those faced by high- and low-income countries. Further, as we will explore below, differing demographic trends in various countries have had and will continue to have significant impacts on the development of their HE systems.

Many of the chapters in this *Handbook* focus on the prospects of HE in the Asian region in terms of financing, managing, and ensuring quality of HE systems. As HE expands and diversifies, and the unit costs keep rising, one important policy question becomes: how can countries continue to finance their HE systems? Or, to follow another line of inquiry, what kinds of national policies would ensure that disadvantaged groups get access to HE? As higher education institutions (HEIs) expand and become more complex, how might they be governed and managed so that they would be more productive and efficient? As the common functions of HEIs are teaching, research, and service,

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what kinds of institutional practices would enhance the effectiveness of these functions? How can information and communications technology, for example, be utilized to improve the teaching and administration in universities? What are effective ways of managing research and innovations in universities? What are the various kinds of university–community engagement and university–industry linkages that can be established? How can various countries internationalize their HE systems?

With the increasing mobility of students and faculty, academic programs, and labor forces across national borders, the issue of qualification recognition is very pertinent. With increasing demand for greater public accountability from HEIs for the funds that are expended, the issue of quality grows ever more pertinent. How can the issues of quality assurance (QA) and qualifications recognition be tackled in the Asian region? With the steady growth of cross-border HE and the explosive growth of rankings for the so-called globally competitive universities, how can national governments and HEIs respond to these “extranational” frames of reference?

PART ONE: DEMOGRAPHY AND RELATED ISSUES OF ACCESS AND CAPACITY

An issue that continues to surface when addressing the subject of HE in Asia is the simple but compelling issue: what is Asia? One response is that it is a geographic region of the world, but as is clear, this only leads quickly to impulses to describe it in terms of its many subregions, such as East Asia, Southeast Asia, West Asia, and South Asia. The tendency behind this sub-categorization, one suspects is the sheer complexity of the region and the overwhelmingly present fact that within the intellectual construct “Asia-Pacific region,” one finds over 60 percent of the global population and the multiple sources for continued estimated population growth of somewhere in the amount of nine billion by mid-century. And, within this construct, it is all too easy to locate profound and multiple sources of variation and difference, not only between the countries that can be held to constitute it as a region but within the complex social processes that they represent and exemplify. (For a detailed effort to sort out some of this complexity with respect to HE dynamics, see Hawkins et al. 2012.)

These profound differences are most evident when exploring the linkages between efforts on the part of various Asian nations to develop HE capacity over the past several decades and in the face of their own demographic dynamics. The desire and need for expanding capacity has over the past five to seven decades been directly linked to national desires to impel economic growth with the cultivation of human capital through HE systems. Historically, this policy direction was accompanied in almost all cases by an initial and combined focus on developing human capital through cross-border education—sending out to import back in, as Rui Yang has put it (Yang 2014).

This in effect constitutes *stage one* of the process in which capacity is rapidly expanded, often aided by significant governmental expenditures. In some cases, such as that of China in the 1990s, the expansion of capacity has been stunningly rapid and often accompanied by outreach to the private sector to participate in capacity development, and also—unfortunately—by significant compromises in the quality of the institutions that are formed or expanded during this period (see, e.g. Yang 2011). Within the recent history of HE in Asia, this stage was also exemplified in its rapid expansion in Japan, Taiwan during the post-WWII decades, and Korea during the 1970s and 1980s. *Stage two* in the capacity and access process tends to be one of consolidation, often because capacity tends to “catch up” with the demographic pattern such that access needs are met in some overall sense, and/or because as systems of governance and the production of graduates, the emphasis shifts to some effort(s) to ensure quality improvement. This condition may be currently exemplified by Thailand although its pattern seems to be changing as well. *Stage three* in the process occurs when a population begins aging, usually accompanied by a decline in the birthrate, and often accompanied by significant gains in economic development. This is the current situation of Japan, Korea, and Taiwan and increasingly of Thailand. These changes lead to a condition in which the society in question experiences a surplus of HE capacity, a condition that is also termed “overshoot” in as much as societies find themselves with a surplus of domestic capacity, a condition that often leads in the policy area to an emphasis on attracting cross-border students (Kuroda et al. 2014). The condition also may equally lead to politically fraught situations in which capacity reduction and/or consolidation need to occur as supply outstrips demand but wherein efforts by central government authorities run athwart the interests of existing HEIs which become resistant to policy suggestions that they consolidate with other institutions or cease operations.

An examination of the data in Table 4.1 demonstrates various countries in the region in different stages of this demographic shift.

PART TWO: FINANCE ISSUES AND QUESTIONS OF SUSTAINABILITY

Admitting to the importance and relevance of exceptions to the contrary notwithstanding, the process of HE development in Asia has in general followed two primary paths. In the first HE has been an activity historically supported by the state through financial and administrative processes that were closely held and administered by a governmental ministry. In the second, HEIs existed within a state system, but a significant part of the HE sector was occupied by private institutions as well. Within this latter formula, private sector institutions could range from few to many, and from those that were of high status to systems in which in general private HEIs were of a lesser status. In such systems, one or more of the private universities were viewed as and treated as elite institutions (Mok 2009).

Table 4.1 Asian demographics 2000–2020

Country	Population (thousands) of 15–24 year-olds and percent change by selected country, 2000–2020									
	2000	+/- % change (2000–2005)	2005	+/- % change (2005–2010)	2010	+/- % change (2010–2015)	2015	+/- % change (2015–2020)	2020	
China	95,922	+10.539 %	106,031	+26.259 %	133,874	-19.456 %	107,827	-2.604 %	82,148	
China, Hong Kong	446	+6.726 %	476	-3.361 %	460	-0.652 %	457	-13.348 %	396	
India	96,354	+8.77 %	104,804	+7.069 %	112,213	+3.027 %	115,610	+1.891 %	117,796	
Indonesia	20,708	-2.086 %	20,276	-2.594 %	19,750	+4.005 %	20,541	+8.422 %	22,271	
Japan	8395	-10.066 %	7550	-16.623 %	6295	-2.907 %	6112	-1.849 %	5999	
Lao P.R.	488	+12.91 %	551	+22.142 %	673	+16.345 %	783	-2.554 %	763	
Malaysia	2092	+18.212 %	2473	+15.406 %	2854	+1.962 %	2910	-3.299 %	2814	
Mongolia	239	+10.879 %	265	+18.491 %	314	-13.694 %	271	-16.974 %	225	
New Zealand	253	+13.834 %	288	+10.069 %	317	+3.155 %	327	-5.81 %	308	
Philippines	7185	+10.592 %	7946	+11.113 %	8829	+7.759 %	9514	+7.715 %	10,248	
Korea	3849	-4.832 %	3663	-13.159 %	3181	+9.4 %	3480	+7.04 %	3725	
Singapore	255	+15.294 %	294	+13.265 %	333	+29.129 %	430	-0.93 %	426	
Thailand	5264	+0.532 %	5292	-10.336 %	4745	-3.73 %	4568	-7.268 %	4236	
Australia	1303	+10.821 %	1444	+14.335 %	1651	-2.604 %	1608	-0.187 %	1605	

Source: United Nations (2013)

The massification of HE in Asia has taken place within a parallel context of the spread of neo-liberalism as a public philosophy which holds that across many forms of endeavor, state authority should give way to some version of the private sector, in a process that throughout Asia has come to be known as liberalization (Steger and Roy 2010). This movement at a macro level has led to the far greater holding of capital by private actors, the opening up of national markets, reductions in the reach of state authority in many areas, and with respect to HE, a variety of policy positions that have greatly enlarged the amount of authority and autonomy that both public and private institutions expect in relation to the state. In countries like Japan and Indonesia, “incorporation” and “autonomy” movements, respectively, have provided public institutions significant measures of independence from their governmental ministries, albeit at the cost of significant reduction in the amount of financial support provided by the governments to their HEIs. Although complete up-to-date data¹ for a full range of major Asian countries are difficult to assemble (and in some major countries such as China not available at all), it would appear that for many countries, the increase of central governmental expenditures per capita for tertiary students peaks in the period 2010–2011 and then in many instances begins to fall. However, it should be noted in reference to the preceding section on demographic patterns, for those countries still in a general expansion mode, expenditures per student appear to still be on the increase (e.g. Malaysia).

Even with respect to the unevenness with which these effects are being experienced, in general, the dominant pattern is similar to that which one can observe globally. They have tended to result in a combination of three related occurrences: (1) a decrease in government funding for students; (2) significant increases in the costs that individual HEIs must be responsible for; and (3) consequently, a significant rise in direct costs that students must bear within the HE financial equation.

Within the USA, this progressive increase in student costs, which actually was underway robustly by the 1990s, has been accompanied by two related macro transformations within the HE system (for a related instance in Australia, see Alberici 2014). One has been the displacement of the cost of HE onto students as increased tuition costs in many instances, and an explosion of student debt that becomes “due” in one way or another on graduation (and is even a real burden if students fail to graduate). The second has been the opening of national HE environments to greater numbers of institutions operating in the private sector, including those from the developed countries which have, in many instances, established branch campuses. The rapid expansion of private for-profit HE has been particularly dramatic in the USA, which increased between 1990 and 2012 by 34 percent of HE enrollments (National Center for Educational Statistics 2014).² As always, when we bring examples from the USA into play as an “Asian comparative,” we need to inquire further whether, in a particular instance, the USA is an instance of being a forerunner of events that will come to appear in modified forms in various Asian contexts, or in a

particular case whether it is a deviant case, playing out the particular logics of the American higher education environment (for a more detailed discussion on this issue, see Bigalke 2009).

These related dynamics, namely the vast increase in HE participation through the move toward massification, the rapid increase in both the numbers participating in HE and the number of institutions, and the complicated establishment and implementation of “liberalization” within the higher education sector have resulted (in all the arenas in which they have taken place) in significant challenges to the quality of the educational substance and processes that have resulted. Much effort and commitment have correspondingly followed in an effort to establish both fundamental understandings of what “good quality” may consist of in a contemporary HE environment, and what is required to create, implement, assure, and continuously promote quality.

PART THREE: QUALITY CHALLENGES IN THE CONTEMPORARY HE ENVIRONMENT OF ASIA

With the increasing mobility of students and faculty, academic programs, and labor forces across national borders, the issues of quality and qualification recognition are very pertinent. With a corresponding increasing demand for greater public accountability from the HEIs for the funds that are expended, the issues of defining, measuring, and assuring quality arise. At some point in the policy processes of virtually all countries, the following questions emerge: How can the issues of QA and qualifications recognition be tackled in the Asian region? With the steady growth of cross-border HE and the explosive growth of rankings for the so-called globally competitive universities, how can national governments and HEIs respond to these “extra-national” frames of reference? In this and the following part, we begin a consideration of these issues. A more detailed examination of these and related quality issues are re-introduced below in Part D of this *Handbook*.

Defining, determining, and measuring quality within HE environments is a complex task that leads to significant amounts of difference and variation within specific countries, between countries, within and between global regions. At the heart of this issue is the reality that quality means different “things” depending on the activity within which it is being engaged. To take the HE case at the highest level of generality, it is commonly accepted that, overall, HE tends to perform four critical social “functions” and in one way or other is organized around these activities. Perhaps most commonly, yet with significant differences depending on the “type” of education involved, HEI’s perform a *knowledge transmission function*, which in one way or another is largely (but not exclusively) associated with teaching. Some HEI’s focus almost entirely on knowledge transmission, but others either additionally or in some cases (such as research institutes) focus almost entirely on the *knowledge creation function*—or research. Historically, and in a manner much under transition propelled by the dynamics of the emerging knowledge society, HEIs have

performed a *knowledge conservation function*, typically embodied in libraries, museums, and so on, but increasingly activities that also may be performed by electronic conservatories of one form or another. Beyond these, and with considerable differences on the type of institution involved (e.g., state or private, major or minor, complex or specialized), HEIs perform the *complex function of performing service*—for the institution itself (e.g. participating in personnel evaluation), for the community, for the nation, and as we explore throughout this *Handbook*, for the region. The meanings of quality within these differing contexts are great, thus leading to the complex task to be undertaken when efforts are directed to assess quality within the context of HE accreditation or other means of QA.

Some years ago, in a very useful exercise, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) project located in Barcelona, Spain, the Global University Network for Innovation (GUNI), sponsored a year-long effort to bring clarity to this complex endeavor, the results of which were published under the title: *HE in the World 2007: Accreditation for Quality Assurance: What is at Stake?* (Global University Network for Innovation 2007). An extremely useful resource for many QA purposes, our intention in citing it here is to focus on the effort of Sanyal and Martin in a leading essay to summarize some of the basic meanings of quality, as it appears in the many different efforts to identify it within a wide variation of institutional contexts. They hold that in most instances quality as it finds its ways into evaluation instruments is likely to mean *one or more* of the following:

- Providing excellence,
- Being exceptional,
- Providing value for money,
- Conforming to specifications,
- Getting things right the first time,
- Meeting customers' needs,
- Having zero defects,
- Providing added value, and
- Exhibiting fitness of purpose (Sanyal and Martin 2007, 5).

As one can easily see, when one looks more carefully at the root concept of quality, it takes on many meanings, a circumstance that is only complicated further, as suggested above, by the realities of the very different contexts within which it occurs. In the context we have been pursuing here, it is sufficient to point out two broad developments that spring directly from the dynamics of increasing massification and related financial issues. One has been the effort on the part of every country in Asia to develop some form of QA process, and the other is represented by the many efforts emerging over the past two decades to develop various forms of regional QA cooperation.

Lee (2013) has detailed some of the more fundamental forces that have led to a region-wide emphasis on QA. These include:

- The decline of academic standards because of increased massification of HE,
- The loss of public confidence in HEIs,
- Budget cuts and pressures to increase efficiency in public expenditure,
- Greater public accountability,
- Changing HE context given its great role in providing for employment,
- Side effects of the university rankings phenomenon.

For the main, QA activities developed throughout Asia in the 1980s and 1990s in some sense space with the expansion of HE systems themselves. Table 4.2 indicates the date of origin for the more extended regional QA entities and some of the leading national agencies. As one can see, the time frame is roughly similar. A significant foundation for many of these efforts was provided by UNESCO, which conducted a major meeting on mutual recognition (a critical aspect of regional QA) in 1983 (for the most recent version of this convention see UNESCO 2011).

Not surprisingly, as QA has developed across the region, it has given rise to significant differences and variations, most obviously as a result of the prevailing local HE context. The Philippines, for example, developed a complex HE system relatively early in large part because of the forms imposed on it during the period of US colonial occupation and territoriality and subsequently, developing and using forms of accreditation that mimic in many ways those prevalent in the six regional accreditation commissions in the USA (Ordonez and Ordonez 2009). Anthony Stella has identified the major variations that make up the Asian regional QA fabric. These (with some repetition of what we view in the GUNI review of quality) include the definition of the concept of quality itself; the purpose and functions of QA; the various methodologies used in QA; the responsible agent/unit for QA within a region, country, or institution; issues of ownership of quality issues within units and by relevant stakeholders; the voluntary or compulsory nature of participation within QA; whether a focus within institutions exists on research or on teaching/learning (or on both); methods by which the quality review is either at the program level or the institutional level; how reporting is done; and the range of follow-up activities that emerge from various QA efforts. Stella further suggests that within the very significant variation that exists across national and regional QA activities, a much smaller number of discrete characteristics are coming to prevail. Of these, the most noticeable are the three-stage peer-review approach (self-evaluation, site visit, and report); the commonality of criteria employed in external evaluations (input and process characteristics, learning outcomes); the varied approaches to QA (accreditation, assessment, or audit); and national qualification frameworks which are in a continuous process of development and change (Stella 2011).

It is critical to note that quality dynamics within Asian HE are literally that: dynamics. The forces at work to define, create, implement, measure,

Table 4.2 Year of origin for regional QA entities and national agencies

<i>Name</i>	<i>Year of origin</i>	<i>Area of application</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Asia-Pacific Quality Network (APQN)	2003	53 Asian countries	Four levels: Full, Intermediate, Associate, Institutional
ASEAN Quality Assurance Network (AQAN)	2008	10 ASEAN countries	Three Levels: Full (10), Associate (6), Observer (0)
Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency	2011	Australia	Independent National Regulator of the Higher Education Sector
Ministry of Education	2003–2007	China	Regular Colleges and Universities; Junior Colleges; Independent Colleges; Branches and Programs
Jiansu Agency for Education Evaluation (JAEE)		(China)	
Shanghai Education Evaluation Institute (SEEI)	2001	China	Kindergartens, Schools, Colleges and Universities within Shanghai
Hong Kong Council on Academic Accreditation (HKCAA) reconstituted in 2007 as the Hong Kong Council for Accreditation of Academic and Vocational Qualifications (HKCAAVQ)	1990/2007	Hong Kong (China)	Provides QA and assessment services to education and training institutions, course providers and the general public
University Grants Committee (UGC)—Quality Assurance Council (QAC)	1993 Assessment Started 2007	Hong Kong (China)	Assures the quality of programs (however funded) at first degree and above levels offered by UGC-funded institutions
National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NACC)	1994–	India	Autonomous Institution of University Grants Council—Voluntary accreditation of HEIs
National Board of Accreditation (NBA)	1994/2010	India	Re-established in 2010 for periodic evaluations of technical institutions and programs
National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (NAID-UE)	1991	Japan	Universities, junior colleges, colleges of technology and inter-university research institutes
Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA)	1947	Japan	Performs certified evaluation and accreditation for universities and since 2004 in seven designated fields
National Accreditation Board for Higher Education (BAN)	1997	Indonesia	Accreditation for HE and technical and vocational institutions

(continued)

Table 4.2 (continued)

<i>Name</i>	<i>Year of origin</i>	<i>Area of application</i>	<i>Membership</i>
Korean Council for University Education (KCUE)	1982	Korea	Quality Assurance of Member Universities
Malaysian Qualifications Agency (Supersedes LAN)	2007	Malaysia	All of Malaysian Higher Education
Office for National Educational Standards and Quality Assurance (ONESQA)	1999	Thailand	Provides QA for all education levels with Higher Education one section
Philippine Accrediting Association of Schools, Colleges and Universities (PAASCU)	1957	Philippines	Primarily Catholic Schools (levels 1–4)
Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities Commission on Accreditation (PACUCOA)	1973	Philippines	Non-Catholic Christian Schools (levels 1–4)
Association of Christian Schools and Colleges (ACSC)	1976	Philippines	Non-Catholic Christian Schools (levels 1–4)
Accrediting Agency of Chartered Colleges and Universities in the Philippines (AACCU)	1987	Philippines	State Universities and Colleges. Levels 1–4
Association of Local Colleges and Universities Commission on Accreditation	2004	Philippines	Local Colleges and universities established and managed by Local Government Units
International Distance Education Accreditation League (IDEAL)	2009	Philippines	Interested Distance education providers in and outside the Philippines

Source: Table compiled by author.

and assess quality are in a continual state of flux, meaning that at any given moment in time, the actual processes being employed and the thousands of individuals being occupied within the overall quality effort are simultaneously in a process of changing the very system they are conducting. On the other hand, one can say: “and so it has always been,” in any country at any period—this is the nature of HE QA. Quality in this sense is always something sought after and for which institutions and nations are willing to make significant investments *and* a changeable set of processes for which some measure of legitimation is also continually being sought. With reflection, it is only out of a complex HE system capable of continuous change (and presumably in desired directions) that one could expect defensible levels of quality in a continuously globalizing world whose harbinger is continuous change itself (Marginson et al. 2011).

PART FOUR: CROSS-BORDER EDUCATION AS AN EXPRESSION OF GROWING AND CONTINUING GLOBALIZATION

One measure of the effect of globalization on HE has long been the expansion of student and faculty mobility, often referred to as cross-border education. The general consensus is that globalization creates an environment conducive to this sort of cross-border phenomenon, and the HEI responds by policy changes that provide incentives for students and faculty to leave their familiar surroundings for HE experiences elsewhere. This may involve simply crossing a border from China to Hong Kong (or Singapore, Taiwan, etc.) for a short-term course experience, or a border crossing that involves travel to another continent and culture, for an entire academic year (or longer). In other words, the term “cross-border” covers a lot of territory. Here we want to, in the brief space provided, pose two ways of looking at this movement that may illustrate the complexity of both globalization and cross-border education, and hopefully encourage further research on both topics.

The first lens through which we can view cross-border education would be to celebrate the degree to which it has grown in much of Asia, the increased numbers of students who have experienced education abroad programs, both long and short term, the languages they have studied, the degrees they have pursued usually under the aegis of some form of “memorandum of understanding,” the cross-cultural experiences that have impacted their personal growth and development, the programs they have encountered, and the impact they have made upon their return to their home country. Much the same could be said of the experiences of faculty and researchers although these data are more difficult to track, and rather than seeking courses and degrees they tend to seek cross-national research and data collection, and joint research projects with colleagues abroad. According to studies by a number of international agencies and scholars, the gross numbers of students and faculty participating in these cross-border programs have grown substantially over the past several years (see Lee 2015; Kuroda et al. 2014).

In addition to the movement of people across the region, we have also witnessed the movement of programs, providers, curricula, and ideas across the region, both within and between Asia-Pacific and other continents (predominantly the USA, Australia, and parts of Europe). It has been suggested that one outcome of this increasing cross-border mobility has been the “internationalization” of HE, and indeed, many national ministries have invested substantially in rewarding and augmenting HEIs that engage and expand their international profiles. Such internationalization, as Lee (2015) notes involves integrating an international, intercultural, and global dimension into the purpose functions and delivery of HE. How this actually gets done (or does not get done) is reflective of the vast complexity of Asia-Pacific and the individual countries and settings in this region that have resulted in a range of such activities, programs, and policies.

This very complexity helps us introduce the second point of view with respect to cross-border education. By no means in opposition to the one just stated, this second view recognizes that this movement has evolved so rapidly that it is time to step back and reassess more specifically what we might mean by the use of such terms as cross-border education, globalization, and internationalization.

Globalization, cross-border education, and internationalization are terms we often see in the current literature about HE exchange in the Asian Pacific region (see the extensive bibliography in Arnove et al. 2013, for a representative sample of this literature). In perusing the literature, however, these terms also seem to be jumbled up, intertwined with one another, and at times lacking context, as if they are immediately understood for what they are and how they are connected. There is, however, some agreement on what comes first, second, and third. In this case, *globalization* is the new stage of history that surrounds us and our HEIs, *internationalization* is what we do (or pledge to do) to our HEIs to adapt to globalization, and *educational hubs* are becoming one major policy response that, at least in Asia, are seen as a political-economic structure designed to maintain a competitive edge in the globalized and internationalized HE landscape.

But questions remain about the meaning, relationships, relevance, and endurance of what are really metaphors, meant to be representative or symbolic of something else. Do these terms mean the same thing as they did ten years ago or even a few months ago? How much intellectual rigor do they possess such that one can say something definite about them and most people will know what is being discussed? What metrics can be used to solidify these terms more accurately? In this brief review while it is not possible to delve too deeply into this debate, some thoughts will be presented to suggest that these metaphors need to be looked at more critically if we are to understand this new HE phenomenon in Asia.

Let us begin with a novel and interesting critique of the concept of globalization. Some have argued that globalization, at least in this current historical round, is expiring, and in fact has run its course and is now being supplanted by “insiderization” which also means that the internationalization of HEIs may no longer be, if it ever really was, a top priority of university administrators and faculty who no longer have to invest lip service and funds to those features that counted toward obtaining the label of being a “globalized and internationalized, cross-border” university or college. Or at the very least, they do not have to feel guilty about focusing resources and priorities on serving local and national interests (Rosenberg 2005; Ramo 2012; Jung and Horta 2013; Hawkins 2014).

More specifically on the issue of the internationalization of HE, in-depth case studies indicate that while there is evidence of this phenomenon, when looked at more deeply along the following five indices, the data are rather light:

1. Institutional support and structure,
2. Academic requirements (curricular among others),

3. Faculty policies and opportunities, the academic culture,
4. Faculty mobility in and out for substantive periods of time,
5. International and local student mobility.

In looking further at these five characteristics of internationalization, several observations suggest a slowing down if not a reverse movement of the trends we have been measuring. One of the most recalcitrant areas, as suggested above in point two, is the curriculum. At least in the USA, and we would suggest also in Asia, claims to have an internationalized curriculum often are anchored in serving the national interest (economic development, strategic concerns—e.g., National Defense Education Act Title VI) rather than fostering a capacity to “think internationally.” Stanley Katz of the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton notes this in his article appropriately titled: “Borderline ignorance” (2014, 12). He reports on a statement issued by four liberal arts university presidents that in the USA, we need a curriculum that would require that students acquire skills, literacies, and dispositions “including respect, vulnerability, hospitality compassion, agency, agility, fairness, service, and leadership” rather than the conventional focus on language and culture awareness. He notes the most so-called global and internationalized programs are ghettoized in centers, departments, sometimes schools rather than being diffused throughout the college and university curriculum. This does not allow one to claim to be either globalized or internationalized.

Central to getting beyond the narrow curricular focus in most HEIs in the USA and Asia is the willingness and leadership of the professoriate to do so, but here too this capacity also seems to be stalling or moving in the opposite direction. The faculty along with the curriculum have been partners in resistance to globalization and internationalization despite a several decades of efforts and rhetoric to the contrary. Postiglione and Altbach (2013), Green et al. (2008), and Hawkins (2012) note several studies that report a downward trend in such areas as international research collaboration, joint publishing, hiring of international faculty (with some notable exceptions in Hong Kong and Singapore). Most countries in the region report low percentages of faculty who have taught abroad (less than 10 percent), the number of international faculty who are invited to join their ranks is low (usually in the single digits), support for branch campuses or other collaborative institutional efforts is minimal, and so on. Again the rhetoric of faculty support for internationalization of their HEIs is high, but the reality in terms of the percent of the cohort is low and getting lower.

The standard for claiming to be internationalized HEIs in the Asia-Pacific region continues to be the degree of student mobility and the annual increase in those numbers. The case can still be made for a regional annual increase in student mobility but often it is out of context and lacks intellectual rigor. Case study data that dig deeper into what these numbers mean continue to be in short supply, but increasingly criticism is being leveled at what student mobility has come to represent in terms of broader cross-national representation. Chow and Chambers (2010), deWitt (2010), Lee (2013), and others

have presented critiques that focus on the increasing localization of student mobility, its links with income producing areas, its often exploitative nature, its links to what has become a multinational business venture rather than an enriching pedagogical mission, disturbing racist events, asymmetrical student recruitment, re-emergence of damaging “brain drain” dynamics, to name just a few emerging issues. These all suggest a student mobility trajectory that is counter to much of the early hopes of an increasingly enriched, multinational academic experience coincident with living in a globalized world. It seems to fit into the “insider” model suggested by Ramo (2012) as recruitment of international students appears to be more about satisfying national and local interests than about previous notions of a transformed, international, global university.

A takeaway from a discussion of these terms is that one should be wary of being caught up in these metaphors that are easy to utter but may in fact insulate us from looking more carefully at what is really going on behind the vale of comfortable metaphors. The suggestion is that we stand back and dig deeper on a case-by-case basis to see more clearly how the transformation of HE is actually taking place and examine more carefully how the centrifugal and centripetal forces are effecting the tension that has always existed between the national and international missions of HE. In doing that we may in fact invent some new metaphors, which, with time, will also beg to be changed.

Many of the chapters that follow will invite the reader to explore the broad range of change and responses to it that globalization as a historical force has invested on contemporary HE in Asia. And, as indicated in the foregoing, the reader will also be invited to challenge much of the currently accepted conventional wisdom on various aspects of this highly dynamic environment to ascertain which elements are likely to emerge as enduring and which are more likely to be viewed as transitory elements of this given moment of globalization.

NOTES

1. Relevant data for a selection of Asia Pacific countries can be got from the World Bank, available online at: (<http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.XPD.TERT.PC.ZS/countries>), and from two UNESCO indicators, available online at: (<http://data.uis.unesco.org/?queryid=181>). Indicator one: “Expenditure on tertiary as % of government expenditure on education (%)”, available online at: <http://data.uis.unesco.org/?queryid=181>. Indicator two: “Government expenditure on tertiary education as percent of GDP (%) nation” As indicated in the text, the data are very uneven and difficult to compare.
2. A series of crises related to various issues including false advertising to prospective students about programs and post-graduation prospects and fundamentally flawed graduation rates has recently led to a federal government investigation of some such programs that has forced some to close and many to reduce their student intake, including a restriction by

the federal government against current and past military service members from enrolling in given institutions. The overall result to the sector has been a decline in the number of institutions, students and income (Surowiecki 2015).

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Globalization and the Transformation of Asian Higher Education

Christopher Ziguras

INTRODUCTION

The earliest universities were established in Asia and Europe before nation-states existed. Institutions of higher learning have existed in Asia for thousands of years, drawing students and scholars from far and wide. Nalanda, for example, an important early center of Buddhist teaching, at one point, had a community of 2000 teachers and 10,000 scholars who came from lands we now call India, China, Korea, Japan, Tibet, Mongolia, Turkey, Sri Lanka, and Southeast Asia, according to the website of its modern namesake. Such institutions in Asia shared many characteristics with religious institutions in other parts of the world, such as Al-Azhar University in Cairo, which attracted scholars from across the Muslim world, and many European medieval universities shared a common curriculum encompassing theology, medicine, and law (Wei 2012). These students and scholars often traveled considerable distances to early universities but they did not cross national borders as we know them.

Meanwhile, in East Asia, the history of imperial academies stretches back thousands of years. These were important state institutions, particularly in China and Vietnam, which drew on Confucian traditions to provide a humanistic curriculum centered around classical texts. An elaborate system of examinations selected students for official posts and further study, thereby cementing formal academic scholarship and competitive examinations as the central mechanisms of state sanctioned social mobility in the region (Marginson 2011).

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However, these longstanding institutional forms did not form the basis of modern universities in the region. Instead, the first modern universities in Asia, as in other regions, were established with considerable foreign involvement by importing institutional models from abroad. Colonial powers often dictated the models that would be emulated, so national systems in the region adopted key elements from the UK (India, Malaysia, Singapore, and Hong Kong), from the Soviet Union (China, Vietnam, and then Cambodia), and from the USA (Philippines and Taiwan). Even those countries that escaped colonization such as Thailand modeled their new institutions on those in Europe and the USA (Altbach 2006).

Yang's (2006) description of the international character of Zhongshan University in Southern China in the decades after its formation in 1924 provides a good illustration. Many of its academic leaders were foreign scholars or Chinese educated abroad, and the curriculum in many schools was modeled on those in the USA and Germany that the founders were most familiar with. Distinctive national systems of higher education had emerged in the nineteenth century in Europe and North America.

Zhongshan University used foreign textbooks and translated many foreign texts into Chinese. In most countries, the early universities that were established largely using international models are now the most selective and most research-intensive universities within each national system. As the systems expanded during the twentieth century, they then became the models for new universities. These elite institutions also have continued to be among the most internationalized within each country, but in many cases, even these universities are less internationally connected than they were in their early years. Yang observed of Zhongshan University that in many respects, it was more isolated from the international community in 2005 than it was in the 1920s and 1930s, especially in the arts, humanities, and social sciences, despite active efforts to internationalize the university since the 1980s.

In the postcolonial era as Asia has been delineated into a system of sovereign states, each national government came to exercise significant control over existing higher education institutions and set about creating a nationally bound system. Over time, the character of the university changed as higher education systems became organized nationally, although with varying levels of government involvement in their operations. The development of modern higher education took place within nation-states that had a previously unparalleled command of their citizens, their national economies, and their borders, and as a result modern university systems developed with very high proportions of students, staff, and funding sourced within the nation-state. Education systems, including higher education became a key means by which governments could articulate and disseminate a national vision. As Anderson (1983) observed, modern states' control over the education of young people allowed them to create an imagined community by promulgating a shared national identity, an official collective history, and a prescribed set of desirable traits and behaviors.

During the twentieth century, the ability of governments to regulate cross-border flows increased greatly. Many previously porous borders became tightly controlled by immigration regimes and the expansion of state intervention into daily life meant that traveling informally to another territory without “papers” became increasingly difficult. Between the end of the Second World War (1945) and the end of the Cold War (1990), student mobility across borders occurred on a much smaller scale than today and was normally coordinated by governments. Altbach (2006, 126) observes of this period that, “the goals were political and economic, and higher education was a key battlefield. The rationale was sometimes couched in the ideological jargon of the Cold War but was often obscured by rhetoric about cooperation.” In communist states such as China and Vietnam, governments cooperated to foster the movement of students between politically allied nations, such as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union, in order to facilitate the transfer of knowledge and skills to foster economic and social development. In these states, overseas travel was normally highly restricted and participation in such state-sponsored overseas studies was one of the only means for a young person to travel legitimately.

In the Western-aligned states, such as Thailand, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Japan for example, international travel was less politically restricted, but as in the communist states, most extra-national study was government sponsored. The USA and former European colonial powers sponsored students from politically aligned developing countries to study in their universities. In most Western receiving countries, a significant proportion of the cost of tuition of international students was borne by the host government, through schemes such as the Fulbright Program in the USA and the Colombo Plan in Australia (Lowe 2010). As Altbach (2006) notes, the recipients of such schemes, both the individual students and their countries of origin, often benefited greatly from the educational support provided to them, but also tied them into an ongoing relationship with one superpower or the other.

GLOBALIZATION

The term “globalization” is notoriously diffused, having been used in quite different ways since the 1990s (Scholte 2005). Rather than rehearsing the various ways in which the term has been employed in the social sciences over several decades, here let us simply consider the ways in which globalization is now usually understood in relation to higher education. The term is most commonly used in a descriptive sense to refer to “the widening, deepening, and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness” (Held et al. 1999, 2). This interconnectedness involves growing interdependence between actors who in the past were insulated from each other, and it involves convergence of distinct local practices toward globally standardized approaches.

There are many technological, commercial, and political developments that are transforming the global education landscape, placing educational systems,

institutions, and students around the world in an increasingly unified field (Marginson and van der Wende 2009). These include the development of global standardized assessments that make previously disconnected people and institutions directly comparable, such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) of the skills and knowledge of 15-year-olds in dozens of countries, and the various systems for ranking universities around the world. Similarly, the growing ease of international mobility for students and education providers is allowing both the consumers and producers of higher education to move across that global field more readily. Like testing, mobility is not new. As discussed above, modern higher education systems around the world have been developed from a small set of models originating in Europe, scholars have moved for as long as universities have existed, and disciplinary knowledge in every field has always transcended the nation. But higher education mobility has changed in recent decades. The volume of information available to students about foreign educational options has been dramatically expanded by the Internet and by global networks of student recruitment agents. The affordability and convenience of international travel have improved steadily, allowing both students and scholars to relocate more easily. And economic globalization has both expanded the global pool of students with the means to pursue higher education, and fuelled labor market demand for advanced qualifications.

The term "internationalization" is usually used in quite a different way in relation to higher education, to describe the active and deliberate global engagement of institutions. So, in its simplest sense, globalization has come to be used by higher education scholars to describe "what is being done to us," offering both challenges and opportunities, while internationalization is used to characterize "what we choose to do." Thus, de Wit (2015, 27) argue that internationalization is a strategic process that:

Is driven by a dynamic and constantly evolving combination of political, economic, socio-cultural, and academic rationales. These motives take different forms and dimensions in the different regions and countries, and in institutions and their programs. There is no one model that fits all. Regional and national differences are varied and constantly evolving, and the same is true within the institutions themselves.

In many cases, the terms globalization and internationalization are actually referring to different perspectives on the same issues. For example, the global dominance of the English language is a key feature of contemporary cultural globalization; a decision by a university to teach some programs in English rather than in the national language may be part of its internationalization strategy. So in this chapter, we will consider some of the key aspects of globalization affecting higher education in Asia and consider both the broader global processes and the patterns of responses to these from governments and universities.

ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND THE ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY

Governments across Asia have come to see a quality higher education sector as a necessary prerequisite for national competitiveness in the global economy, and they have attempted to steer their systems and institutions in ways that will support the country's economic development agenda. Many Asian countries have pursued a "catch-up" industrial development strategy, beginning with Japan in the 1950s, followed in subsequent decades by Taiwan, Korea, Thailand, Singapore, and Malaysia, and most spectacularly by China since the 1980s (Mathews 2006). One feature of this approach involves adopting the most modern technological systems from high-income countries in an effort to quickly develop internationally competitive industries that capitalize on their low-cost structure. In this phase of catch-up growth, economic development is dependent on productivity gains resulting from innovations that arise from the adoption of technologies and knowledge that are already available abroad. Governments initially are concerned with identifying, evaluating, and importing technologies and strategies rather than developing these indigenously. These countries' ability to transform their economies very rapidly was dependent upon the availability of technology and knowledge from the advanced economies, which they were able to purchase outright, acquire through foreign direct investment, or copy.

This has been coupled with a human capital development approach to higher education focused on developing the skills and knowledge needed to adopt advanced techniques and technologies in ways that allow domestic institutions to compete successfully in a more open economy. The adoption of similar strategies across the region has led to a period of isomorphic change, reducing the level of diversity between institutions and national systems. There is broad acceptance of the notion that there is a globally applicable template for the "world-class university," as popularized by the World Bank's Jamil Salmi (2009). China's Shanghai Jiao Tong University has had a huge influence on this harmonization of expectations of universities through its Academic Ranking of World Universities. Here I will focus on three areas of convergence with global norms: the new public management, massification, and internationalization.

NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT AS GLOBAL POLICY TEMPLATE

To achieve this alignment, many countries' governments have adopted features of "new public management," a global reform template that has become global in scale since the 1990s. Marginson and van der Wende (2009) argue that as many countries have come to believe that competition, performance funding, and transparency will render institutions and systems more prepared for global challenge, the reform process has caused different national systems to become noticeably more similar to each other in both form and organizational language. King (2009) observes that the major international insti-

tutions involved in higher education (the OECD, World Bank, and United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization [UNESCO]) have advocated a consistent policy template that incorporates features of new public management and advocates systemic diversity. They promote a regulatory environment that fosters institutional autonomy, devolving management wherever possible to the institutional level, while government sets the broad parameters within which institutions operate and establish rewards and incentives for performance. While in practice, governments can often not help themselves from meddling in the affairs of institutions, the direction of reform in the Asian region, as elsewhere, has been heavily influenced by these ideas.

This has in many countries involved increasing competition between universities, which are encouraged by governments to strive to improve their research performance and attractiveness to students. In other regions, those institutions that are able to take advantage of a more open market for students, scholars, and competitive research funds rise to the top of league tables over time. In Asia, however, governments have tended to handpick elite universities rather than allowing markets to decide. Most countries in the region have had programs to identify and then generously fund elite universities, such as China's Project 211 and Project 985, Japan's Global 30 Project, and Malaysia's Accelerated Program for Excellence. Marginson (2011) argues that one of the legacies of the Confucian model of higher education in East Asia is the continuation of more centralized top-down supervision, control, and shaping of the system as a whole and close supervision of institutional management than is evident in Anglophone and European systems. So while elements of New Public Management and competition have been introduced, the resulting markets tend to be quite tightly controlled with government-imposed hierarchies common across the region.

MASSIFICATION EVERYWHERE

A second response across the region has been massification of higher education systems, significantly increasing participation in higher education in recognition of the value of high-level knowledge and skills in the new economy. Mass higher education has become accepted by governments across the region as an unquestionable goal, and participation rates have increased very rapidly right across the region, despite very different levels of economic development and diverse ideological frames. The gross enrollment ratio is a measure of the total enrollment in tertiary education expressed as a percentage of the total population within five years of secondary school completion. Between 1999 and 2013, the gross enrollment ratio rose in Vietnam from 10.49 to 24.6, in India from 9.5 to 24.7, in China from 6.6 to 29.7, in Indonesia from 14.9 to 31.5, in Thailand from 32.9 to 51.2, in Iran from 19.96 to 57.9, in Japan from 46.6 to 61.5, and in the Republic of Korea from 74.2 to 98.4 (UNESCO 2015). In a period of 15 years, the tertiary student population of Asia has grown astronomically.

To provide some insight into what that looks like within any one country, let us consider the case of Vietnam. Between 1993 and 2008, the number of higher education institutions doubled from 110 to 230 universities, and student numbers grew remarkably from 162,000 to 1.3 million (World Bank 2008). Enrollments have grown most rapidly, both in the public and private sectors, in those fields of study which lead to high-paying occupations but which are not expensive to teach, such as business administration. This is not surprising, but does pose challenges for the broader development of the society which is dependent upon talented young people being drawn into a wide range of fields of study which are critical but not as well remunerated, such as teaching, for example (Hawkins 2011). The Higher Education Reform Agenda approved by the Government of Vietnam in 2005 proposed another dramatic increase in the scale of provision, aiming by 2020 for 900 institutions to be providing education to 4.5 million students (Harman et al. 2010, 4). By 2011, 2.2 million students were enrolled in 419 institutions, representing an astounding rate of growth (General Statistics Office of Vietnam 2012).

In many countries, the dramatic expansion of student numbers has been hampered by shortages of qualified university lecturers and managers, and has involved very rapid establishment of new disciplines and institutions without adequate quality assurance systems in place to ensure standards are maintained. In many respects, these are “growing pains,” of the kind that are experienced in economies undergoing rapid economic transformation when regulation and quality assurance fail to keep pace with innovation and expansion, which has been widely noted in the case of environmental management (Wehrmeyer and Mulugetta 1999). Now, as has happened in many other systems, a period of massification has now given way to a preoccupation with quality. In relation to Vietnam, Lan (2011, 84), then Dean of International Studies at Hanoi University, expressed the frustration of many Vietnamese intellectuals with her complaint that, “a postwar reconstruction mentality can no longer serve as an excuse for poor performance.”

Consequently, there has been extensive international cooperation between higher education quality assurance (QA) agencies across the region in the past decade and a noticeable convergence in approaches. Stella (2011, 24) notes that several significant trends can be observed in the region, including “enhanced attention to quality assurance among policy makers,” a “shared understanding about ‘quality of quality assurance’ among QA professionals,” and the growth of cross-border networks and formal relationships supporting capacity development in QA among QA agencies.

THE GLOBALIZATION OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

The third area of convergence is the almost universal commitment to internationalization of higher education across the region, primarily driven by concerns about national economic development. Internationalization is a means for gov-

ernments and institutions to raise the quality of education and research up to a perceived “global” standard, and to align curricula so as to inculcate the types of knowledge and skills that improve workforce productivity in a globalized economy. The projection of soft power, through international student recruitment, educational aid, and cultural outreach, has been a secondary driver for China and Japan, East Asia’s major powers competing for regional influence.

As noted earlier, each Asian country has its own distinct patterns of historical international linkages in higher education, some ancient, some colonial, and some stemming from postcolonial Cold War alliances. Contemporary international linkages, however, tend to be less tied to a particular dominant partner country and more global and regionally diffused. It is true that the USA still exercises a huge gravitational pull due to the continuing strength and size of its higher education system, but compared with the past the range of influences upon each country is much more diverse.

Vietnam, for example, has a long history of foreign influence in education, with longstanding Chinese Confucian traditions overlaid in the early twentieth century by French colonial influences, and subsequently the Soviet Union played a huge role in the creation of a national higher education system (Welch 2010). Key features of the Soviet Union’s influence included the creation of industry-specific universities under the management of a wide range of government departments alongside generalist universities under control of the ministry of education, the creation of national research institutes outside of universities, and relatively high levels of student mobility between socialist states. By the time of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent *doi moi* reforms in Vietnam, the dominance of this Soviet heritage left universities with an outdated curriculum in a narrow range of disciplines that was poorly aligned with the country’s developmental needs.

In 2008, the deficiencies of the Vietnamese higher education system were elevated into the public spotlight by an examination held by Intel to recruit staff for its new plant outside Ho Chi Minh City, the largest ever foreign investment in Vietnam. Over 2000 young people with the requisite qualifications sat a test to determine who Intel would employ in the state-of-the-art manufacturing facility. Only 8.5 percent passed the exam, forcing Intel to bring in staff from overseas (Szabo 2008). This episode, and others like it, led Lan (2011, 92) to observe that, “many experts believe that the evasion of international norms in fields that require the highest professional standards imposes a burden on the country’s development.” The Vietnamese government, like most others across the region sees internationalization of universities as a necessary condition for achieving national progress through fostering greater engagement with the global economy.

Yang (2006, 99) argues that governments and universities often have quite different motives for internationalization. The Chinese government, he observes, is primarily interested in internationalization as a means to strengthen the nation by boosting economic competitiveness, while universities are primarily interested in improving their own status through building their research strength and moving up in international rankings. Neubauer

and Zhang (2015, 2) note that this emphasis on economic integration has led to much greater support for internationalization in Science, Technology, Engineering and Math (STEM) fields in China:

One can see an interesting and quite deliberate focus on demonstrating a commitment to internationalization within academic publishing, which is especially significant in the “hard” sciences, where the growth has been extraordinary. However, this is far less prominent in the social sciences and humanities (thereby suggesting the relative importance which the two approaches are perceived to have for society as a whole and the economy in particular). In 2010, China had 121,500 scientific publications listed by the Science Citation Index, of which only 2.41 percent were in social sciences.

The lower rate of internationalization in the social sciences in most Asian countries also reflects a widespread ambivalence about foreign cultural influence. The adoption of a medical or engineering curriculum from abroad is encouraged by governments, whereas there is rarely any encouragement for the importation of Western liberal arts approaches centered around critical enquiry. Now we will turn to examining some of the forms of cross-border exchange that are driving greater regional and global integration of Asian higher education: trade liberalization and mobility of students and scholars.

TRADE LIBERALIZATION

It is now clear that in the two decades since it was introduced, the World Trade Organization’s (WTO) General Agreement on Trade in Services, which includes a chapter on education services, has had less impact on cross-border higher education than anyone expected. For better or for worse, it has not prized open national education systems that were previously closed to foreign providers, caused wholesale privatization of education systems, eroded national QA systems or led to a boom in low-quality global education brands (see Ziguras and McBurnie 2015). Most Asian countries were signatories to this Agreement from its inception and others (notably China, Vietnam, and Russia) became bound by it when they later joined the WTO. Neither has the growing web of bilateral trade agreements had a major impact on education, despite the occasional inclusion of a specific concession.

But, while these international legal agreements have proved relatively insignificant, the principles on which they are based have been adopted widely by most governments in the region. The principle that new institutions, whether privately owned, publicly listed, or religious, for-profit or not-for-profit, should be allowed to enter education markets and compete for students with established providers has become gradually more accepted over the past two decades, particularly in Southeast Asia. Similarly, the notion that governments should not discriminate between local and foreign providers is becoming gradually more widely accepted.

However, liberalization based on these principles has occurred much more extensively in other service industries and in other parts of the world to the

extent that in most of the world's economically advanced economies, it is difficult to remember a time in which governments protected a small number of domestic providers against new domestic and foreign entrants to their markets. Now we accept and benefit from the deregulation and global integration of banking, telecommunications, transportation, and media. The resulting globalization of business, both manufacturing and services, has created the conditions in which a foreign degree is highly valuable in most Asian countries, and students have voted with their feet, as we will see later in this chapter.

Although the most recent General Agreement on Trade in Services negotiations broke down, efforts to further liberalize trade in education services have continued in other forums, including bilateral agreements and various regional groupings.

The history of deliberations on education within the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) forum show how interest in trade liberalization has evolved, but not disappeared. As far back as 1996, APEC's Human Resources Development Working Group had been tasked with working toward "provision of better opportunities for cross-member investment in the delivery of educational services and skills training" (APEC 1996). APEC's Group on Services has also had an interest in liberalization of trade in education services, and for over a decade there had been a steady flow of work on this topic, led by Australia, China, and the USA (APEC 2001, 2009, 2006; Xiuhua 2004; Centre for International Economics 2008; Neubauer and Hawkins 2011; Zhu 2011). These various initiatives provided opportunities for information sharing between officials across the region but did not appear to be a high priority for APEC. In fact, there was no mention of higher education in the statements of earlier Education Ministerial Meetings, which were held in 2008, 2004, 2000, and 1992. Education ministers were evidently focused on building capacity and quality in compulsory education, which are understandably more pressing issues for most governments.

Then in 2012, APEC education and trade ministers began to focus on expanding "cross-border *trade* in education services and deepening educational *cooperation* in the Asia-Pacific" (my emphasis) (APEC 2012a). They agreed to sponsor projects aimed at enhancing the mobility of students, enhancing the mobility of researchers, enhancing the mobility of education providers, increasing the interaction between higher education institutions, and increasing data collection on trade in education services (APEC 2012b).

The advocates of educational trade liberalization in Asia, including the governments of Australia, the USA, and New Zealand, repeatedly expound the economic benefits of open education systems. For example, a recent Australian government report for APEC argued that:

open, competitive higher education services markets promote the diversification of providers, expansion of access, and human resource development. Foreign participation can also assist in the internationalization of the sector through the transfer of new technologies, knowledge, skills, and experience to domestic education providers. (DFAT 2013, 2)

However, it is clear that most Asian governments do not share the same enthusiasm, preferring to closely manage and limit the extent of foreign engagement. A common argument put forward privately by officials is that because of the different stages of development of national systems there is not a level playing field, and that introducing greater international competition for domestic providers would undermine their national development strategies. It is not uncommon for incumbents in any protected industry sector to oppose measures that would allow competitors to enter their markets, and in some ways universities behave no differently than other service providers, such as banks or airlines, might. But the education sector plays a unique role, and is of critical importance in fostering social and economic development, so governments are very wary of introducing changes that key institutions see as weakening their position, especially if those institutions are operated by the country's ministry of education.

MOBILITY OF STUDENTS AND SCHOLARS

Asia is the world's most populous region and also is the source of 53 percent of the approximately 4.5 million students worldwide who were studying outside their home country in 2012 for 12 months or more (OECD 2014a). Most of these students from Asia are studying in North America, Oceania, or Europe. Only 18 percent of the world's mobile students are studying in Asia, but that proportion is increasing as its higher education systems catch up to those in the advanced economies where most international students study.

Proficiency in the English language has become increasingly important across the region as a result of greater global engagement, and the adoption of English as the sole international language of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) will serve to further increase its importance in Southeast Asia. As a result, English has supplanted other foreign languages, including French, Spanish, Russian, Dutch, and Portuguese, each of which was for a time the most commonly studied foreign language in one or more Asia-Pacific countries. The majority of internationally mobile students from Asia study in English when they are abroad, mostly in countries with English language higher education systems (including Singapore and private institutions in Malaysia), but also increasing in English-taught masters programs that are being developed across the region. The USA is the most common destination for students from most countries, including India, China, Thailand, Japan, Vietnam, and the Philippines. Britain is the most common destination for students from Bangladesh and Pakistan, while Australia is the most common destination for students from Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Papua New Guinea (UNESCO 2014).

Scholars, too, follow the same paths, with many thousands of very highly trained academics from Asia employed by universities in English-speaking countries. A recent study of the internationalization of the academy found that 37 percent of academics in Australia were born overseas, 29 percent in

Hong Kong, 22 percent in the UK, and 17 percent in the USA, but only 1 percent in Japan and 0 percent in Korea (Cummings et al. 2014). Clearly, in order to be able to recruit foreign students and scholars, even those from neighboring countries, universities in Asia must increase their use of English. But this is often highly controversial. Choi (2010, 247) portrays the contestation at the Chinese University of Hong Kong over the language of instruction as representing a deep tension between “instrumentalists,” who see commercial benefits from internationalization, and “humanists,” who value the local scholarly traditions and “organic links to life in the community and nation.” This is a familiar tension, experienced across many spheres of life in the global era.

While the majority of mobile students from Asia are studying in English-speaking countries, the scale of intra-regional mobility is expanding, with a growing propensity of students in some areas to study in neighboring countries. In Northeast Asia, there is a strong flow of students between China, Japan, and Korea. The top five destinations for students from China are the USA, Japan, Australia, UK, and the Republic of Korea. In Southeast Asia, many students study in lower-cost neighboring countries. The most common destination for students from Myanmar is Thailand and most students from Timor Leste study in Indonesia. In South Asia, however, no such local flows are evident (UNESCO 2014). The contrast between Europe and Asia here is stark. While the European Union has invested heavily in supporting mobility between European countries through sponsoring joint masters and conducting the Erasmus exchange program in an effort to integrate the region culturally and economically (Papatsiba 2013), similar initiatives in Asia are a long way off. Political tensions in Northeast Asia and South Asia make leaders wary of supporting such local initiatives, but in Southeast Asia, we see some positive signs with promises of greater integration of education systems within ASEAN and a regional commitment to foster the use of English to aid cultural and economic exchange.

CONCLUSION

We should not fall into the trap of believing that Asian countries are simply faced with a choice between strategic engagement with new global realities on the one hand and marginalization on the other, but that the West is faced with different choices. In some respects, some Asian societies are clearly outperforming the established educational leaders. The results of the OECD’s 2012 PISA showed Shanghai’s school system to be the global leader (followed by Singapore, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Korea, Macao, and Japan) (OECD 2014b). Hours after the results were published, the US magazine *Time*, without having read the technical report on the testing process, published an article alleging that the Chinese must have cheated. Andreas Schleicher (2013), OECD Deputy Director for Education and Skills, responded to these claims that PISA results were flawed quickly and angrily:

The world has become indifferent to tradition and past reputations, unforgiving of frailty and ignorant of custom or practice. Success will go to those individuals, institutions, and countries, which are swift to adapt, slow to complain, and open to change. And the task for governments is to help citizens rise to this challenge.

It is clear that in some areas, Asian higher education systems have been very swift to adapt, particularly in rapid massification, internationalization of the STEM fields, and investing in building “world-class research universities.” Students and scholars are voting with their feet, with huge numbers of both fanning out from Asia into universities all over the world, most of whom will return, and they will themselves become the key agents of the next wave of global integration.

PISA has globalized a relatively old technology of governance, testing outcomes, to render certain forms of learning comparable globally, and has generated a wealth of discussion about the effects of various policies and practices on students’ learning. It has revealed that, despite disparaging views among educators toward apparent rote learning, students in the most economically advanced Asian societies are outperforming the rest of the world, at least at the age of 15. There is currently no comparable measure of university students’ abilities, but the OECD’s Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes has proposed to do the same for higher education, in a more student-focused manner than existing university rankings, which focus heavily on research and reputation (OECD 2013a, b; Tremblay et al. 2012). Unsurprisingly, the USA higher education community is among the fiercest critics of such measures.

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Public Good in Asian Higher Education

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INTRODUCTION

Public good, a predominately Western economic term, has conceptual benefits and limitations in reference to higher education in Asia. When the term *public* is used, *private* is the other side of the concept in a dualistic framework. This chapter explores public good within traditional Western frameworks and through a hybrid of Asian values and philosophies. The initial constructs used to understand the notion of public good are embedded in the overlapping nature of both individual and social benefits. Although the benefits are not mutually exclusive, they are distinct, and applications of the benefits vary across regions around the world. The economic and market-driven approach to public good also outweighs the use of the term in a more political and philosophical context. A variety of sources is used in this chapter to explore the contemporary approach to public good in Asian societies and the corresponding systems of higher education. In an effort to more concretely unpack the notion of public good in Asian societies, this chapter includes a brief overview of relevant ancient philosophies (e.g., Mo Tzu, Confucius) that preexisted the liberal and Western constructs.

Hawkins et al. (2013a) have presented four hypotheses about Asian higher education to evaluate the competing and overlapping Western and Asian values. The first hypothesis, the Western dominance model, is the notion that there is no contemporary university in Asia that resembles Asian origins. According to Altbach and Umakoshi (2004), even though there were premodern institutions of higher learning in Asia, they are no longer in existence. However, the

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university can subsequently be indigenized as part of the development process, which becomes a retrofit of a Western institution in an Asian society. The opposite of the Western dominance hypothesis is the Asian values hypotheses, which is based on the idea that traditional Chinese values, for example, can redirect the trajectory of higher education in a way that reflects the cultural values of the region. Values like virtue, relational harmony, distributive justice, sustainability, and self-cultivation may influence the Western model to result in a hybrid higher education model (Hawkins et al. 2013a).

The economic determinism hypothesis follows the logical reductionist path that (1) governments promote economic development, (2) widespread higher education is necessary for that development, and (3) the degree to which higher education can demonstrate that development and desirable by-products (e.g., employment) will determine levels of government support and even survival. According to Hawkins et al. (2013a), this hypothesis overshadowed the preceding two frames in terms of the ability to account for the nature and trajectory of Asian higher education. A final hypothesis is the globalization frame, which explains an increasingly global interdependence, which dominates policy but loosens the national container as the primary unit of analysis. Instead, there is more convergence around the pursuit of the globally competitive university, which is driven by the quest to be elite among the world rankings.

These four hypotheses combine to form a useful frame for exploring a notion like public good in the context of Asian higher education. Although a single hypothesis cannot characterize the entire application of the topic, the inclusion of Confucianism and Mohism as preexisting public good concepts is positioned most closely to the Asian values hypothesis. This chapter concludes by examining the notion of the Asian hybrid university as it relates to public good.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL BENEFITS

The salience and value of a degree in higher education are often measured in terms of employment. In the USA, some economic models show that students with a bachelor's degree earn around \$1 million USD more during their lifetime than their peers who have less than a baccalaureate degree (Baum 2014). In strict economic terms, this model may be one of the most concrete and aggregated ways to defend the value of a higher education. An individual rate of return is a calculation of earnings over a lifetime compared to the cost of tuition and time away from the job market. However, an intense focus on individual rates of return will not capture the greatest benefits that higher education has to offer society. Colleges and universities generate public good through knowledge production and by educating the masses. New forms of knowledge that solve social and economic problems are benefits that the public can accrue without ever attending a class or earning a degree (for a case study example see Collins 2012). Over the previous 30 years, there has been a trend in higher education to privatize new knowledge

instead of making it publicly available, which may threaten the ability to claim that knowledge production is part of the public good (for a full discussion of the increasingly market-like behavior of postsecondary institutions see Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). A postsecondary-educated citizenry tends to be more civically engaged, generates income, pays taxes, is healthier, and is less likely to be incarcerated (McMahon 2009). As a result, educated citizens tend to be less dependent on public resources and instead contribute overall to social progress.

McMahon (2009) has made a strong case that under-recognition of the public good will likely lead to underinvestment in higher education and defined three types of benefits that can result from higher education: (1) private market benefits are earned by an individual as income; (2) private non-market benefits are accrued by individual/family in the form of non-monetary, quality of life improvements; and (3) social benefit externalities are accrued to all of society. The total benefits of higher education are the composite of these three categories. The framework of understanding these benefits was developed primarily using data from developed countries. Although the results may vary if the same methodological procedure was used in another region, the conceptual framework remains a valuable contribution to understanding the role of higher education in any society.

Omitting the non-market benefits from the consideration of the value of higher education has caused and continues to cause narrow estimations of the overall benefits. The public has a poor understanding of the value of higher education's social benefits, even though it is estimated that social returns constitute a majority of the return on the investment. McMahon (2009, 255) estimated that "social benefit externalities constitute about 52 percent of the total benefits of higher education" and further advocated that this be used as a guide for public investment. Higher education is most often viewed as an investment for securing a higher-paying job as a personal benefit. This individualistic perspective weakens the case for public investment in higher education. Public subsidies of higher education are hampered by a conservative overemphasis on bureaucratic waste in government (the public sector) that also complements any increase in private action.

In the 1980s, a fascinating and troubling trend spread through global higher education. Due to a strict individual rate of return analysis, development banks and the donor community came to increasingly consider higher education to be a poor investment for developing countries. As a result, in order to get loans for development projects including everything from healthcare to infrastructure, nation-states had to consent to a menu of items called structural adjustment policies (SAPs). One such policy called for the disinvestment of public funds for higher education in lieu of a more robust investment in primary education (due to the rate of return analysis indicators that primary education was a better investment). As a result of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) SAPs in developing countries, higher education systems suffered (Collins 2011). Years later, a task force identified the policies and individual

rate of return analyses as excessively narrow and misleading in that they did not account for the social and public benefits of higher education (World Bank 2000). Although the full story is much more complex (see Collins 2011), it is remarkable to track how a simple individual rate of return analysis and subsequent policy had such a large impact around the world. The magnitude of the impact is enough to warrant consideration about the importance of how the value of higher education is framed—not just for individuals but also for the public.

In an era of obsession with precision and measurement, it is critical to note that social rates of return and the public good are not easily quantified and there is no agreed-upon approach (although McMahon 2009 has done good work in an attempt to provide greater detail about the social benefits). Whereas private goods are benefits accrued to an individual, public goods are free of exclusion and rivalry, which means they can be consumed by an infinite number of people without being depleted (e.g., clean air or comprehension of a mathematical theory). Information and knowledge are public goods produced in higher education, the latter of which has been identified as an almost pure public form (Stiglitz 1999). The notion of public goods is more closely associated with social rates of return (McMahon 2009).

PUBLIC GOOD CONCEPTS

More conceptually and quite early on, Samuelson (1954) provided a framework for distinguishing public and private goods, with special attention to the *social* character of the goods. The typical criteria for public goods are that they are non-rivalrous and non-excludable. Non-rivalrous means that the resource cannot be depleted no matter the number of consumers. Non-excludable means that benefits cannot be confined to individuals and are consumed by society. For example, military functions are difficult to provide for some members of society and not others. Private goods are neither non-rivalrous nor non-excludable. Samuelson's theory is useful in the conceptualization of higher education and public good because of the mixed nature of the outcomes of the sector. Colleges and universities produce both public and private goods, even private universities produce public goods. The public-private distinctions of higher education are blurred (Marginson 2007), as governments are heavily funding private institutions through a variety of mechanisms, while in the USA and other places as well, state governments and other forms of government are dis-investing in public higher education, leading to an increased reliance on private funds. In the same vein, private institutions can contribute to public goods by making knowledge readily accessible and even free while public institutions can privatize knowledge and withhold potential public good generated from university activity. For example, the digital commons network (<http://network.bepress.com/>) is a free scholarly tool to search for full text articles from hundreds of universities around the world.

Marginson (2014) has also highlighted that the notion of *public* is drawn from social and political theories. Higher education and research have an ongoing contribution to public good in the sense that an equality of opportunity is a shared resource available to everyone. This conception of the public good is quite different from the market-based model because it rests on a “social democratic political philosophy, in which the common public good is associated with democratic forms, openness, transparency, popular sovereignty, and grassroots agency” (Marginson 2014, 26).

Articulating the centrality of the public good mission proves to be an easier task than understanding the degree to which the mission is being fulfilled. According to Bowen (1977, 291):

The outcomes from research and public service cannot be measured with any precision, and so conclusions will inevitably be subjective and judgmental. It is possible, however, to describe these activities in some detail. Indeed, a mere recital of them strongly suggests they yield important benefits.

Simultaneously acknowledging the contextual nature of this task and the importance of thick descriptions of public good activity is a critical call for higher education.

In another perspective on public good in Asia-Pacific higher education, Neubauer (2009) has advocated that quality in higher education is both a good and a producer of public goods. He has used the global credit crisis as an example to highlight how societies should act to preserve institutions with government intervention. Propping up the US banking system with trillions of dollars around the globe was not ideal, but considered necessary for a sense of global good. The example highlights how notions of public good can shift depending on the complex processes of articulation, crisis, and contestation. Higher education has generally been regarded as a dispersed public good for society and a precondition for contemporary national development. Though the notion has waned in its philosophical foundation or its economic application, Neubauer advocates that through the instrumentalization of higher education and the shift to the student as the unit of analysis, the question of quality in higher education will be intertwined with notions of public good for degree earners who become job seekers.

ASIAN APPLICATIONS

When exploring public good, the idea of private market good, is often the dominant frame of reference. The primarily Western and liberal notions of public good generally render the discussion as subject to economic frameworks and a dualistic analysis of beneficiaries (i.e., the public *or* the individual). In the context of higher education, the framework for understanding public good also emerges out of the public and private nature of an institution.

As previously noted, these blurry frameworks can obscure the most important concepts for understanding public good. International organizations such as the World Bank and the IMF have promoted the idea that higher education is primarily an individual good and should therefore be funded privately (Collins 2011). The market-dominant view of correcting economic policy in the countries where international organizations have propagated the notion that higher education is primarily a private good as opposed to a public good may contribute to the perception that cost-sharing is the only feasible future for funding higher education (see Johnstone and Marcucci 2011).

The private–public distinction throughout pan-Asia is also an obscured concept (for the most thorough history of public good in Asian education, see Neubauer 2008). For example, consider the growing private nature of higher education in China and the proliferation of the label *minban*. These private institutions obtain funds from multiple financial sources, including both the government and the private sector (Mok 2009). Similarly, in the USA, private institutions garner up to 90 percent (the legal limit set by Congress) of their budget from federal funds through student financial aid. If 90 percent, or even 50 percent of a budget comes from government funds, the public and private categorical boundaries are too obscure to be a unit of analysis in determining public good. Lee and Neubauer (2009) have framed the idea of public as beyond institutional identity or the aspirational character of the state, and used it as an adjective in terms like public good, public purpose, and public responsibility. According to Shin (2013), primary education is regarded as a universal public good and is funded as such accordingly. Higher education, however, is perceived as a public good in Europe, but as more of a private good in the USA—resulting in greater tuition and fees for the college-going population in the USA. The global spread of cost-sharing (Johnstone and Marcucci 2011) may be an indication that the view of higher education as a private good is becoming more pervasive. As a result, public expenditure on higher education as a percentage of the total education budget has declined in Japan, Korea, and Thailand (Shin 2013). In Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, and Hong Kong, the share of the education budget dedicated to the tertiary level is much higher (Shin 2013).

Kaneko (2004) examined the history of Japanese higher education through a supply and demand lens and noted that upon the introduction of higher education, it was a foreign concept to society. As a result, the notion of benefit to an individual was not clear and the attraction of higher education was not as much for the wealthy as it was the lower-class samurai who had lost their status and jobs and viewed higher education as a means to regain some version of them. After the recovery from World War II and the rapid economic expansion, Japanese society came to focus on individual well-being to a greater extent, but the early adoption and function of higher education in Japanese society appears to have a link to the notion of public access, equity, and public good. Within the last 20 years, Thailand

encountered the notion of universities and their public role during the economic downturn of 1997. According to Sinlarate (2004), this prompted a question in Thai society about how leading universities can teach business and be touted as having a progressive role in the development of society. If universities can marshal their cumulative wisdom, they can “help society to move in the proper direction and thus make progress in the necessary area” (Sinlarate 2004, 214). Although Thai academicians have long recognized the duty of the university to society, the duty was only carried out occasionally. As a result, Sinlarate (2004) noted that greater clarity is needed regarding the ways in which universities can concretely work with society for mutual development and progress.

Although there are contemporary dilemmas in conceptualizing the notion of public good in East Asia, the notion of competition is rooted in ancient culture (Marginson 2014). The foundations of Confucian traditions in educational cultivation include:

The family, the respect accorded to learning in society, and the all-embracing nature of social competition through education, which triggers the additional student learning outside formal school which has helped to make Northeast Asia and Singapore the world’s strongest zone for student learning. But other elements in the Confucian tradition, the items that balance social competition—such as emphases on self-cultivation as moral formation, the responsibilities of the scholar to the society, and the virtues of social improvement and social order—seem to be less prominent. (Marginson 2014, 21)

Gernet (1996) demonstrated that a key feature of East Asia is the dominance of government, which means that even under the influence of Western modernization, higher education is still embedded as an extension of the state. In other societies, higher education might be considered more embedded in civil society. In East Asia, comprehensive state responsibility is associated with high levels of family funding and stratified systems, which Marginson (2014, 29) employed to suggest the need for a new typology for public goods that can both “(1) interpret the differences in national systems and also (2) isolate the public goods that are common across systems.”

As documented by McMahon (2009), Marginson (2014), and others, higher education and research universities in particular make a major contribution to public good through knowledge production. Global issues like food security, health, clean water, and conflict resolution are just a sample of the potential contributions that higher education knowledge production can make in regard to generating public good. Universities can also generate a public good through open intellectual inquiries, which is “not a Western monopoly—despite what some in the West think—but are integral to intellectual life everywhere, though the exact practices that associate with researcher and scholarly freedom vary from culture to culture” (Marginson 2014, 32). The approach in East Asia is distinct from Western counterparts, but Western thought and capitalism, as a mode of

production, has brought about an undeniable focus on the individual, even in traditionally communitarian societies. Bhumiratana (2013, 128), however, has emphasized the need to be an active participant in globalization and the imperative to adopt and adapt Western higher educational practices, but has also noted that a country like Thailand still “considers cultural and spiritual development as being equally important to academic achievement.”

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS

It is difficult to discuss the notion of public good in Asia-Pacific higher education without acknowledging the predominately Western nature of both the concept and the enterprise. In an effort to look more deeply into how the notion of public may function in Asian societies, it may be useful to examine how it existed prior to the Western gaze. China’s long history with ancient competing philosophies in Daoism, Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mohism, make it a philosophical core when it comes to understanding the nature of reality and the role of individuals and society. In order to expand the notion of public good, the following paragraphs draw from the philosophical dispositions of Mo Tzu and Confucius.

Confucian thought has been part of the culture and state mentality in China dating back to the 100s BCE and into the Common Era. The role of Confucian texts has woven in and out of state dynasties as required readings for civil servants and foundational components of societal morality. The unique connection between individuals and community is a key component of Confucian thought. Individual rights, for example, become necessary primarily in dysfunctional societies where individuals need protection (Shun and Wong 2004). Adjacent to this notion is that individual rights may also be sacrificed for the common good. Individual duty and ethics are interdependent with the common good and give way to a focus on common benefit (Shun and Wong 2004). Although Confucian thought shapes the consciousness around the notion of public and good in Asian societies, Xun (2013, 75) has noted that since 1910, Confucian moral standards and knowledge, “which had dominated and influenced Chinese peoples’ spiritual world and daily life for more than two thousand years,” has gradually been eliminated from educational traditions as more modern approaches emerged. The current role of Confucius in contemporary Chinese thought is debatable, but the historical role in the formation of communitarian thinking is sure.

Another school of thought that emerged from China and came to rival Confucianism was originated by Mo Tzu in the 400s BCE. Core to Mo Tzu’s philosophical framework are several principles, including that of impartial concern, which argues that the sources of societal troubles are imbedded in the individual tendency to act for individual good as opposed to the welfare of others. The *other* includes strangers and an impartial concern is to develop the tendency to work for the benefit of others instead of at the expense of others. There should be concern for the welfare of others without preference for

the individual self, associations, or strangers. Mohism has been criticized for being too utilitarian through the notion of universal love as the antithesis of chaos. According to Lai (1993), Mo Tzu intended for universal love to be a public good that would in turn produce public good as a benefit to the community. As a result, Mohism included the notion that rightness should include an outer, public, and accountable discourse as opposed to the one exclusively internal.

CONCLUSION

The significance of exploring philosophies like Confucianism and Mohism does not lie in the idea of indigenizing a Western institution that is set in Asia, but to displace some of the predominant Western lens and re-center the notion that there is a cultural architecture to any society without regard to region or the degree to which it is individualist or collectivist. Although ancient philosophical foundations may not have recognition for being a dominant force in the creation and existence of the modern university, they may have a subterranean and essential role in the nature of higher education in Asia. The weight of the economic determinism hypotheses is so great that it tends to direct policy discourse in relation to all things market oriented. As advocated by Marginson (2012, 2014), the best global understanding of public good lies outside of the limitations of market explanations. As a result, exploring the idea of public good in the Asian higher education context may be best approached by giving credence to those ideas that existed long before the Western university and still play a role in society today.

In an effort to explore the dominant forces of Asian higher education further, Hawkins et al. (2013b) proposed the notion of the Asian hybrid university to give some general boundaries as opposed to definitions that can help shape the discourse. They offer six elements that are conceptual yet complex complementarities that are embedded in the four hypotheses:

1. Cartesian framing versus Yin and Yang,
2. Western “muddling through” versus an Asian pragmatic approach to modernity,
3. Western hierarchy versus more fluid organizational structures,
4. Merit-based structures versus relational (network–friendship) structures,
5. Freedom of expression versus politically and culturally contained expression,
6. Notion of democracy as a global currency versus university as a set of linkages of restraint (Hawkins et al. 2013b, 199).

These six elements are useful for promoting culturally based dialogues in a global environment with resistance to the colonial dispositions of the past and present. Ideas and social structures are not transplanted, but are typically exchanged with some degree of mutual influence. The notion of a hybrid university is a conceptual acceptance of the complex complementarities that place a great deal of value on culture, while acknowledging the global influences that

cause societies to constantly evolve. If public good is to take a larger stake in understanding the best contributions of higher education to society, perhaps Asian higher education, with collectivist philosophical roots, will be a better and more influential model than the market-driven approach that is driving higher education from the West into all parts of the globe. Using the notion of complementarity, perhaps the hybrid model will be a lens to see Asian higher education as exerting more influence as a community-engaged structure in society beyond the limited perspective that a degree is vehicle for individual achievement in economic gains.

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Strategies for Higher Education in the Contemporary Era: Public–Private Partnerships and Regional Cooperation

Molly N. N. Lee

INTRODUCTION

As higher education systems expand and develop, what is most needed by governments and higher education providers are resources and innovative ideas. As student enrollments increase and unit costs rise, the higher education system needs more financial as well as human resources. When the system widens access and expands equity, more higher education institutions (HEIs) need to be built to provide more affordable educational opportunities for previously or currently disadvantaged groups. These HEIs would have to be spread out throughout the country so as to make higher education more accessible to those staying in remote areas. To meet the needs of diverse learners, it would be necessary to establish different types of HEIs, with differentiated missions and situated at convenient geographical locations. To manage these massified higher education systems, each would need more qualified teaching as well as administrative staff to administer and deliver higher education to the general public. Furthermore, all these university faculties and administrators will have to be trained and developed before they can be hired, requiring an additional set of resources to be put into the system.

The massification of higher education requires innovative ideas on how to do more with less with an obvious inter-relationship between quantity, quality, and resource inputs in such systems. If quantity increases, it needs at least a

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proportionate increase in resource inputs so as to maintain the existing quality of higher education. However, the efficiency of the system can be improved by devising new ways of doing things. Thus, to enhance both its delivery and the quality of its outputs, a higher education system would need to use different ideologies and advanced technologies, among other things. Neo-liberal ideology brings with it the marketization of higher education and the incorporation of New Public Management into the governance and management of HEIs. At the same time, the advancement of information and communication technologies has resulted in various innovations throughout the higher education sector such as open distance learning (ODL), open educational resources, and massive open online courses as alternative means of delivering higher education. All these innovative ideas would need social interactions and exchanges as well as resources before they can be disseminated and adopted by various higher education systems and institutions.

This chapter focuses on two important strategies which have been adopted by many countries in the Asia region to meet the challenges faced by the massification and diversification of their higher education systems. Commonly known as *cooperation* and *partnership*, these strategies involve the sharing of both resources and innovative ideas among stakeholders in the higher education systems. More specifically, the focus will be on public–private partnerships, which challenge the ideology of what is public and what is private, and on regional cooperation, which examines higher education activities beyond national borders.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE DEBATE

The restructuring of higher education in many countries due to the influence of neo-liberal ideology brings along with it a continual debate on the pros and cons of the private sector in comparison with the public sector (further discussion of this debate is found in the 2008 Special Issue of *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, volume 1 Issue 2). The arguments in favor of private higher education usually are based on a common set of issues, namely, efficiency, equity, diversity, and choice (Woodhall 1997). It is argued that private HEIs are inherently more efficient than public ones because of their strong incentives to minimize costs and use resources efficiently. Competition brings down costs and improves the quality of service. However, some studies suggest that this argument may not hold by showing that the private sector may turn out to be highly inefficient and may even be economically corrupt as in the case of India (Tilak 1993). In other cases, competition can lead to shoddy goods and services as in the private higher education sector in Thailand (Savatsomboon 2006).

The private higher education sector is commonly looked upon as being flexible and responsive to the rapid changing demands of students and the labor market, and thus can offer a wide range of educational programs. However, a closer look at the types of educational programs being offered by private

HEIs seems to show less diversity than expected. This is partly due to the effect of “institutional isomorphism” for the range of educational programs that is offered by private institutions is quite similar to that offered in public institutions. In general, private HEIs tend to offer courses that do not require high capital cost such as business management, computer science, and electrical engineering. In some cases, significant differences do exist between public and private sectors, which cater to differentiated demands such as a Catholic education in the Philippines or an English education in Malaysia, which are the key characteristics of the private sector in these two countries.

The idea that higher education is a public good has strong support among educators and the academy. The non-rivalrous nature of public goods implies that one person’s use of a good does not limit that of another, and its non-excludable character holds that a person cannot be prevented from using the good. According to this definition, higher education is a public good because it is freely available (if there is no scarcity) and consumption by one person does not impair the interest of others (Cemmel 2002). The position of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) is that higher education is a human right and access to higher education should be based on merit and not on affordability.

However, higher education is increasingly being viewed as a private commodity that is both saleable and tradable. The private rates of return of higher education to the individual are higher than the social rates of return. Individuals invest in higher education credentials in the expectation of a better future and to effectively compete for scarce social positions. HEIs sell their expertise and services as well as commercialize their research outputs. Private higher education is a booming industry in many Asian countries such as Malaysia, Indonesia, Philippines, South Korea, Japan, China, Vietnam, and others. The private higher education sector attracts investment from many new players including national and provincial governments, foreign universities, public-listed companies, individual proprietors, and even housing developers. With the emergence of cross-border education and the prevalence of open and distance learning, higher education is now an export commodity and a tradable service in the global economy. Higher education now ranks third in Australia’s exports. The trade liberalization in educational services is part of General Agreement on Trade in Services in the World Trade Organization (Knight 2006).

REDEFINING PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

So far I have used the term “public” and “private” higher education as if they are distinctively different. As important as these terms may be in shaping the discourse of higher education, in many cases, they are losing their distinctive descriptive and analytical edge. What constitutes a public or private higher education in practice is sometimes hard to differentiate in the Asian context. It would be helpful to start with some fundamental features of an “ideal” type of

both public and private HEIs and to identify some of the major organization and structural elements of these two types of institutions.

Lee and Neubauer (2009, 35) have defined a public HEI as one that is:

- “Owned” by the state,
- Governed by a branch of government,
- Regulated by rules developed through governmental authority,
- Funded mostly or entirely from government, and
- Organized to accept students and conduct research in response to some elements of governmental direction.

In contrast, a private institution is one that is:

- Owned by a group or individual (though typically its activities are authorized by law),
- Funded through private sources including student fees,
- Free to hire and evaluate its own personnel,
- Responsible to attract and accept students from the general population on the basis of criteria it establishes (though possibly aided by governmental devices such as national examinations), and
- Governed by and reports to a board of trustees or governors.

But in reality, there are various mixed-mode institutions developing throughout the Asian region and these institutions possess some of these elements, but not all.

Conceptually, some of the key characteristics that can differentiate a particular HEI are (for further discussion, see Lee and Neubauer 2009):

1. *Ownership*: Public ownership means that primary or total funding comes from the state. Public institutions can be national, subnational, or even transnational. Private ownership may take multiple forms such as for-profit or not-for-profit, individual proprietor or public-listed companies, faith-based organizations or political parties, and others.
2. *Sources of funding*: A HEI can have more than one source of funds. In its “pure” form, a public institution only receives most of its funds from the government, whereas a non-state institution raises its funds from private sources. But in reality, most HEIs have diverse sources of funds.
3. *Regulation*: Another defining characteristic of a HEI is formal control of the institution. Who actually controls the institution with respect to expenditure, types of educational programs offered, terms and conditions of employment, and student admission? Also, who controls the quality of HEIs?
4. *Market distinction*: The market environments in which HEIs operate vary country to country in the region with free markets on the one end and a tightly controlled market at the other end. The most distinctive feature of a free market is the minimal conditions for entry into the market. Such kinds of market are commonly found in the least developed countries in the region, namely, Cambodia, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh, and many of the Pacific Island countries. On the other hand, most of the

countries with mature higher education systems such as Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, India, Japan, and the Republic of Korea have a tightly controlled market for higher education which is reflected by its many governmental rules and regulations. In addition, a mixed market prevails in countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, and the Philippines. A mixed market allows partial free entry into some segments while others are regulated to a greater or lesser degree.

PUBLIC–PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS

Public and private partnerships are cooperative ventures between the state and private businesses intended to spread financial risks between the public and private sector while expanding access and capacity. The liberalization of higher education in the region has resulted in a wide range of innovative public–private partnerships taking increasingly complex forms as outlined below (Lee and Neubauer 2009).

State–Provincial Governments and Private Companies

Where higher education has been decentralized from the central government to state or provincial governments, local governments often partner with private companies to set up HEIs such as provincial universities in China, deemed universities in India, and state universities in Malaysia.

Public Universities and Private Companies

When public universities are corporatized, they may form partnerships with private companies to engage in market-related universities. In China, private colleges have become affiliated with state universities, as have high schools. Australian public universities have established offshore campuses in Malaysia, Vietnam, and Thailand. These offshore campuses are often joint ventures between Australian universities and private companies in the host countries.

Public Universities and Private Colleges

In countries such as Malaysia and India, certain private colleges are not allowed to confer degrees. These colleges will franchise degree-awarding educational programs from public universities, either domestic or foreign, and offer them as twinning or credit-transfer programs.

Consortia of Public Universities

The establishment of consortia of public universities to offer educational programs through distance learning modes is becoming increasingly popular. The Open University Malaysia is owned by a private company set up by a consor-

tium of 11 public universities to run ODL programs. Universitas 21 is another consortium, now of 25 universities offering programs to 1.3 million people and employing 220,000 staff worldwide.

Non-Profit Private Universities

Many non-profit private universities set up by communities can be found in ex-socialist countries such as Vietnam and China. In Vietnam, semipublic HEIs are built, managed, and operated by the state in cooperation with private economic sector participants, social organizations, and individuals. Similarly, the *minban* schools in China are established by social, professional, and economic organizations and run on a full cost recovery basis, with all income derived from student fees.

In addition to these, other forms of public and private partnerships in higher education have emerged that are more amorphous and do not involve specific institutional linkages. The following are some examples of such public-private partnerships (Lee and Neubauer 2009):

- Private universities in Japan and India are provided public subsidies. Japanese private universities receive as much as 25 percent of their budget through public subsidies, but in return, these universities are subjected to tight governmental regulations on the size of their student enrollment and the types of academic programs they can offer.
- In many Asian countries, one finds faculty members with positions in public HEIs who also teach or work part time in private institutions. This kind of practice is quite common in Indonesia, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. The respective governments permit this practice because it can be seen as an aid in kind from the government to the private higher education sector, and thus a contribution to expanding higher education access and capacity. It is also implicit recognition of the limited capacity of governments to provide salaries at an appropriate level.
- Another form of aid in kind is the provision of government loans to students studying in private institutions. In Malaysia, students enrolled in accredited programs in private HEIs are entitled to apply for government loans.
- The practice of outsourcing to private companies is becoming increasingly popular among public universities. For example, public universities in Malaysia engage private companies to provide student services such as running student canteens and building student dormitories, a practice that is increasingly common throughout the region.
- Public universities have established industrial parks and incubators to promote public and private partnerships in research, in particular short-term applied research geared toward the development of marketable products.
- It is increasingly common for faculty to position themselves as having expertise to sell in private markets. After the corporatization of public

universities in Malaysia, for example, faculty members have been allowed to sell their expertise through consultancies and offering other professional services for hire.

Thus, in the Asian region, the hard and fast distinction between public and private HEIs is fundamentally changing resulting in the rise of novel hybrids such as the *minban* in China and the people-founded universities in Vietnam. The blurring of public and private is also found in the corporatized universities in Malaysia, Singapore, and Japan as well as the autonomous universities in Indonesia and Thailand where these public universities are free to engage in market-related activities. Furthermore, the above list of various forms of public and private partnerships signifies the development of innovative ways of cooperation between the public and private sector in sharing resources and spreading financial risks in the provision of higher education in Asia. The sharing of resources and the exchange of innovative ideas beyond national borders is explored further in the following section.

REGIONAL COOPERATION

The diffusion of innovative ideas or practices is often done through social interactions along informal networks of professional colleagues or through institutional linkages. Therefore, university exchanges in the forms of academic exchange, research collaboration, and university–community engagement are essential in the spreading of new ideas or practices. Academics often exchange ideas through journals, seminars, conferences, and social networking on the Internet. In the Asian region, numerous regional cooperation initiatives have been initiated by intergovernmental as well as non-governmental organizations. Before examining some of these initiatives, it would be helpful to examine the concept of regionalization of higher education.

For Jane Knight (2012, 28), regionalization can be understood as “a an international process, a desire to build on what is already happening within the region and move beyond an *ad hoc* situation of cooperation to a more planned approach.” She has identified three interrelated approaches to the regionalization of higher education: (1) the functional approach, (2) the organizational approach, and (3) the political approach. The functional approach focuses on the practical activities of HEIs and systems. Such activities include quality assurance schemes, academic credit systems, or qualification frameworks, which aim at facilitating closer alignment among national–sub-regional higher education systems. It can also include programs such as student mobility schemes, cross-border collaborative education programs, pan-regional universities, and centers of excellence. The organizational approach refers to the various networks and organizations, which have emerged to help establish and oversee regional-level and intra-regional initiatives. Such organizations include government and non-government bodies, professional organizations, foundations, and networks. These entities assume a variety of responsibilities such as policymaking, fund-

ing, research, capacity building, regulation, and advocacy among others. The political approach helps to launch major programs or funding schemes and to formalize initiatives such as declarations of intent, binding conventions, treaties, agreements, and special meeting like summits or policy dialogues.

A good example of the political approach to regionalization of higher education is the Bologna process in Europe, which was aimed initially at establishing a European higher education area by 2010 by increasing the compatibility, comparability, and flexibility of higher education systems in the region. The underlying objective was to accommodate and accelerate free flows of students and staff, educational services, and research collaboration (Nguyen 2009). This process, which started in 1998, and has continued beyond its initial target date, is part of the continual intergovernmental efforts to harmonize and integrate Europe. The harmonizing efforts focus on creating and providing recognition of comparable degrees, a European credit-transfer system, cooperative quality assurance systems, and a European dimension to the curriculum (Hawkins 2012). The question is to what extent has the Bologna process impacted on the Asian region? Studies have shown that efforts at developing a harmonized higher education region in Asia are lagging far behind (Nguyen 2009; Yepps 2006; Hawkins 2012; Robertson 2008).

Instead of establishing a Bologna-type of overarching mechanism, one finds throughout the region a series of smaller steps to raise the awareness in the Asian sub-regions about the value of regionalization. Asia can be divided into at least four sub-regions, namely, Southeast Asia, South Asia, East Asia, and Central Asia. Two of the sub-regions have intergovernmental cooperation platforms, namely, the Association of Southeast Asia Nations (ASEAN) and the South Asia Association of Regional Cooperation. In addition, there are the ASEAN+3 (involving China, Japan, and South Korea) and ASEAN+6 (involving China, Japan, South Korea, India, Australia, and New Zealand). Intergovernmental organizations active in the field of higher education in the Asian region include UNESCO, ASEAN, the Southeast Asian Minister of Education Organization (SEAMEO), the Asia-Europe Meeting, the East Asian Summit, and the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, among others.

Besides intergovernmental efforts, a considerable number of higher education organizations and networks in the region are active in promoting university exchanges and research collaboration. Examples of these higher education organizations¹ include the following: ASAIHL (1956), AAOU (1987), AUN (1992), SEAMEO RIHED (1993), AUAP (1995), APRU (1997), and others (see Lee 2012, Nguyen 2009, and Yepps 2006 for more information on these organizations). Regional organizations that are very active in student exchanges include University Mobility in Asia-Pacific (UMAP), SEAMEO RIHED, AUN, CAMPUS ASIA, and the Asia-Pacific Association of International Education. However, the student exchange programs are quite limited because many of these programs only involve a small number of students from top-tier universities in some of the richer countries in the region. Other limitations include language issues, non-synchronized academic calendars, and the relatively large

issue of effective credit transfer because of the different standards among the HEIs in the various countries. Despite these difficulties, two credit-transfer schemes have been developed, including the University Credit Transfer Scheme developed by UMAP and the ASEAN Credit Transfer Scheme developed by AUN.

A few other regional initiatives deserve mention. One is the Asia-Pacific Quality Network, which was established in 2004 with the mission of strengthening the work of quality assurance agencies in the region and extending the cooperation between them. A similar initiative is the ASEAN Quality Assurance Network (AQAN) which was formed to promote and share good practices among quality assurance agencies in the sub-region. Both these networks are assisting countries that do not have a quality assurance agency to establish one of their own. Another significant initiative is the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Regional Convention on the Recognition of Higher Education Qualifications, which was amended in 2011. The main objective of the convention is to promote international cooperation in higher education and to reduce obstacles to the mobility of students and teachers. The key ideas embedded in the regional convention are fair recognition of qualifications; developing supporting instruments, guidelines, good practices, and recommendations; and facilitating information sharing as well as networking at the expert level.

CONCLUSION

The development of Asian higher education in the contemporary era at the national level is very dynamic and innovative, but less so at the regional level. Two distinctive strategies that have been used by various countries to develop their higher education systems are public–private partnerships and regional cooperation. In the region, the boundaries between public and private seem to be blurring with the emergence of various forms of public–private partnerships in the provision and delivery of higher education. Cooperation and partnership among HEIs facilitate the sharing of resources and the spreading of financial risks. Often, such instances of cooperation and partnership even extend beyond national borders.

The higher education networks and organizations mentioned in this chapter are some of the more prominent and well established in the region. Most are involved in promoting regional cooperation in the areas of student exchanges, collaborative research, capacity building, and joint degree programs. It can be observed that the cooperation and networking are much stronger at the sub-regional level, in particular, the Southeast Asian region. A step-by-step approach seems to be adopted for the harmonization of higher education in Southeast Asia as reflected by pilot projects such as AQAN and ASEAN Credit Transfer System (ACTS) initiated by SEAMEO RIHED and AUN, respectively. All these efforts are aimed at student mobility and information sharing of innovative ideas and practices. However, Asia still has a long way to go in the establishment of a common higher education area in the region.

NOTE

1. The higher education organizations are listed here with their year of establishment: ASAIHL is Association of Southeast Asia Institutions of Higher Learning, AAOU is Asia Association of Open Universities, AUN is ASEAN University Network, SEAMEO RIHED is SEAMEO Regional Institute for Higher Education Development, AUAP is Association of Universities in Asia-Pacific, APRU is Asia-Pacific Research Universities.

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Introduction to Part II: The Forces of Regionality in Asian Higher Education

In the literature on Asian higher education the notion of regionality is employed in a variety of ways. For some authors, the referent stays close to its geographic history: Asia is a historically defined and utilized concept which exists as a common framework within which ranges of variation occur, depending on discrete national history, cultural, social, political and economic differences. For others, including those given to embracing globalization dynamics as an important constitutive element in the particularistic realities of any given society, a region is defined in part by its geographic placement, but increasingly also by its role(s) in global structures, or in related social and cultural experiences and history, with respect to its role in the global “circuits of exchange.” Within the specific frame of reference of higher education, particular issues exist about whether regionalization can be a useful explanatory structure for the elements that have come to constitute higher education, and/or the “ways” in which higher education is conducted with specifiable commonalities. For example, within varieties of pedagogy, increasing attention is being given to the role that extensive cultural traditions have on the “ways” that education proceeds in an Asian context, for example, whether historical Confucian traditions have come to permeate “East Asian” ways of teaching and learning. Indeed, some have queried whether the contemporary Asian higher education institution may be usefully described as a “hybrid” structure and set of practices, blending a variety of “traditional” modalities of teaching and learning with a variety of structures, practices and knowledge codes from “the West.”

Other approaches to regionality seek to frame and explain similarities and differences with respect to “elements” of higher education that appear to be increasingly part of higher education structures throughout the world such as massification, marketization, diversification, bureaucratization, and internationalization including the continuing rapid spread of cross-border education, primarily within Asia. Other approaches have focused on examining regional trends within areas of expanding structures and practice such as the emergence

of knowledge-based economies, the spread of neoliberalism, and the advocacy of education as a human right, or, as mentioned above, the seemingly common phenomenon of the “misalignment” between the numbers and kinds of higher education graduates and the ability of economies to absorb them for continued economic growth.

Although it is possible to observe some common trends and challenges within this framework of regionalization, it cannot and should not be assumed that a comprehensive convergence of educational policies and practices exists at all levels and between these higher education systems. Rather, our intention in the chapters of this section is to demonstrate, where appropriate, both the convergence and divergence of practices that do occur at meso- and micro-levels and to search for the widely varying reasons that may account especially for their divergence, for example, often because of the “decoupling” that takes place between policies and practices.

Regionalization of Higher Education in Asia: Functional, Organizational, and Political Approaches

Jane Knight

INTRODUCTION

Higher Education Regionalization in Context

There is no question that the international dimension of higher education has transformed the higher education landscape in the last two decades. The more globalized and interconnected world in which we live has stimulated higher education institutions (HEIs), organizations, and national governments to pay more attention to academic relations and opportunities with partners in other countries (Knight 2008). A more recent development has been an increased focus on higher education collaboration and exchange within a region. In Asia, the expansion in the number of regional research and university networks, the growth in intra-regional student mobility and institutional agreements, the new emphasis on regional quality assurance frameworks, and the rise in joint education programs are testimony to the growing importance of Asian regionalization of higher education (Yavaprabhas 2009; Kuroda et al. 2011). In fact, the movement to increased intra-regional cooperation and harmonization of national systems is occurring in all regions of the world. The well-known Bologna Process, which aims to create a common higher education space in Europe, has stimulated more attention being given to the importance of both intra-regional and inter-regional cooperation in higher education. While there

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is a strong interest to export the Bologna Process policy reforms to other regions of the world, it is important to note that each region needs to develop its own higher education regionalization strategy according to its political, cultural, historical, academic, and economic contexts.

Regionalism, Regionality, Regionalization, Regional Integration

A vibrant debate centers on the topic of regions and their importance, formation, and function. It is interesting to note the different interpretations and permutations of the concept of region. Frequently used terms include regionalism, regionalness, regionality, regionalization, regional integration, inter-regional cooperation—to name a few. It is clear that region constitutes the root concept and the suffixes introduce subtle and nuanced differences in meaning. For example, the suffix “ism” relates more to an ideology or set of beliefs, while “ization” focuses on the process of becoming, and “tion” reflections a condition. An examination of these terms and how they relate to the higher education sector lead to four lines of inquiry. These different lines of inquiry are (1) the impact of regionalism on higher education, (2) higher education regionalization, (3) higher education as an instrument for regional integration, and (4) inter-regional cooperation in higher education.

- The “*impact of regionalism on higher education*” focuses on how the changing notion and increasing importance of region is affecting higher education. It can lead to a type of trend analysis where higher education is seen in more of a reactive position to the increasingly significant influence of regionalism.
- “*Higher education regionalization*” introduces the process of intentionally building connections and relationships among higher education actors and systems in a region. Regionalization attributes more of a proactive role and “agency” to higher education.
- “*Higher education as a tool for regional integration*” takes a more tactical approach to how higher education can be used to achieve regional integration. Given the importance of the knowledge economy, higher education is perceived as a tool for the overall goal of regional economic integration. The question of “agency” is again central to the discussion as the higher education sector itself may have limited influence over what role it plays to enhance regional integration. Higher education can be seen as a means to an end where the end is political and/or economic integration.
- *Inter-regional cooperation in higher education* introduces yet another direction of inquiry which involves interactions between two regions. It often means two world regions such as Asia and Europe, although it could also be regions of smaller scale. Inter-regional cooperation is clearly different from intra-regional cooperation, with the pivotal point being how region is defined.

All lines of inquiry merit further examination, but this chapter focuses on the second line of inquiry: the “higher education regionalization.” For the purposes of this discussion, regionalization of higher education refers to the process of building closer collaboration and alignment among higher education actors and systems within a defined area or framework called a region (Knight 2013, 347).

Three points are key. The first is the idea that it is an ongoing and evolutionary process, the second is the notion of intentional region building based on existing and new relationships and activities by a diversity of actors, and the third is the view that region is defined by the players involved and can be interpreted as an specific area or an organizational/programmatic/political framework. The last point is particularly relevant to Asia, given the diversity of existing regional networks, organizations, and agreements in place.

Purpose and Outline of Chapter

Given the mounting complexity and importance of regionalization, the purpose of this chapter is to apply the Functional, Organizational, Political Approaches (FOPA) model to the complex situation of higher education regionalization in Asia. The FOPA model has been developed with due attention to the diverse cultural, political, historical, and economic contexts in different regions of the world, especially Asia. Higher education is the main focus, but the discussion has relevance to the broader tertiary education sector. The model concentrates on the process of facilitating closer collaboration and alignment among HEIs, actors, networks, and systems within a designated area or framework. Furthermore, the model builds on the multitude of activities, networks, and bilateral/multilateral relationships that are already functioning and improving higher education and its contribution to society. A key assumption is that the regionalization and internationalization processes of higher education co-exist and are compatible and complementary processes. In fact, both processes include similar activities, actors, and outcomes but regionalization emphasizes intra-regional initiatives.

The terminology related to the concept of region is complex and often confusing. As regions evolve and change, so does the interpretation and use of key terms. The diversity of disciplines examining the topic of regionality brings different lenses to the discourse and vividly illustrates that the concept of region is both complex and elusive. A myriad of definitions and interpretations exist. Traditionally, region has been defined in geographic terms and primarily as a collection of nation states in a particular geographically designated area (Vayrynen 2003). In the more interconnected and interdependent world in which we live, the idea of region is becoming increasingly elastic and porous. In both theory and practice, regions can be overlapping, multi-layered, multi-actor, and multi-faceted. Regions can be politically, socially, functionally, and culturally defined (Hettne 2005). Regions can be sub-national, supranational, and pan-regional levels. The nation state is no longer always at the core of a

region, especially for culturally based regions. Regions do not need to be based on boundaries anymore; the connections and interactions among key actors are of greater import than the defining perimeter. In the FOPA model, the concept of region is fundamental, but not defined. Instead, the focus is on the dynamic processes of building a region.

The first section maps the key concepts related to regionalization on a continuum that is anchored by the notions of cooperation and collaboration at one end, moving to a more formalized and intentional concept of integration and interdependence at the other end. The next section elaborates on the three approaches integral to the FOPA model—functional, organizational, and political. These three approaches are inter-related; they are not independent silos of activities. The third section used the FOPA model to examine the status of higher education regionalization in Asia. The final section introduces the question of regional identity and global citizenship and raises relevant issues which merit further reflection and exploration.

THE SPECTRUM OF REGIONALIZATION TERMS

The analysis of the “process of higher education regionalization” involves a multitude of terms such as collaboration, harmonization, and integration. At times, the terms are used interchangeably and at other times, they have very different meanings. While this confusion of terms is not unusual with new developments or trends, it does lead to misunderstandings and muddles. The terms and concepts that are most commonly linked to regionalization include the following: cooperation, integration, harmonization, convergence, collaboration, community, coherence, partnership, and alignment. Worth noting is the number of words that start with “co” indicating the notion of “togetherness.” The similarity among these terms is striking but when studied more closely, it becomes clear that there are subtle and important differences. The next section focuses on the conceptual mapping of these terms, their meaning, and their relation to one another.

It is both challenging and enlightening to discern the differences and similarities among these terms and then try to group and map them. The categorization of terms is highly influenced by the language of analysis. What these terms mean in English will probably differ from how they are used in Japanese, Vietnamese, or Korean. Thus, it is important to ask what is the principal factor or criterion for the grouping of terms and second, what does movement along the continuum or scale represent. In short, the groups include terms of similar levels of intensity of activity and the continuum represents the degree of intended “togetherness” or what is often labeled “regionalness” (Terada 2003). The continuum is anchored by the concepts of cooperation at one end and integration at the other. Cooperation represents a fairly loose and open kind of relationship while integration denotes a much stronger cohesion and collective type of arrangement often referred to as a community or “common area.”

The risk of placing these terms on a continuum is that regionalization is understood to be a linear progression along this scale. This is definitely not the case as change rarely happens in such a systematic way. Most importantly, the objectives and anticipated outcomes of regionalization differ among regions and for various regionalization strategies. One region may be working toward alignment and collaboration rather than harmonization and convergence while other regions may make integration the ultimate goal. An effective way to look at this continuum is through a musical metaphor. The collaboration and partnership group can be likened to an informal jazz concert where musicians gather to play the same composition with individual interpretations while the harmonization and integration end can be compared to a professional orchestral performance where different musicians are playing the same musical composition under a single conductor and common interpretation of the music (Yavaprabhas 2010).

Figure 8.1 presents a schematic diagram of the conceptual mapping. The first group includes cooperation, collaboration, and partnership. Networking could be added to this list. These terms denote an open, voluntary, and perhaps informal type of relationship among actors. In practical terms, it describes the multitude of bilateral and multilateral collaborative activities by universities and other higher education actors.

The second group of terms—coordination, coherence, and alignment—introduces an element of organization and most likely some adaptation to ensure that the interactions among higher education actors in the region are complementary, productive, and bring added value. In practice, this would include the organized networks, joint education programs, or research partnerships among HEIs and systems.

The third group of terms, which include harmonization and convergence, involves stronger and more strategic links and can involve systemic changes at both institutional and national levels. This can include the development of regional quality assurance schemes; an academic credit system with a common currency for determination of credit or work load; similar interpretation of degree levels such as BA, MA, and PhD; regional citation index; or compatible academic calendars.

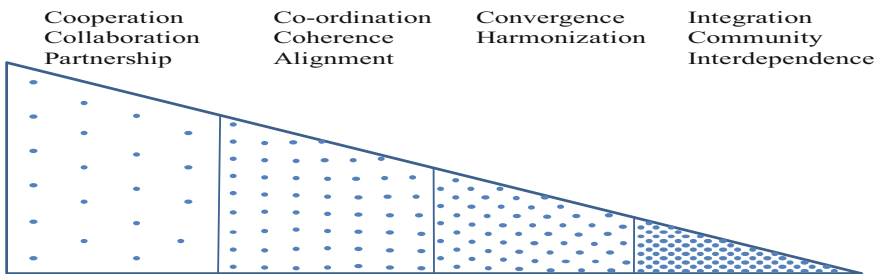


Fig. 8.1 Conceptual mapping of higher education regionalization terms (*Source: Knight (2013)*)

The fourth group of terms—integration, community, and interdependence—represents more formalized, institutionalized, and comprehensive levels of connection and relationships. In practice this would involve regional-level agreements and bodies that aim to facilitate a more robust and sustainable type of regional work and influence such as “a common higher education and research space.”

It is equally interesting to look at concepts that are intentionally not included in this conceptual mapping, but which are in everyday use. Terms such as standardization, conformity, uniformity, compliance, and homogenization are omitted because they do not acknowledge the important differences among systems and actors within a region. This underlines a fundamental value or tenet of higher education regionalization, which is respect for and recognition of differences and diversity among key actors, systems, and stakeholders within the region. Failure to recognize this diversity can lead to the “zipper effect” whereby being completely interlocked neglects differences, stifles innovation, and leads to standardization.

Important to note is that regionalization is not a straightforward or uniform process. Progress evolves according to the specific goals and activities plus cultural and political contexts. Thus, it is necessary to pay attention to factors that influence and characterize the evolution of the regionalization. For example, when and why is the regionalization process characterized as being informal or formal, bottom-up or top-down, ad hoc or intentional, gradual or quantum leap, internally or externally driven, and finally, whether it is reactive, proactive, or strategic?

THE FOPA MODEL

Regionalization in Concert with Internationalization

Regionalization of higher education can be understood as an intentional process, a desire to build on what is already happening within the region and move beyond an ad hoc situation of cooperation to a more planned approach. This is seen as a logical and essential next step toward formalizing intra-regional cooperation. It can often emerge from a belief that it is important to know and interact with your neighbors while at the same time maintain involvement with distant relations. It is understood therefore that regionalization occurs in concert with internationalization of higher education activities. International cooperation, whether it is intra-regional or inter-regional, is not a zero sum situation. The current reality is that regional cooperation and alignment of education systems is becoming increasingly important but not to the exclusion of other international relationships. History will likely show that regionalization and internationalization have a symbiotic relationship. They co-exist, can be complementary or competitive, and each will have prominence at different stages of international cooperation.

Three inter-related approaches—the functional approach, the organizational approach, and the political approach—constitute the core of the proposed framework (Knight 2013). These approaches are not mutually exclusive. They are not three separate silos as they work in unison complementing and reinforcing each other. While this is the optimal situation, it does not always happen in practice because conflicting priorities or politics can cause tension among the three approaches. At any one time, one approach could be more dominant than another but, ultimately, there needs to be progress on all three to ensure sustainability. Current realities will dictate the emphasis attributed to one approach over the other. Figure 8.2 illustrates the relationship and intersection of the three approaches in the FOPA model.

The first approach takes a *functional* perspective of regionalization and focuses on the practical activities of HEIs and systems. Functional approach initiatives can be put into two distinct groups. The first group relate to strategies, which facilitate closer alignment, or in some cases, harmonization among national/sub-regional higher education systems. The second category includes programs like student mobility schemes, cross-border collaborative education programs, pan-regional universities, and centers of excellence. The relationship between these two groups is critical as the systems/policies in group one are needed to facilitate and expedite the programs in group two. For instance, compatibility among quality assurance systems and academic credit systems will help student mobility and collaborative programs within a region. Generally, it is a more complex and serious undertaking to align national systems within a region like East Asian, for example, than to establish multilateral academic activities.

The second approach refers to the *organizational* architecture that evolves to develop and guide the regionalization initiatives in a more systematic (although some might call bureaucratic) manner. It is labeled organizational approach because frameworks, structures, agencies are necessary

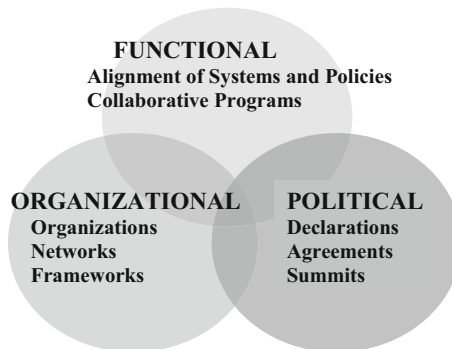


Fig. 8.2 FOPA model (Source: Knight (2012))

to help establish and oversee regional-level and intra-regional initiatives. A diversity of networks and organizations are emerging which include government and non-government bodies, professional organizations, foundations, and networks. These entities assume a variety of responsibilities—policy making, funding, research, capacity building, regulation, and advocacy among others. Table 8.1 presents generic examples of each of the three approaches.

The third approach involves the *political* will and strategies that put higher education initiatives on the agenda of decision-making bodies. The political approach helps to launch major programs or funding schemes and to formalize initiatives. Declarations of intent, binding conventions, treaties, agreements, and special meetings like summits or policy dialogues are instruments for generating political support and visibility in order to make regionalization of higher education a priority. This approach can be characterized as having more of a top-down, formal, and intentional orientation.

Table 8.1 Generic examples of three regionalization approaches

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Generic examples</i>
Functional	<p><i>Alignment of higher education systems</i> Quality assurance and accreditation Academic credit system Degree levels and structures Recognition of qualifications and titles Academic calendar—years and semesters Qualification frameworks ITC platforms Research citation index Inter-library loan systems</p> <p><i>Collaborative academic programs</i> Academic mobility schemes—students, professors, scholars Research networks, clusters, and projects Cross-border programs—double, joint, twinning, branch campus Regional centers of excellence Institutional agreements—bilateral and multilateral Open education resources Pan-regional university</p>
Organizational	<p><i>Organizational architecture</i> Networks and Organizations Foundations Governmental/non-governmental agencies Frameworks Levels: pan-regional, regional, sub-regional</p>
Political	<p><i>Political will</i> Declarations Agreements/Conventions/Treaties Summits/Task Forces/Dialogues</p>

Source: Knight (2012)

Application of FOPA Model to Asia

The purpose of Table 8.2 is to apply the FOPA model to current initiatives which further the regionalization of higher education in Asia and in particular the ASEAN region. It is noted that not all regionalization initiatives are included, and those that are listed are at different stages of development with various degrees of sustainability (RIHED 2008; Aphijanyathan 2010).

These examples show that the ten nations constituting Southeast Asia (SEA) have made significant progress on all three approaches, while Northeast Asia (NEA) consisting of Japan, Korea, and China are in the initial stages of more formal cooperation through the recent establishment of the Campus Asia initiative. There are almost no examples from South, West, or Central Asia. It is not clear whether there are no current initiatives or that the information is not available at this time. These examples also illustrate that regions are multi-layered and overlapping (Kuroda and Passarelli 2009). The different configuration of regions in Asia includes the following scenarios—Pan Asia (47 nations), APEC (21 nations), NEA (3 nations), SEA/ASEAN (10 nations), ASEAN +3 (13 nations), ASEAN +6 (16 nations), and ASEAN +8 (18 nations). It is evident that these regional groupings have overlapping memberships and in the case of APEC and ASEAN +8, they even go beyond the common notion of Asia by including the USA, Russia, and countries on the Pacific Rim. This reality illustrates why the proposed definition of regionalization of higher education emphasizes the process of region building through closer collaboration and alignment of systems and does not try to develop a common understanding of what constitutes Asia or a specific region in Asia.

ISSUES AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER REFLECTION AND RESEARCH

The topic of higher education regionalization is multi-faceted and complex. This section raises issues related to regionalization of higher education which merit further reflection and research by scholars, academic leaders, policy analysts, and government officials in Asia.

Rationales, Objectives, and Outcomes

As the FOPA model suggests, there is a broad variety of stakeholders and actors involved in the higher education regionalization process. Some are within the higher education sector while many represent other sectors and political institutions. All have their own rationales, objectives, and expected outcomes which merit close examination. Of course they will differ by stakeholder group, sector, and country. Practice shows that these different expectations can co-exist, complement, and/or compete with each other.

While recognizing that rationales, objectives, and outcomes can differ by stakeholder group, it is valuable to determine whether there are more general

Table 8.2 Regionalization of higher education in Asia

<i>Approach</i>	<i>Examples from Asian region</i>
Functional	<p><i>Alignment of higher education systems</i> ASEAN Credit transfer system ACSAM—Academic Credit System for Asian Mobility AACs—Asian Academic Credit system ASEAN University Inter-library Online Quality Assurance—mutual recognition of QAA systems ASEAN Qualifications Reference Framework Mutual Recognition Agreements ASEAN Research citation index</p> <p><i>Collaborative programs</i> AIMS ASEAN International Mobility for students University Mobility in Asia Pacific (UMAP) SEAMEO College CAMPUS ASIA—Collective for the Mobility of University Students—Japan, China, and Korea AUN/SEED-NET—Southeast Asian Engineering Education Development Network ASEAN Graduate Business Economic Program ASEAN University Human Rights Network GMS—Greater Mekong Sub-regional Uni Consortium</p>
Organizational	<p><i>Organizational architecture</i> Association of Southeast Asian Nations—ASEAN Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization—SEAMEO Regional Centre for Higher Education Development—RIHED Asia-Pacific Quality Network—APQN ASEAN University Network Quality Assurance—AUNQA ASEAN University Network—AUN Association of Universities of Asia and the Pacific—AUAP Asia Pacific Rim University Network—APRU ASEAN +3 University Network Association of Southeast Asian Institutions of Higher Learning—ASAIHL Association of East Asian Research Universities—AEARU Asia-Pacific Regional Bureau UNESCO Asian Development Bank—ADB</p>
Political	<p><i>Political will</i> Brisbane Communique Chiba Principles Asia-Pacific UNESCO Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Meetings Trilateral summit Asia-Pacific Economic Community—APEC East Asian Summit ASEAN +3, ASEAN +6, ASEAN +8</p>

Source: Author

rationales and objectives, which characterize the overall regionalization efforts. In broad terms, some of the overarching rationales and expected outcomes for regionalization relate to the following objectives: (1) to promote peace, harmony, and mutual understanding within a region and among different cultures and countries; (2) to enhance economic competitiveness at the global level by increasing scientific and knowledge capacity within the region; (3) to develop human resources capacity and mobility to foster economic growth and diminish the divide between developing and developed countries within the region; (4) to foster closer collaboration among knowledge communities to address regional and global issues that can only be solved through cooperation; and (5) to further develop a sense of regional identity and trust among nations in order to facilitate stronger political and security alliances. These examples address some of the political, economic, and social-cultural factors involved in regionalization of higher education, especially in Asia.

There are equally important objectives that relate directly to the primary functions of higher education—teaching/learning, research, and service to society. They can include the following: (1) to ensure that the quality of higher education programs and research is strengthened through sharing of best practices and capacity building within the region; (2) to address pressing national, regional, and world issues through regional research networks, clusters, and knowledge co-production; (3) to develop deeper understanding and appreciation in students, scholars, and academics of the cultures, languages, values, and histories within the region; and (4) to educate and prepare students for citizenship and a career enhanced by critical perspectives and understandings of their role and contribution at the local, national, regional, and global levels. Rationales and objectives reflect basic values and priorities. Furthermore, they underpin the strategies that HEIs, organizations, and systems will use as the roadmap for Asian higher education regionalization. Hence, the necessity of stakeholder groups to articulate clear and coherent rationales, objectives, and outcomes for different regionalization initiatives and second, to undertake careful analysis of them to ensure that all implications are understood.

Regional Governance

The myriad of organizations, institutions, networks, governmental agencies, and non-governmental bodies involved in various aspects of regionalization can make governance complicated and challenging (Stubbs 2008). Whether it is for the alignment of academic systems, sharing the production and application of knowledge, or strengthening collaborative education programs and research there are many players which bring different strengths and different agendas. There is no “one way” to effectively govern regionalization as political, historical, social, and economic contexts differ within and across regions. One size does not fit all. Asia vividly illustrates this reality and the necessity of working within one’s own “backyard” and with one’s own agenda. Further research and reflection is needed on how to develop the optimal mix of actors and the

most appropriate balance of bottom-up and top-down, formal and informal, ad hoc and intentional strategies. An overly bureaucratic and stringent approach to regionalization governance can smother initiative and innovation, but lack of a coherent and careful governance approach can just as easily lead to chaos, competition, and conflict.

Language

Another issue that merits serious consideration is the importance of indigenous languages both within and across countries. The diversity and richness of linguistic expression in Asia is a value treasured by many, but the demands of a more interconnected region and world introduce the growing tendency to find a common language to facilitate communication. English often becomes the working language. In higher education multilateral exchanges, language is a complicated and controversial issue. The challenge is to find the optimal balance between the competing priorities. It is a complex and often a politically nuanced challenge. These priorities include (1) teaching/learning/ researching in native languages, (2) encouraging students to learn additional languages, (3) finding a common language for intra-regional academic cooperation programs and exchange of research findings, and (4) getting access to foreign language research and academic literature.

Regional Identity and Global Citizenship

An articulated rationale for regionalization is to develop and strengthen a sense of regional identity—shared views and values within a region. The attention being given to regional identity stems from the belief that a strong Asian regional identity is an important foundation for political and security cooperation (Johnston 2010). A fundamental tenet of regional identity is that it exists in addition to a sense of national identity. It does not replace national identity. Thus, it is not a case of either a national or regional identity; rather, they are seen to be complementary perspectives.

The question of regional identity is pertinent to regionalization of higher education because student/scholar mobility, increased partnerships, and exchange of knowledge among academics are all potential determinants for helping to foster regional identity. Perhaps, this is why the Asianization of Higher Education is raised as an important element of regionalization in the same way that Europeanization of Higher Education has been attributed to the Bologna Process is being debated.

The issue of regional identity raises further questions when it is juxtaposed to the concept of global citizenship. The concept of global citizenship means different things to different people, but it is often linked to the development of certain competencies such as intercultural awareness and understanding, increased international knowledge and commitment to global issues, and ability to appreciate and function in different cultures and countries. In contrast, the concept of regional identity emphasizes shared perspectives and values

not specific competencies. This is an area which merits further reflection and research. The waters are murky when one discusses the relationships between national identity and regional identity, national citizenship and global citizenship, and the role of regionalization and internationalization of higher education in enhancing identity and citizenship.

Participation and Engagement for All

Just as there is concern about access and equity for student enrollment in higher education, there is a similar issue with regard to which institutions, organizations, and countries will be fully engaged in regionalization activities and which ones will be left out. For example, the regionalization process would not reach its potential if only leading universities, more established organizations, and developed national systems were engaged in regional-level collaboration and exchange. Already, there is a tendency in Asia for regional networks to be used as an opportunity for status building among elite institutions and not capacity building and sharing among all types of universities. The engagement of a cross-section of HEIs and organizations is an issue of vital importance to the success and sustainability of both intra-regional and inter-regional cooperation.

Unintended Consequences: Benefits and Risks

New trends and developments bring positive outcomes, but it is important to be mindful of unintended negative consequences as well. Regionalization is a process predicated on a respect for differences in local culture and context, but concern lingers that harmonization or integration can lead to an unintended outcome of standardization and homogenization.

A second potential outcome is brain drain. The expansion of student, scholar, and academic mobility schemes is a hallmark of regionalization (and internationalization). Over the last decade, the exponential increase in student mobility in Asia has stimulated new efforts to develop compatible academic credit systems, quality assurance procedures, qualification recognition, and semester/academic calendar years. There are solid reasons and important benefits of increased academic mobility. But there are unintended negative consequences as well. The “great brain gain race” known for the attraction and retention of talented foreign students and scholars to meet domestic science, technology, and innovation targets to build the knowledge economy is one of them. The terms “brain circulation” and “brain sharing” are now preferred terms to describe the attraction of human resources through academic mobility programs. In many ways, these are appropriate terms, but they also tend to camouflage the fact that some countries are experiencing a net “brain loss” resulting in a smaller talent pool and potentially jeopardizing their national economic and social development. In the analysis of higher education regionalization, it is imperative that attention is given to potential benefits and risks, winners and losers, pros and cons.

These are only a few examples of issues and questions that warrant further reflection and exploration. Other major topics include (1) financial and economic implications of higher education regionalization, (2) the relationship between higher education regionalization and internationalization, (3) higher education as an agent or tool for political and economic regional integration, and (4) implications of higher education regionalization on human resources development and mobility.

Innovation is a term that is on the lips of leaders and policy makers in all sectors and especially in Asia. Higher education is no exception. Innovation is linked with the application of knowledge and insight in new ways. Systems, whether they are medical, economic, manufacturing, environmental, or education thrive on new ideas and innovation. This is true for Asian HEIs and national systems as well. It is essential to keep in mind that any process of alignment, harmonization, or convergence of national higher education systems retains the capacity for innovation and change. Introducing another layer of bureaucracy and regulation to higher education need not stifle innovation in the classroom and research centers or in institutional-level governance and national/sub-regional policies. Just as Asian higher education regionalization is adapting to new trends, realities, and opportunities, it in turn needs to accommodate and stimulate new ideas and innovation and not become another bureaucratic burden or driven entirely by the complexities of political realities and economic motives.

This chapter is an updated version of Knight (2012).

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Regional Trends in Asian Higher Education

Molly N.N. Lee

INTRODUCTION

In the era of globalization, it is possible to identify a number of regional trends in higher education in Asia. Globalization is often viewed as a multidimensional process which unfolds in the realms of the global economy, global politics, and global culture (Pieterse 1995). What have made the globalization process feasible are the new information and communication technologies combined with increased mobility of money, goods, people, information, technology, and images (Appaduria 1990). The relationship between globalization and higher education can be usefully analyzed from two perspectives, namely “economic globalization” and “global rationalization” (Davies and Guppy 1997).

The economic globalization perspective focuses on the ascendancy of the global marketplace in shaping educational reforms. The opening up of world markets and the relatively free movement of capital and technology offer great potential for economic growth. However, the effects of globalization on a country’s development potential depend critically on its educational or human resources capacity (Stewart 1996). New markets’ demands for better quality products and high-technology jobs require a very skilled labor force, and rapidly changing tastes result in flexible and specialized production and greater worker responsibilities. Therefore, many Asian governments view higher education as central to national strategies for securing shares of the global market. Universities are the repositories of much of the scarce and valuable human resources that nations possess for competing successfully in the global economy (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). The global market creates a worldwide demand for certain types of skills and for knowledge-intensive products and processes, which are associated with high levels of education and universities, respectively.

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The global rationalization perspective stresses the notion of a system of world culture. According to Meyer (1980), the world system is not simply a collection of nation-states engaged in economic exchange but also an overarching social system of institutional rules and structural properties. These rules define the parameters within which nations operate and strongly influence their behaviors. At the same time, the behavior of nations helps shape the institutional structure and pushes its evolution in new directions. A central feature of the institutional perspective is its emphasis on evolving world cultural imperatives, as compliance with them is an important source of legitimacy and resources. Following this line of argument, the restructuring of higher education is a worldwide phenomenon. It is also occurring in the Asian region through cultural diffusion and institutional isomorphism. Higher educational reforms in any particular society are not only related to its socio-economic and political development but also motivated by global influences. As the global forces impinge on national economic, social, political, and cultural contexts, governments have to respond by initiating educational changes to meet these global imperatives.

The dynamics of globalization have impacted on the development of higher education in Asia through institutional isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and educational borrowing (Halpin and Troyna 1995). An examination of the regional trends on higher education shows that the emergence of knowledge-based economies, the spread of neoliberalism, and the advocacy of education as a human right continue to have significant effects on higher education. The changing role of higher education in the era of globalization is also closely linked with the emergence of knowledge-based economies in which productivity relies predominantly on science, technology, knowledge, and management. The shift from an industrial economy to a post-industrial economy is particularly clear in advanced countries where the new economy is increasingly based on information processing activities, and where standardized mass production is replaced by customized, flexible production. To be globally competitive, business corporations are increasingly turning to research universities for science-based products and processes to market in the global economy. Therefore, higher education is continuously being transformed in response to align with the rapidly changing globalized knowledge economy.

Parallel with economic globalization is the retrenchment of the welfare state which is replaced by a neoliberal state geared at promoting international competitiveness through cutbacks in social expenditures, economic deregulation, decreased capital taxes, increased privatization, and labor flexibilization. Neoliberals seek to increase corporate earnings and economic efficiency by privatizing public institutions, reducing state regulation and taxation, and rolling back the “costly” welfare state (Carl 1994). Neoliberalism further espouses the superiority of the market, instead of the state, as allocator of resources (Wells et al. 1991). This ideology has resulted in the privatization of public enterprises such as health, education, housing, and transportation. Consequently, public funding for higher education in many countries has been drastically cut. With

the withdrawal of the state, the provision of higher education is now increasingly becoming regulated by market forces.

In conjunction with these recent developments, the globalization of culture is occurring with international organizations playing an active role. The United Nations advocates that education is a human right and it is imperative that everyone should have access to quality education that meets basic needs and enriches lives. The Education for All movement is a global commitment to provide quality basic education for all children, youth, and adults by the year 2015 (UNESCO 2015). Along the same line of advocacy, the UNESCO World Declaration on Higher Education states that higher education shall be equally accessible to all based on merit. As a consequence, no discrimination can be acceptable in granting access to higher education on the grounds of race, gender, language, religion or economic, cultural, or social distinctions, or physical disabilities. The core missions of higher education are to educate highly qualified graduates and responsible citizens and to provide opportunities for higher learning and for learning throughout life (UNESCO 1998).

The aim of this chapter is to identify a number of regional trends in higher education that are resulting from the dynamics of globalization discussed above. In Asia, the regional trends include the massification of higher education, the marketization of higher education, the diversification of higher education, the bureaucratization of higher education, and the internationalization of higher education. Each of these trends will be elaborated with examples from the Asian region in the following sections.

MASSIFICATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

An obvious trend in Asia is the rapid expansion of higher education in many countries due to increasing social demands for higher education brought about partly by population growth, the democratization of secondary education, and the growing affluence of many societies. Martin Trow (1974) distinguished three types of higher education systems, namely elite, mass, and universal higher education systems. Trow described a higher education system in which half the population or more of the relevant age group participate as a universal system, while a mass system has between 16 and 50 percent participation, and an elite system has up to 15 percent participation. Based on Trow's distinction, contemporary higher education has entered the massification stage in Asia. The UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2015) shows that the gross tertiary enrollment ratio in Asia was 28.84 percent in 2013. However, there are variations within the Asian region with some sub-regions having higher participation rates. For instances, the gross tertiary enrollment ratio was 44.87 percent in Western Asia, 31.98 percent in Eastern Asia, 30.75 percent in Southeastern Asia, and 22.83 percent in Southern Asia. The more developed countries have already reached universal access, for examples, South Korea (98.38 percent), Australia (88.51 percent), New Zealand (79.04 percent), and Japan (61.40 percent). Many of the other countries such as Malaysia

(37.20 percent), Philippines (33.84 percent), Indonesia (31.51 percent), China (29.70 percent), and India (24.69 percent) have massified their higher education systems. However, there are still a number of developing countries in which access to higher education is limited to elites, instances of which are Myanmar (13.38 percent), Bangladesh (13.23 percent), Bhutan (10.91 percent), Pakistan (9.82 percent), and Afghanistan (3.74 percent).

Shin and Teichler (2014) have criticized Trow's classification for using only tertiary enrollment rates to distinguish higher education systems because such a criterion does not differentiate countries that are struggling to increase access to higher education and catch up with leading countries from those that are near 100 percent tertiary enrollment. Instead of using Trow's mass and universal access, they use massified and post-massified higher education to distinguish these two stages. According to them, the distinction between elite, massification, and post-massification is related to the main functions of the modern university, which are teaching, research, and service. In elite higher education, students are well prepared, and there is not much knowledge to impart, so professors concentrate on knowledge production. But usually only a small number of talented professors are engaged in research while most of the other professors interpret, translate, and transmit existing knowledge to their students. In mass higher education, professors begin to pay attention to teaching because their students are not as well prepared as in the elite stage. At the same time, more professors are involved in research and knowledge production. Thus, both teaching and research become the core business of universities at this stage. In post-massification, professors have to pay much attention to what students learn as well as to what they teach, because students, across the full range of differential preparation, do not fully understand what their professors teach in the classrooms. At the same time, professors are under pressure to produce more knowledge through research using more sophisticated research methods. As a result, the gap between the knowledge generated and the content taught in classrooms becomes wider. Thus, teaching tends to be decoupled with research in many universities in the post-massification stage.

The massification and post-massification of higher education bring with them a whole wide range of issues and challenges (Shin et al. 2015). Although an excess demand for higher education exists in many developing countries, quite a number of the developed countries such as Japan and South Korea are experiencing an oversupply of places in their higher education institutions (HEIs) because the number of students in the 17–24 age cohort is declining due to low birth rates in recent years. Therefore, countries that are over-massified have their own set of issues and challenges. In expanding their higher education systems, many governments also have widened access to accommodate first-generation students from disadvantaged groups such as rural populations, the poor, women, and minority groups. While female students are underrepresented in countries such as Nepal, Bangladesh, Laos, and Cambodia, they are overrepresented in other countries such as Australia, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Thailand. The challenge is how to achieve gender balance in HEIs throughout the Asian region.

MARKETIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The rapid expansion of higher education and rising unit costs have caused tremendous fiscal strain on many governments, which have led them to seek other sources of funding and to restructure their higher education systems. This restructuring in many Asian countries has involved the privatization of higher education, the corporatization of public universities, the implementation of student fees, and the formation of strategic partnerships between public and private sectors in the provision of higher education (Lee 2013a).

Privatization of education is part and parcel of neoliberalism ideology. In many developing countries, such privatization has been a necessary step toward meeting excess demand. In a circular process, privatization leads to a reduction in the level of state provision which in turn leads to further encouragement for the expansion of private provision. While private higher education has been a long tradition in countries such as Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, and Philippines, it is relatively new in other countries such as Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, and China. In the newly established private sectors, national governments liberalize and deregulate educational policies to allow private HEIs to be established so as to absorb the increasing demand, which cannot be met by the public sector due to budgetary constraints. UNESCO statistics (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2014) demonstrate that in 2011, the Asian countries with high private share of enrollment (over 50 percent) are South Korea, Japan, Indonesia, Philippines, Nepal, and Cambodia. Countries with medium share (25–50 percent) are Malaysia, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Laos, and Timor while those with small share (10–25 percent) are Thailand and Vietnam.

Because privatizing higher education is often associated with reductions in public sector spending, public universities have been required to seek alternative sources of revenues by engaging in market-related activities and are subjected to market dynamics. An emerging trend is that many public universities are beginning to operate more like business organizations. Instead of producing and transmitting knowledge as a social good, these public universities are placing emphasis on the production of knowledge as a marketable good and a saleable commodity. It is the market that determines which courses to teach, what research to do, which research projects to fund, which student market to serve, and what enrollment policy to adopt (Buchbinder 1993). One can find this trend throughout Asia such as in the “corporatized universities” in Australia, Japan, Malaysia, and Singapore, and in the “autonomous universities” in Thailand and Indonesia (see Lee in Chap. 18 on reforms on university governance in Asia). In their role as “profit making centers,” these restructured universities are often engaged in recruiting full-fee-paying students, seeking research grants and consultancies, franchising educational programs, renting out university facilities, and investing in various business ventures. At the same time, the academic staff is under great pressure to increase entrepreneurship by offering a wider range of educational programs and engaging in “academic capitalism” (Slaughter and Leslie 1997).

A parallel trend is the policy of cost-recovery from students. In recent years, countries such as China, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, which for many years did not charge tuition fees, have begun to collect fees from a large portion of their university students. A distinctive feature of higher education systems in East Asian countries is not only the growth of tertiary participation but also the increase of household spending on the costs of tertiary education (Marginson et al. 2011). To ensure that qualified students from poor backgrounds can pursue higher education, most governments provide financial aid and loans to needy students. The liberalization of higher education in the region has also resulted in a wide range of innovative public-private partnerships such as those between private companies and state/provincial governments or public universities, partnerships between public universities and private colleges, and others (see Lee in Chap. 18 for further elaboration). In short, higher education is no longer viewed only as a public good but also as a private service.

DIVERSIFICATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Another dimension of higher education change may be observed in the diversification of funding sources and the differentiation of HEIs. Perhaps most important are the varied mixes of for-profit and non-profit providers across various national environments. For-profit providers have adopted varied modes of ownership including single and group proprietors, private companies, family businesses, stock companies as well as government-linked companies. On the other hand, non-profit educational institutions are more likely set up by foundations, philanthropic organizations, faith-based organizations, and community-based organizations. Foreign providers set up either branch campuses or franchise their programs to local HEIs. Distance education providers can be public or private, domestic or foreign, media companies or multinational companies (Lee 2013b).

Different types of HEIs have also evolved to meet the needs of the diverse learners. Such different types of institutions include community colleges, polytechnics, technical institutes, university colleges, universities, and others. Some interesting examples include the people-founded universities in Vietnam and China, Catholic universities in the Philippines, and universities owned by political parties in Malaysia. Examples of foreign branch campuses include the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology in Vietnam and Monash University, the University of Nottingham, and others in Malaysia.

This diversification of higher education has resulted in a further set of challenges, which include the need to coordinate these different types of HEIs and providers. Much needs to be done to regulate and monitor the quality of educational programs offered by various HEIs. Different resources from various sources, from either public or private sectors and from the individual or community need to be mobilized for better coordination in the higher education sector.

BUREAUCRATIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

As higher education systems expand, they become more bureaucratic and regulated so as to ensure consistency of treatment in various areas pertaining to the governance and management of HEIs (Chapman and Austin 2002). But with such expansion, they also become more complex, comprising a wide variety of institutions with different missions, scattered in different geographical locations, thus making it increasingly difficult for them to be effectively managed centrally. A more decentralized management style and system are needed to cope with the new challenges they present. As many universities continue to grow and expand with limited resources, their stakeholders including the state become increasingly concerned with the quality of education they provide, and as a result, universities in such systems are increasingly subjected to external pressures to achieve greater accountability for their performance.

In general, the relationship between HEIs and the state is largely dependent on the degree of autonomy and accountability allowed in such systems. Both sides to the relationship are constantly engaged in the redefining of their mutual engagements, with the state tending to demand more accountability and the HEIs insisting on more autonomy. A significant trend (and tradeoff) is the allowance of an increase in institutional autonomy in return for more accountability (see Lee in Chap. 18 for further analysis of the changing relationship between universities and the state). In particular, the institutional autonomy of private universities and corporatized public universities has increased in terms of governance structure, academic matters, financial management, staff management, leadership appointment, and student intake. At the same time, HEIs are increasingly being subjected to public accountability. Universities in many Asian countries are experiencing significantly more internal and external quality controls. In all cases, some forms of quality assurance agencies or accreditation bodies have been established to perform these tasks (see Mok and Chan along with Hou in this volume for an elaboration on quality assurance of higher education). Some quality agencies are established by the ministries such as the Malaysian Qualifications Agency in Malaysia, the Office of National Education Standards and Quality Assessment in Thailand, and the National Accreditation Board for Higher Education in Indonesia, while others have been set up by universities themselves such as the Hong Kong Council for Accreditation of Academic and Vocational Qualifications in Hong Kong and the Japan University Accreditation Association in Japan (Bigalke and Neubauer 2009).

Following the regional trend, many public and private Asian HEIs have also adopted “New Public Management” practices in their attempts to improve their accountability, efficiency, and productivity. As described by Lee in Chap. 18, this new managerialism refers to the adoption by public sector organizations of organizational forms, technologies, management practices, and values more commonly found in the private sector. Management techniques common to the private sector such as mission statements, strategic planning, total quality man-

agement, International Organization for Standardization certification, “right-sizing,” and benchmarking are being institutionalized in restructured universities. Participation in university ranking exercises has also become a common practice (see Yonezawa’s chapter on competition for world-class status). Numerous governments have initiated specific programs such as the 985 and 211 initiatives in China, Research Universities in Malaysia, Korea Brain 21, and Global 30 in Japan to improve the ranking of their flagship universities in the league tables.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

According to Knight (2006, 18), the internationalization of higher education may be defined as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural, and global dimension into the purpose, functions (teaching, research, service), and delivery of higher education.” This process involves internationalization both at home and abroad, even though it is often taken to mean the international mobility of students. Internationalization at home focuses on the intercultural and international dimensions in the teaching–learning process, extracurricular activities, and relationships with local cultural and ethnic community groups in the home campuses (Knight 2004). As for internationalization abroad, it is often referred to by terms such “cross-border education” or “transnational education.” The definition for these two terms is “the movement of people, knowledge, programs, providers, and curriculum across national or regional jurisdictional borders” (Knight 2006, 18). From these two definitions, it can be seen that cross-border education is only a subset of the “internationalization of higher education.” In the Asian region, much of this internationalization focuses on the international mobility of students, academic staff, educational programs, and HEIs across national borders. The driving forces for internationalization have included a greater demand for transnational education by students, families, and governments.

UNESCO statistics indicate that in 2012, four million students went abroad to study, up from two million in 2000. The top five destinations were the USA (18 percent), the UK (11 percent), France (7 percent), Australia (6 percent), and Germany (5 percent) (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2015). Within the Asia-Pacific region, it is interesting to note that the number of students flowing out of the region is greater than the number of students flowing in. Most Asian mobile students head for Australia, the UK, and the USA. The largest outflows are from China (712,157 students), India (181,872 students), and South Korea (116,942 students) (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2015).

As for the mobility of educational programs, these may be achieved in various ways. Partial mobility occurs through twinning arrangements, where part of the program is offered both domestically and abroad. More substantial mobility is achieved when a domestic program is offered abroad through a different institution under a franchise arrangement. Complete mobility is achieved when the parent institution establishes a branch campus in its own

name in another country. There is also the case of distance and e-learning, where the program can be delivered in another country through the use of information and communication technology.

With the internationalization of higher education come numerous challenges including, as indicated above, the issues of quality assurance and qualification recognition. With the increasing mobility of students, academic programs, and labor forces across national borders, the issue of qualification recognition is very pertinent. A close link exists, however, between recognition of higher education qualifications and quality assurance and accreditation. With respect to the *recognition* of qualifications, it is becoming more difficult to determine exactly what the value of a foreign qualification is, because of the diversity of programs, qualifications, delivery modes, and the proliferation of non-formal learning. Assessing the *value* of a qualification has become much more complicated and yet at the same time, evaluators, employers, and professional bodies are becoming increasingly interested in determining the quality of an institution, program, or qualification. As a result, recognition and credential evaluation agencies increasingly appeal to quality assurance agencies to inform them of the quality of a particular institution or program, resulting in an endemic need for further international cooperation and information sharing.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the diversity of countries in Asia, it is possible to observe some common trends and challenges in the higher education sector. In almost all countries, there is the widening access to higher education to include the marginalized groups in societies. With the massification of higher education, many governments are encouraging their private sectors to play an active role in the provision of higher education, thus leading directly to its commercialization and corporatization. With the corporatization of public universities has come the practice(s) of new managerialism being adopted by university administrations. At the same time, higher education is being internationalized with the increasing mobility of students, programs, and providers across national borders.

In analyzing these regional trends, we should not assume that there is total convergence of educational policies and practices in all higher education systems. In fact, the impact of regional trends on higher education reforms should take into careful account the distinct socio-political and economic context of each country. Often, even though there may be similarities in educational policies, there are important variations when it comes to the implementation of these policies either across or within countries because of the decoupling between policies and practices. What usually emerges is a hybrid of local variations of educational policy ideas that may have originated from various metropolitan centers.

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Regionalization of Higher Education in Asia

Kazuo Kuroda

INTRODUCTION: DEFINITIONS OF GLOBALIZATION, INTERNATIONALIZATION, AND REGIONALIZATION

Due to explosive growth in the international movement of people, rapid strides in information and communications technologies, the advancement of international economic integration, the evolution of the market economy, and the creation of a knowledge-based economy, education—especially higher education—which heretofore had been primarily discussed within the traditional framework of individual nation-states is faced with the prospects of international and global transformation.

An unexpected result in recent years of the globalization of higher education has been the advancement of regionalization, but policy discussions concerning the overall direction of regionalization still lack a coherent understanding of its relation with regional integration and regional cooperation. This chapter will first attempt to define and relate the concepts of globalization, internationalization, regionalization, regional integration, and regional cooperation as they relate to higher education and then proceed to survey the progress of regionalization in higher education in Asia.

The internationalization and globalization of higher education have recently been topics of manifold discussions and defined in various ways (Scott 2000; Wende 2003). Among them, the definitions most frequently used in the latest research on international higher education are those presented by Knight, who defines globalization as “the flow of people, culture, ideas, values, knowledge, technology, and economy across borders resulting

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in a more interconnected and interdependent world” (Knight 2008, 4), and defines internationalization in higher education as “a process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, function, and delivery of post-secondary education” (Ibid., 213–214). In other words, for Knight, globalization is the transformation of a *de facto* advancing social economy, and internationalization is the response from government and higher education institutions (HEIs).

Because there has been little progress in better defining regionalization, at least not in international higher education research, the concept has been used with reference to regions to mean both globalization and internationalization as described above. That is to say, regionalization was used to refer to the evolution of regional socio-economic interdependence (including a *de facto* advancing of higher education), but at the same time, the response to this advancing regionalization in Europe and Asia of HEIs was itself seen as a structural part of regionalization. If we are to use this terminology to better effect, we must call the former “*de facto* regionalization,” and the latter regionalization as the process of integrating regional aspects into higher education; that is, a regionalization that can be “weighted towards the region one identifies with.” Regional cooperation, regional integration, and construction of a regional framework in higher education can best be looked on as responses included in the latter definition of regionalization.

There are many aspects of internationalization of higher education. The task of analyzing in detail the ways that the internationalization of higher education is adapting to globalization and regionalization will henceforth be important in international higher education research, but limitations in terms of data mean that there is still overall little empirical research. In the following sections, we will look at the regionalization of higher education, focusing on trends and responses of governments and international intergovernmental organizations to this kind of higher education globalization.

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGION

In Asia, there are many studies that found rapidly growing intra-regional student mobility and institutional collaboration, and the “Asianization of Asia” is being realized in the field of higher education (see Kuroda 2007; Sugimura and Kuroda 2009). Following this ongoing *de facto* regionalization of higher education, Asian governments and higher educational institutions have tried to establish a multilayered structure of higher educational cooperation in the region. It is clear that the area historically most advanced in regional integration in higher education within Asia is Southeast Asia, where a pioneering experiment in regionalization is being carried out in higher education.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967, and although its goals have changed with history, they are primarily (1) promoting economic growth and socio-cultural development in the region,

(2) ensuring political and economic stability in the region, and (3) cooperating on sundry regional issues. Initially, the organization was centered around foreign ministries, but in recent years, it has become a regional international organization, aspiring to regional cooperation over a wide range of political, economic, social, and cultural issues and thereby to regional integration and the realization of an “ASEAN community.” ASEAN operates by action plans in each of which education has a place. At the first ASEAN Informal Summit in 1996 (Jakarta), the drafting of “ASEAN Vision 2020” was agreed to and was adopted the following year at the second ASEAN Informal Summit (Kuala Lumpur), where Southeast Asia set the goal of becoming an ASEAN community. ASEAN Vision 2020 was intended to show a way for regional cooperation which encompassed fields as varied as politics, culture, and economic development, and also pointed out the need for international cooperation in the region in order to cultivate human resources to ensure dynamic regional development. At the ninth ASEAN Summit (Bali), the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II was agreed upon, which states the goal of building the ASEAN community on the three pillars of political and security cooperation, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural cooperation; here, education was recognized as a part of socio-cultural cooperation.

At the tenth ASEAN Summit in 2004 (Vientiane), in order to translate the above Concord into reality, the Vientiane Action Program was adopted which dealt with the theme “Towards shared prosperity and destiny in an integrated, peaceful and caring ASEAN Community.” In particular, in order to realize a socio-cultural community, the goal was put forward of “nurturing human, cultural, and natural resources of the region for sustained development in a harmonious and people-centered ASEAN,” and included as strategic thrusts “facilitating access to education” and “managing the social impact of economic integration through human resource development.”

The first intergovernmental meeting focusing on education within the ASEAN framework of education ministers was held in Manila in 1977. At that time, education issues discussed at ASEAN ran the gamut of vocational education, teacher education, examination systems, management information systems for education, special education, and a vision for an ASEAN university. The education ministers’ meetings within the framework of ASEAN were limited because of the parallel development of vigorous activities by the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education (SEAMEO), which had been in existence since 1965. However, since ASEAN Vision 2020 was formulated in the late 1990s, policy-level discussions on education and ASEAN’s engagement in the field of education have once again gained momentum. In recent years, fomenting an ASEAN identity and a sense of an ASEAN socio-cultural community and quality of education for national development were the main topics under discussion at the first ASEAN Education Ministers’ Meeting, held jointly with the 41st SEAMEO Conference in Singapore in 2006. At the second ASEAN Education Ministers’ Meeting held in Bali in 2007 (held in conjunction with the 42nd SEAMEO Council Conference), topics discussed

included the use in education of the ASEAN Charter, the importance of education in the formation of “ASEAN citizens” and the fostering of an ASEAN identity, the promotion of “ASEANness” among students by strengthening the ASEAN University Network (AUN) through the cooperation of ASEAN and SEAMEO, and cooperation between East Asia Summit (EAS) member countries.

In 2008, the third ASEAN Education Ministers’ Meeting was held in Kuala Lumpur in conjunction with the 43rd SEAMEO Council Conference. Educational cooperation was discussed with the aim of improving the competitiveness of ASEAN and promoting an ASEAN awareness and identity beyond the socio-cultural community. The ASEAN Charter, agreed to in 2008 and ratified by all member countries in 2009, included a statement on the necessity of educational cooperation for “the empowerment of the peoples of ASEAN and for the strengthening of the ASEAN Community.” As such, education was accorded a place in each of the ASEAN Plans of Action and, in particular, activity in the field of higher education has been recognized as an important task for the building of a socio-cultural community. Although the framework of ASEAN Education Ministers’ meetings has also become more active in recent years, actual activities are primarily delegated to the AUN, established in 1995 by ASEAN, and the SEAMEO Regional Institute for Higher Education and Development (SEAMEO RIHED). For example, at the above-noted ASEAN Education Ministers’ meeting in 2008, it was agreed to develop the role of AUN with close cooperation from SEAMEO and, in particular, from SEAMEO RIHED. In recent years, both AUN and SEAMEO RIHED have been concerned with the promotion of regional education exchange, quality assurance, and the harmonization of higher education in Southeast Asia, and have engaged in various projects (Supachai and Nopraenue 2008).

SEAMEO RIHED, whose parent organization was a research institute established in 1959 by United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the International Association of Universities with the financial support of the Ford Foundation, was officially designated a specialized agency of SEAMEO in 1992. The purpose of SEAMEO RIHED lies in increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of higher education in member countries, and its diverse activities include technical cooperation, international conferences, training, and policy research. In recent years, it has been particularly engaged in activities to develop a standard and framework for quality assurance in higher education; it has strengthened support to countries such as Cambodia, Myanmar, and Laos, which have weak quality assurance systems, and has made efforts to create a quality assurance framework throughout the entire Southeast Asia region. From 2007 to 2008, with assistance from the Japan Foundation and the Australian government, international conferences for the creation of a Common Space of ASEAN higher education were held where proposals for creating an ASEAN higher education quality assurance framework and increasing student mobility were made

to SEAMEO. In 2008, a round table on ASEAN higher education quality assurance was held in Kuala Lumpur. This touts the necessity of cooperation on quality assurance in order to promote higher education harmonization in Southeast Asia, and a resolution was passed to establish an ASEAN Quality Assurance Network.

Established as an official organ of ASEAN in 1995, AUN is a network of universities representing ASEAN countries. At its establishment, there were 11 member universities but the number has since risen to 21. While student and faculty exchanges, joint research between member universities, and the promotion of ASEAN research and education are its main activities, AUN recently has made efforts in higher education quality assurance, actively constructing AUN-quality assurance—a quality assurance framework in member universities—and thus working for the harmonization of higher education systems in member universities. Specifically, frequent workshops were held by quality assurance personnel appointed by each university, and in 2006, a manual was developed for the implementation of quality assurance guidelines agreed in 2004. On the basis of these, mutual evaluations were carried out and the implementation of higher education quality assurance by AUN was initiated. What makes the activities of AUN so different from those of SEAMEO RIHED and ASEAN is that AUN is a network of so-called elite universities. While this draws criticism from other universities in the region, the region is accumulating practical experience in functioning regional cooperation and exchange amid the diversity of higher education in Southeast Asia. For example, as a sub-network of AUN, the AUN/Southeast Asia Engineering Education Development Network (AUN/Seed-Net) has functioned quite well. AUN/Seed-Net was established in 2001 as a network of representative engineering universities in ASEAN with cooperation of the Japanese International Cooperation Agency, and has been very active in pursuing its goals of human resources development in the region and strengthening HEIs in member countries in the field of engineering. Phase one has already produced positive results: more than 130 PhD students have graduated, more than 300 master's degree holders have been trained in the region, and 168 international collaborative research projects have been started at member universities using the network, even as it is being constructed (see Sugimura and Kuroda 2009).

REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

Asia-Pacific frameworks have undergone a relatively lengthy regional development in the field of higher education. Among these are four representative frameworks: namely, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP), the Association of Pacific Rim Universities (APRU), and the Asia-Pacific Quality Network (APQN).

APEC, founded in 1989, currently has 21 participating countries and regions, and is expressly organized to promote regional economic cooperation. Education ministers have met intermittently since 1992 and have created the Human Resources Development working group/education network to oversee the field of education. APEC has worked for cooperation between member countries in fields closely connected with the economy, such as science and mathematics education, career education, technical education, language education, and information technology education, but it has not actively addressed the field of higher education. UMAP was founded in the same year as APEC but has no formal relationship with it and, amid the momentum of regional Asia-Pacific cooperation within APEC, has achieved a membership of 31 countries, including non-APEC members, and has developed university exchanges between regional universities. UMAP was also known as the Asian Erasmus Program thanks to what were at the time pioneering efforts in Asia: in a region that had no system of credit transfer at all, UMAP could boast certain achievements, such as developing the UMAP credit transfer scheme comparable to the pioneering European Credit Transfer System, and the setting up of a UMAP scholarship program for the promotion of student exchanges. However, due to the inclusion of Taiwan, China does not participate in the UMAP framework.

The Asia-Pacific equivalent to AUN in Southeast Asia is probably the APRU. While not the same as the APEC framework, APRU is a consortium of 42 research universities from 16 countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Its office is located in the National University of Singapore, and its members from Japan include the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Osaka University, Waseda University, Keio University, and Tohoku University. Its activities include various efforts to promote teaching and research exchange with the cooperation of various actors, from university administrators (such as university presidents and vice presidents) to teachers and students.

In the field of quality assurance in higher education in the Asia-Pacific region, the recent activities of the APQN, formed in 2003, have been remarkable. At present, 59 higher education evaluative agencies from 53 target regions and countries, including South and Central Asian countries, participate in APQN. Participants from Japan include the National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation, the Japan University Accreditation Association, and the Japan Accreditation Board for Engineering Education. Initially, its activities were limited to information sharing among evaluation agencies, but in 2006, it showed vigorous expansion by publishing "Toolkit: Regulating the Quality of Cross-border Education" to complement the "Guidelines for Quality Provision in Cross-border Higher Education" published earlier by Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development and UNESCO. In the same year, at an Asia-Pacific regional education ministers' meeting in Brisbane, Australia, the Brisbane Communiqué was announced. Strongly influenced by the Bologna Process in Europe, it pointed out the importance of higher education quality assurance in the Asia-Pacific region and the importance of creating frameworks and qualification certification systems to

that end. The activities of APQN accelerated in a single breath. In 2008, APQN held an international conference on quality assurance in Chiba, Japan, which resulted in the “Chiba Principles” report on initiatives for quality assurance in higher education in the greater Asia-Pacific region. This document has become a basis for quality assurance in higher education in the Asia-Pacific region.

Thus, unlike in Southeast Asian frameworks, interconnectedness is sparse in Asia-Pacific frameworks, and compared with the creation in Southeast Asia of a higher education framework linked with regional integration, that is, the formation of an ASEAN community in recent years, the frameworks are looser. Although the organizations include names such as Asia-Pacific and Pacific Rim, they are diverse and have not been able to configure or converge into a single region in terms of higher education (see Sugimura and Kuroda 2009).

NEW CHALLENGES: ASEAN+3, THE EAST ASIA SUMMIT AND THE CHINA–JAPAN–SOUTH KOREA TRILATERAL SUMMIT

As described above, two regions in Asia have developed differing higher education frameworks. Southeast Asia’s structure reflects ASEAN’s promotion of regional integration. The Asia-Pacific region, on the other hand, gradually developed regional exchange and cooperation amid uncertain regional membership. However, since the 2000s, the ASEAN+3 (APT) and the EAS frameworks have developed as fora for political regional cooperation, and we are starting to see higher education move in step with these advancements.

APT membership comprises the 10 ASEAN countries plus China, Japan, and South Korea (CJK). APT began as a regional forum when CJK leaders took part in the ASEAN Summit meetings at the end of 1997 during the Asian currency crisis of the same year. Normally, scholarly dialogue and exchange programs in the region would be discussed, and though network building between think tanks and youth exchanges were a topic of debate, it was not until 2005 that the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on the APT Summit declared the following:

- We will enhance people-to-people exchange aimed at developing a “we” feeling.
- We will encourage the sharing of ideas through greater interaction between students, academicians, researchers, artists, media, and youths among countries in East Asia.
- We will conduct regular exchange of intellectuals, members of think tanks, religious personalities, and scholars, which will benefit East Asia and the world through deeper knowledge and understanding so as to fight intolerance and improve understanding among cultures and civilizations. (ASEAN+3 2005)

Thereafter, this text has become a cornerstone in the development of higher education exchange of students and researchers, and in cooperation in East Asia. Furthermore, the Second Joint Statement on East Asia Cooperation, adopted in 2007, stated that:

We reaffirm that the APT Process would remain as the main vehicle towards the long-term goal of building an East Asian community, with ASEAN as the driving force ... [and that] ... in socio-cultural and development cooperation, we agreed to work towards increasing efforts in education collaboration, deepening mutual understanding and forging a sense of an East Asian identity and consciousness, people-to-people exchanges. (ASEAN+3 2007)

At the APT Summit in 2009, Thailand and Japan proposed holding a new conference on cooperation in the field of higher education and, in 2010, Thailand invited policymakers and leading regional university officials to the first APT Officials' Meeting on higher education.

In 2005, Australia, New Zealand, and India were added to the ASEAN and APT base to launch the EAS. At the second meeting, in Cebu, the Philippines, the Chairman's Statement included the following:

We agreed to strengthen regional educational cooperation, noting that we could tap the region's centers of excellence in education for this purpose. Noting proposals to renew our historical ties, we welcomed initiatives such as the revival of the Nalanda University in India, to improve regional understanding and the appreciation of one another's heritage and history. (East Asia Summit 2009)

Also, a Joint Press Statement on the Revival of Nalanda University was issued at the fourth EAS held in Cha-am Hua Hin, Thailand, which included the following:

- They supported the establishment of the Nalanda University as a non-state, non-profit, secular, and self-governing international institution with a continental focus that will bring together the brightest and the most dedicated students from all countries of Asia—irrespective of gender, caste, creed, disability, ethnicity, or social-economic background—to enable them to acquire liberal and human education and to give them the means needed for pursuit of intellectual, philosophical, historical, and spiritual studies and thus achieve qualities of tolerance and accommodation.
- They encouraged the networking and collaboration between the Nalanda University and existing centers of excellence in the EAS participating countries to build a community of learning where students, scholars, researchers, and academicians can work together symbolizing the spirituality that unites all mankind. (East Asia Summit 2009).

During the discussion on higher education at the EAS, the initiative to revive Nalanda University in India took front stage. However, Australia, which has close relationships with East Asian countries in the field of higher education, citing the Chairman's Statement in Cebu, took various proactive measures, such as presenting to the ASEAN Secretariat an investigative report for the promotion of educational cooperation within the framework of the EAS. In the Chairman's Statement of the fifth EAS held in Hanoi, Vietnam in 2010, education was positioned as one of five priority areas for EAS cooperation,

along with finance, energy, disaster prevention, and avian flu. In July 2011, Bali, Indonesia, was host to what would become the first EAS Education Ministers' meeting, where it was agreed to hold meetings once every two years, and to formulate educational cooperation action plans within the framework of the EAS. It seems that the EAS, too, is slowly increasing its presence as a regional forum on education.

In East Asia, the China–Japan–South Korea framework has also become significant. Previously, leaders from the three countries held trilateral meetings in the forum of APT, which was outside the territory of the three countries. The first China–Japan–South Korea trilateral summit of 2008 was held in the city of Fukuoka, Japan, and it has been continued annually. During the first meeting, there were few discussions or results related to education, but at the second meeting, Japanese Prime Minister Hatoyama proposed to establish a council and hold international meetings to promote high-quality exchanges between universities which later led to the vision of Campus Asia, a program of higher education cooperation between the three countries. In the second meeting, held in Beijing, the Joint Statement on the Tenth Anniversary of Trilateral Cooperation among the People's Republic of China, Japan, and the Republic of Korea (ROK) was issued which included the following statement:

We will continue to conduct exchanges among all sectors of the three countries, particularly friendly youth exchanges and exchanges among universities. We will consider establishing a long-term mechanism for youth and media exchanges, encourage academic institutions and local authorities, and promote closer trilateral cooperation in areas such as disaster management, healthcare, tourism, human resources, education, and sports. We will carry forward the spirit of peace and friendship and promote affinity among our three peoples while respecting each culture so as to enhance popular support for the stable, healthy, and friendly development of the trilateral relations. (Japan–China–ROK Trilateral Cooperation 2009)

At the third summit held on Jeju Island, South Korea, in 2010, an accelerated realization of Campus Asia was agreed to, with a future plan of extension to ASEAN. Accordingly, a pilot project has been under implementation since 2011. Also at the third summit, the Japan–China–ROK Trilateral Cooperation VISION 2020 was published, which included the following:

We will contribute to strengthening the competitiveness of universities and nurturing qualified human resources through exchange programs such as credit recognition and joint degrees. To this end, we confirm that the China–Japan–South Korea Committee on Promoting Exchange and Cooperation among Universities will be convened continuously. We will also promote cooperation among quality assurance agencies in China, Japan, and South Korea, and jointly prepare a guideline in order to enhance exchange among universities. Also, we will consider a concrete policy package to facilitate the exchange of prospective students. Meanwhile, to further promote trilateral educational cooperation,

we will make full use of meetings to facilitate the establishment of a ministerial meeting mechanism. Moreover, we will promote the exchange of teachers among the three countries. (Japan–China–ROK Trilateral Cooperation 2010)

PERSPECTIVES: CONTEMPLATING A NEW HIGHER EDUCATION FRAMEWORK IN EAST ASIA

As seen above, there were originally two types of framework in East Asia, centered in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region, but recently, higher education frameworks have been created based on the EAS, APT, and China–Japan–South Korea. Taking into account the circumstances that students from China account for the vast majority of international students studying in ASEAN HEIs, that Southeast Asian higher education can be said without exaggeration to have been internationalized due to the rapid increase of students from China, and that Japanese and ASEAN universities have been closely associated in accomplishments such as agreements between universities, installations overseas, and faculty exchange, it can probably be said that higher education is advancing in a reasonable direction within the APT framework. The problem is not just with ASEAN. Between China, Japan, and South Korea, *de facto* student exchange and cooperation between universities are making progress like nowhere else in the world. For each of the three countries, the other two are the largest and second-largest source of international students. In such a situation, it is only natural that policy consultation between the three countries catches up and that there is likely to be sufficient demand for the construction of a regional framework in Northeast Asia. Just as the East Asian Community concept was previously discussed in the ASEAN-based frameworks of APT and the EAS, China–Japan–South Korea could plausibly use ASEAN frameworks (SEAMEO and AUN), which have led regional framework policy in Asia (including higher education), as a basis to become involved; this could plausibly be an Asian framework.

According to Baldwin (2006) and Yamamoto (2007), regional integration in East Asia is not a “hub-and-spoke system” in which large countries and large markets are the central players and integration expands to envelop peripheral countries and markets, but rather a “reverse hub-and-spoke system” in which the economically weaker ASEAN involves economically stronger China and Japan through Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) and other forms of economic cooperation. A similar form of regional expansion is thought desirable in higher education regional frameworks, too; however, given recent progress in the China–Japan–South Korea summits and the development of the Campus Asia vision, it is plausible that frameworks created separately in Southeast Asia and Northeast Asia could eventually be joined in APT

Meanwhile, considering the presence of India, Australia, and New Zealand (which do not belong to APT but are members of the EAS), especially the latter two countries, a new framework to functionally capture the internation-

alization of regional higher education seems compelling. One issue is what to do with the influential USA, with its long history of educational exchange with Asia. The vast scale of the higher education sector in the USA may pose challenges to the cohesion of a regional framework. On the other hand, the integration into this new framework of Latin American APEC member countries, such as Mexico, Chile, and Peru, which at present have not made enough progress in higher education exchanges and cooperation with Asia, is not promising. Although UMAP started in the framework of cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, it has since become a coherent framework covering the nations of East Asia, Southeast Asia, and Oceania in addition to its current member countries. The non-membership of China, however, with its elephantine presence in higher education in the region, appears to significantly diminish the capacity of UMAP. When considering regional integration and regional cooperation in Asia, conflict between Asia-Pacific-ism represented by APEC and East Asian-ism represented by APT may become an issue depending on the position and response of the USA, and similar problems may arise even in higher education. Still, does not the current situation in Asia suggest the possibility of a “Third Way”: namely, a multilayered regional framework?

A Theoretical Understanding of Regionalization in Higher Education in Asia

Tracing modern higher education in Asia from its historical origins, we recognize that Western higher education is the model after which education systems have been built in many countries. Although HEIs existed in many Asian countries before modern times, modern higher education was severed in its formation from traditional systems of academic study and knowledge transmission. This is because Western colonizers’ higher education systems and teaching of language were forced into the foundations of modern higher education in colonized countries. But in the process of upgrading to a modern higher education system, even countries like Japan, Thailand, and China, which were able to maintain prima facie independence from colonial rule, opted of their own accord to actively introduce the Western higher education model. Even after independence from colonial rule, while higher education systems in Asia adapted to some extent to local circumstances, they have preserved their Western quality. During the Cold War, differences in political systems had a significant impact on higher education and academics in Asia, and in the post-Cold War era, amid trends of market preeminence and internationalization, the US higher education system has retained its influence as a model because it is considered to be globally competitive. In view of this situation, Altbach proposed a center–periphery theory to describe the international knowledge system and higher education systems from the standpoint of subordination theory and neocolonialism (Altbach and Selvaratnam 1989; Altbach 1998; Altbach and Umakoshi 2004). Altbach’s argument has been recognized as the dominant theoretical perspective in the discipline called International Higher Education.

Regardless of whether or not this holds for higher education in Asia historically, I do not think that “peripheral” Asia is subordinate to the Western “center” at present. In a global context, higher education in Western countries still does have a certain influence, but as higher education in Asia dynamically undergoes qualitative and quantitative transformation, the structural relation between Western and non-Western higher education systems cannot convincingly be described as center–periphery.

Umakoshi (2004), noting the limitations of the center–periphery theory as an approach to deciphering the present state of higher education in Asia, has found a certain utility in Cummings’s “East Asian approach” or the “J-model.” Cummings explains the core of a human resource development strategy common throughout Asia which he named the J-model in “Human resource development: The J-model,” which is included as the final chapter in *The Challenge of Eastern Asian Education: Implications for America* (Cummings 1997). The four elements of the J-model are as follows:

1. The state coordinates education and research with a firm emphasis both on indigenous value transmission and the mastery of foreign technology.
2. High priority is placed on universal primary education, while state investment at the secondary and tertiary level is limited primarily to critical areas such as engineering and the sciences.
3. Individual students, their families, and the private sector are expected to provide critical backup for the education provided by the state.
4. The Asian state in seeking to coordinate not only the development but also the utilization of human resources involves itself in manpower planning and job placement and increasingly in the coordination of science and technology. (Cummings 1997, 275–276)

Umakoshi claims that the J-model, or Japanese model, has impacted educational development in East Asian countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and Indonesia more than in the USA, as the book’s subtitle *Implications for America* suggests, and has become the education model supporting human resource development across East Asia. While maintaining that there is no great difference between the argument of the East Asia “miracle”—which sees the cause of East Asian economic success as due to the role of strong government, and the “flying geese model” in which the Japanese economic development model has propagated to other East Asian countries in a flying geese formation—Umakoshi presents the hypothesis that, as a perspective for interpreting the historical development of higher education in Asia, Cumming’s assertion may be useful for focusing on the complementary relationship between the state and private sectors noted especially in point (3) of the above citation.

It follows from applying Umakoshi’s discussion that the role of these new regional higher education frameworks in Asia should be to continue

to strengthen and develop the continuity and associations already achieved in higher education in Asia as well as the close connection with economic development. To do so, it will be important for the frameworks and alliances to be open to outside regions. The Asian economy is supported by the openness of outside regions (specifically the consumption demands of North America), and just as it was when the Asian economy was achieving its initial development, the questions now for higher education in Asia will be how and whether to continue to connect with higher education outside of the region. Seeing regional higher education frameworks merely as models of resistance to extra-regional forces will only encourage global higher education to split into separate blocs and will not contribute to its development. While diverse, higher education in Asia has reached respectable levels in both education and research and must aim at building cooperative relationships outside of the region in addition to harmonizing within the region. While moving in this direction, useful reference can be made to the EU and European higher education which promote extra-regional collaboration in higher education through the Erasmus Mundus, and cooperate with Asia through the Asia–Europe Meeting and with the AU to advance the Nyerere plan.

*A Vision of a Higher Education Framework in Asia as Seen
From Regional Integration Theories*

A variety of theoretical explanations have attempted to encompass regional integration and regionalization. These explanations have been made on the basis of two opposing hypotheses. According to neorealism, regionalism is group formation by the countries of a region to deal with a challenge from outside of the region. Social constructivism analyzes regionalism based on ideas, profit, and identity, and holds that the construction of a region is strongly influenced by socio-economic factors.

Both explanations are convincing to a certain extent, but applied to the discussion of harmonization and regional exchange in higher education in Asia, it can be seen that debate about an Asian higher education area is certainly not about post hoc recognition or facilitation of the advancing regional interdependency in higher education. Somewhat more convincing is the view that Asian development in higher education is being stimulated by the US and European higher education: the USA has established a fixed advantage over other regions due to worldwide higher education trends influenced by neoliberalism and the supremacy of the English language due to globalization, and higher education in Europe has improved its competitiveness outside of the region by forming a regional higher education area through the Bologna Process and the Erasmus Program.

The construction of a regional framework for higher education in Asia can best be understood both for its role in aspects of education, such as

facilitating and promoting the de facto growing interdependence of exchange and cooperation in Asian regional higher education, and also for its role in political and economic trends such as ASEAN integration, the formation of an East Asian Community, and the conclusion of multilateral regional FTAs. A view from the standpoint of social constructivism or neo-functionalism—which holds that the development of functional cooperation results in regional integration and becomes a foundation for peace—is that building a regional framework of higher education in Asia and promoting socio-economic integration is also laying a foundation for political integration of the region (Haas 1958).

Meanwhile, for Deutsch et al. (1957), the question of whether human values are integrated is an important factor in defining a region. He advocates a pluralistic (fusionistic) security community in which deepening functional cooperation contributes to regional integration by causing human values to converge. But in ASEAN, at present, the integration of people's values and political systems cannot be discerned. A new view put forth by Acharya (2001) is enjoying wide academic acceptance as a pluralistic security community theory. According to this view, regardless of repeated assurances and agreements at international negotiation fora for respect of sovereignty, non-aggression, and the peaceful settlement of disputes, peace is maintained by the agreement and integration not of values themselves but by the normative portions of relationships within a framework (this can be called the "ASEAN Way"). Care must be exercised in applying lightly a theoretical framework of regional integration to the discussion of regional frameworks in the field of higher education.

Deutsch's views on European integration and Acharya's views on ASEAN suggest to me that we should strive for a form of harmonization that is adapted, not to Europe's highly homogeneous and standardized higher education of the Bologna Process, but rather to higher education in insuperably diverse and disparate Asia: a harmonization of higher education that does not call for drastic change within the diverse higher education systems of the region, but rather one that tightly joins points of connection between them. Visually speaking, the former is "melting pot harmonization" and the latter is "mosaic harmonization." In other words, the choice is between a harmonization that aims at a one-size-fits-all standard, or a harmonization which seeks many points of connection, as in a mosaic. This harmonization will explore points of connection in higher education in diverse Asia.

Professor Supachai Yavaprabhas, the founder and first secretary-general of AUN and later director of SEAMEO RIHED, who has worked for many years toward building a higher education framework in Southeast Asia, often emphasizes the need for cooperation at multiple levels of frameworks which have become gradually connected with one another, and it may be in such an approach, a mosaic harmonization which explores points of connection, that we can watch for a breakthrough.

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The International Branch Campus: Cloistered Community or Agent of Social Change?

Michael Lanford and William G. Tierney

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we raise questions about the purpose and the future of international branch campuses by considering their capacity to act as agents of social change. To ground our study, we first present a brief history of international branch campuses from the late nineteenth century to the present. This history focuses on transnational movements from Western nations to Asian countries in an attempt to contextualize the global emergence of international branch campuses over the past 15 years.

Afterward, we explore six characteristics of international branch campuses that illustrate the diversity of institutions in the sector: (1) their funding and hiring practices, (2) faculty expectations, (3) curricula, (4) accreditation and credentials, (5) campus facilities, and (6) their relationship with education hubs. Subsequently, we present three competing definitions that attempt to encapsulate these salient features of international branch campuses. These definitions are problematized through current examples of institutions that are considered international branch campuses, yet evade easy classification.

To consider whether international branch campuses can have a social justice agenda, we outline four cultural factors that mediate the ability of an international branch campus to espouse certain values. These factors include the motivations for establishing a branch campus, the mission of the institution, the leadership, and the environment. As a concluding thought, we suggest that international branch campuses can be valuable locations for the promotion of

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social justice, but only if they reflect the identity and values of the home campus, enable dialogue between the campus and surrounding community, and uphold certain tenets of higher education, such as academic freedom, that are necessary for scholarly inquiry.

A HISTORY OF INTERNATIONAL BRANCH CAMPUSES

Late Nineteenth Century to the 1970s

Although international branch campuses may seem to be a recent phenomenon propelled by contemporary globalizing forces, the transnational impulses behind such educational ventures have existed since at least the late nineteenth century. Protestant missionaries from the UK, the USA, and several European countries, for example, traveled to the Chinese cities of Guangzhou and Macau throughout the 1800s. While proselytizing their Christian beliefs, they also established schools that offered a formal education to many indigent Chinese youth. One of these institutions became the Christian College of China, founded in 1888 by the American Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions (Wang 2007). The first institution of higher education to offer coeducational opportunities in China, the Christian College of China was formally incorporated under the Regents of the State University of New York system by 1893 and given a charter to offer degrees (Weigl n.d.). In subsequent years, the college moved to different locations throughout the Pearl River Delta due to political upheaval and military conflicts. However, both the present-day Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou and Lingnan University in Hong Kong can trace their origins to prominent educational leaders and resources from the former Christian College.

The first international branch campus in the twentieth century resulted from an interesting convergence of American artistic aspiration and the nation's historic affinities with Europe. Paris, in particular, was especially attractive to American artists at the beginning of the twentieth century. As a symbolic gesture of appreciation for the American military's help during World War I, French authorities offered musical instruction in the Louis XV wing of the Chateau at Fontainebleau to teach American soldiers how to perform military band music. Once the war was over, the instruction was formalized into the French Music School for Americans in 1921, offering instruction to young American composers, theorists, and performers. For decades, several American composers, such as Aaron Copland, Elliott Carter, and Quincy Jones, made a pilgrimage to Fontainebleau in the hopes of studying with Nadia Boulanger, a legendary pedagogue who was also an accomplished pianist, organist, and composer (Leonard 2007).

While the American Music Conservatory at Fontainebleau was not technically an international branch campus, developments in American art, architecture, and design were similarly influenced by Parisian aesthetic taste. To capitalize on this interest, Frank Alvah Parsons, director of the then-New York

School of Fine and Applied Art, opened a Paris branch campus in 1921 to strengthen ties between the two countries and provide American students with a firsthand experience of Parisian art and architecture. Located on the Place des Vosges, the oldest planned square in the city, the Paris Ateliers of the New York School of Fine and Applied Art became the first international branch campus of the twentieth century, with initial course offerings in architecture, interior decoration, stage design, and costume design. Among the achievements of the institution was the inception of the Parsons table in the studio of designer Jean-Michel Frank. Although the campus closed from 1939 to 1948 due to World War II, the institution (now named the Parsons New School of Design) retained its vested interest in Paris by maintaining a summer program from the 1940s through the 1980s. In 1986, the Parsons New School of Design once again offered bachelor degrees on the Paris campus (Guttenplan 2012).

Previous authors have asserted that educational services were provided by Florida State University in 1933 to serve the US military and civilian personnel in the Panama Canal Zone (Green et al. 2008; Lane 2011). However, records from Florida State University indicate that the university first started providing educational coursework in the Panama Canal Zone in 1957 at the behest of the US Department of Defense (Florida State University n.d.). The “Panama Canal College” became an official international branch campus of Florida State University after control of the canal was returned to the Panamanian government in 1999 (Dailey 2014).

The oldest continuously operational international branch campus is the Johns Hopkins University SAIS Bologna Center, founded in 1955 as a graduate degree-granting institution for the study of international affairs (Verbik and Merkle 2006). American institutions established five additional international branch campuses in the 1970s. They were located in Belgium (Boston University), Greece (University of La Verne), Mexico (Aliant International University), Switzerland (Webster University), and the UK (American Intercontinental University) (Becker 2009).

The 1980s: US Branch Campuses in Japan

According to Chambers and Cummings (1990), more than 100 American institutions explored the possibility of opening branch campuses in Japan during the 1980s. Of this initial group, at least 30 American institutions attempted to establish campuses (Lane 2011). The reasons behind their interest in collaboration with Japan were mostly financial, revolving around Japan’s emergence as an economic power with a strong currency and a capital surplus. Other factors were at play, though, such as a desire for deeper international ties and demographic shifts in Japan that indicated burgeoning opportunities for higher education in urban areas (Chambers and Cummings 1990).

Nonetheless, once the Japanese economy stagnated after 1990, virtually all of the international branch campus ventures failed. Each of the campuses faced challenges in facilitating cross-border exchange, recruiting Japanese stu-

dents who could benefit from English language instruction, understanding the complexities of the Japanese legal system, procuring suitable campus locations, and—most significantly—being recognized by the Japanese educational authorities (Chambers and Cummings 1990; Altbach 2004; Lane 2011). The sole surviving institution from the 1980s was Temple University’s campus in Minato, Tokyo. In 2005, Temple University, Japan, became the first foreign university campus to achieve degree recognition from the Japanese government, an accomplishment that expedited student recruitment and enrollment in two ways: (1) the institution was able to sponsor international student visas and (2) students became eligible for student identification cards that provided discounts on travel and other expenses.

1990s to the Present: Waves of International Mobility

During the 1990s, a “first wave” of international mobility in higher education occurred in tandem with increased student participation in study abroad programs (Tierney and Lanford 2015). Such programs have long been popular in the USA; however, the number of American students studying abroad has risen dramatically in 20 years, from approximately 71,000 in 1991–1992 to 283,332 in 2011–2012 (Institute of International Education 2013). From 1990 to 2011, the total number of international students increased from 1.3 million students to almost 4.3 million students (OECD 2013). Kim (2010) forecasts an increase in the number of international students from 1.8 million in 2000 to 7.6 million in 2025.

The “second wave” of international mobility in higher education involves multiple actors, including teachers, researchers, programs, and institutions. Each of these actors may be motivated to participate in transnational education for a variety of reasons, including the potential for leveraging shared resources (Oleksiyenko and Sá 2010), the ability to conduct location-specific research (Koehn 2014), an interest in comparing contexts (Brew et al. 2013), or increased access and/or exposure to important academic journals through the maximization of connections in a specific country (Ou et al. 2012). Universities are able to expand their traditional alumni bases and build global brands, at least in part, by offering classes throughout the world.

Hence, the number of international branch campuses has grown exponentially since 2000. In 2002, the Observatory on Borderless Higher Education (OBHE), a higher education think tank based in the UK, determined that a mere 18 international branch campuses were in existence (Garrett 2002). According to 2006 OBHE data, the number of international branch campuses catapulted to 82 (Verbik and Merkley 2006), and 38 of the 39 government-approved universities in Australia had created either an overseas degree program or a branch campus (Bollag 2006). The number of international branch campuses nearly doubled to 162 in the 2009 OBHE report (Becker 2009), and, by 2012, 200 international branch campuses were in operation world-

wide (Lawton and Katsomitros 2012). As of January 2015, the Cross-Border Education Research Team at the State University of New York at Albany has identified 217 international branch campuses (C-BERT 2015).

With 82 campuses abroad, institutions from the USA are, by far, the most active exporters of the branch campus model. The UK, Australia, and France are each active source countries as well, with 32, 17, and 16 international branch campuses, respectively. The majority of the world's international branch campuses are hosted by Asian nations, with the United Arab Emirates hosting 33 and China (including the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region) hosting 30. Nevertheless, institutions from several Asian countries—such as China, India, Malaysia, Russia—are also busily opening branch campuses in other countries (C-BERT 2015).

CHARACTERISTICS OF INTERNATIONAL BRANCH CAMPUSES

Funding and Hiring Practices

International branch campuses are remarkably mutable, embracing a variety of organizational configurations in terms of funding, institutional structures, instructional methods, and degree-granting procedures. Some international branch campuses are fully funded by a host government or institution, yet others receive either partial or negligible funding from their host (Lawton and Katsomitros 2012; Verbik and Merkle 2006; Wilkins and Huisman 2012). A few wealthy countries even provide lucrative scholarships for their citizens (Lane and Kinser 2011; Wilkins 2010).

Many international branch campuses have faced difficulties in recruiting faculty from the home campus because of high relocation expenses and a general lack of interest (Shams and Huisman 2014). For this reason, the home campus may focus their investments on administrative staff, rather than on faculty (Kinser and Lane 2014). Administrative positions may be filled by an equal number of employees from the host country and the home institution, or the majority of positions may be filled by one specific constituency. In many cases, hiring practices are dictated by the cultural norms of the host country, rather than by the standards of the home institution (Harding and Lamme 2011).

Faculty Expectations

Expectations of shared governance might also be different on an international branch campus than with a home institution, leaving faculty to feel “disenfranchised and disconnected” by their relationship with administration (Lane 2010). If faculty are largely drawn from the local environment, as appears to be the case in some branch campuses constructed in Malaysia (Healey 2014), the relationship between faculty and administration may reflect local customs rather than the expectations of the home campus. Likewise, if a sizable pool

of part-time faculty is available to teach in professional programs (Kinser et al. 2010), faculty participation in the daily activities of the branch campus, much less an environment of shared governance, may be impractical.

Expectations concerning faculty members' duties on an international branch campus may also differ significantly. Usually, faculty on international branch campuses are expected to devote more of their time and energy to teaching than to research, and sometimes they may even be asked to manage classes at the home campus while teaching a demanding course load on the branch campus (McBurnie and Ziguras 2007). The faculty of an international branch campus may be made up of teachers and researchers with an abiding interest in international education, or they might be younger professionals looking to exploit their job experience at an international branch campus as a stepping-stone to other opportunities in their home countries. In either case, the available literature indicates that faculty members from another country are often not adequately prepared to teach students from diverse cultural backgrounds (Wang 2008; Smith 2010). For these reasons, commitment levels among academic staff may vary considerably.

Curriculum

Many international branch campuses emphasize curricular offerings that reflect the workforce development needs of the host country, such as business, management, and information technology (Altbach 2010). Since these degrees are popular with both young adults and working professionals, they can provide stable revenue streams. Campuses of this type generally have only a few academic departments, focus exclusively on either undergraduate degrees or graduate degrees, and provide relatively limited support services and physical facilities (Wilkins et al. 2012). Hence, the proportion of classes that are offered in an online or hybrid format, as opposed to face-to-face instruction, may be higher than on the home campus.

However, some recent international branch campuses, such as the University of Nottingham-Ningbo, offer broad undergraduate and graduate curricula across the humanities, social sciences, and sciences, with a unifying emphasis on the international orientation of the institution (Feng 2013). Similarly, the newly established Yale-National University of Singapore (NUS) College, which welcomed its first class of 155 students in 2013 (Gjorgievska 2013), is an attempt to “contextualize,” in the words of Singaporean officials, the American undergraduate liberal arts college to an educational system deeply influenced by Confucian values (Marginson 2011; Singapore Ministry of Education 2010, 2011). Comments such as these are open to multiple interpretations. On one hand, “contextualization” may be interpreted as a reimagining of liberal arts education in Asia, with coursework tailored to student interests and an emphasis on cultural understanding. On the other hand, “contextualization” could be a code for speech restrictions that would normally be contested in a Western university environment, such as Yale.

Accreditation and Credentials

Questions concerning accreditation and the value of an international branch campus credential also regularly arise. Although many American and European accreditors offer their services to other countries, accreditation agencies are often circumscribed by national policies and regulations (Altbach and Knight 2007). Since international branch campuses are almost invariably part of the private sector of the host country and are, of consequence, subject to limited regulation, scholars have expressed concern that international branch campuses receive little oversight (McBurnie and Ziguas 2007) and may “fall through the cracks of quality-assurance regulations, with both governments assuming the other (or some entity within the country) is providing oversight” (Lane and Kinser 2008, 11). Oversight by the home-campus administration can prove equally problematic. In a recent study of administrators charged with managing 58 international branch campuses, Kinser and Lane (2014, 173) found that “oversight in many cases was motivated out of fear that the actions of the IBC (international branch campus) would negatively affect the home campus.” Credentials at an international branch campus may be conferred by the home institution, the host institution, or a combination of both, leading to a similar state of confusion.

Campus Facilities

Even the buildings on an international branch campus reveal different conceptual philosophies. They might be erected, often at great expense, to resemble the architectural style of the sponsoring institution, thereby implying that the student and faculty experience on the branch campus is a fully realized facsimile of the home institution (Healey 2014). Or, they might be conveniently situated in a preexisting office park, taking advantage of a functional space that reflects a neoliberal approach to education (Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education 2014).

Educational Hubs

International branch campuses might also be situated within newly formed “Education Cities” (such as in Qatar) where a significant investment is made by the home country to house several branch campuses (Knight and Morshidi 2011). In this latter paradigm, each branch campus focuses on an explicit niche. By leveraging the experience, resources, and human capital offered by this confluence of specialized branch campuses, the host nation can, in turn, build a reputation as a regional “education hub.” As defined by Knight (2011, 223), educational hubs are “a critical mass of local and foreign actors—including students, education institutions, companies, knowledge industries, science and technology centers—who, through interaction and in some cases colocation, engage in education, training, knowledge production, and innovation initiatives.”

Several such emerging education hubs have been recognized throughout the world, including Botswana, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Qatar, Singapore, and the United Arab Emirates (Knight and Morshidi 2011; John et al. 2014; Lawton and Katsomitros 2012; Olds 2007; Wilkins 2010). Additionally, Dou and Knight (2014) have recently identified Bahrain, Mauritius, South Korea, and Sri Lanka as emerging education hubs.

DEFINING THE INTERNATIONAL BRANCH CAMPUS

As a result, the construction of a single definition that comprehensively encapsulates the multifarious elements of an international branch campus has proven to be a challenging task (Becker 2010). Moreover, international branch campuses are regularly confused with several associated terms, such as distance education, twinning, franchise arrangements, dual-degree programs, and joint-degree programs (Altbach and Knight 2007). Therefore, it is useful to first define these terms before outlining the features of an international branch campus.

Related Terms

Distance education is a rather expansive term that indicates that the “learner is physically separate from the teacher” (Schlosser and Anderson 1994, 7). Today, distance education generally means that a student completes online coursework, facilitated through software allowing synchronous and/or asynchronous class sessions, and earns an institutional credential without physically residing on a campus. Twinning, otherwise known as an “articulation program,” allows students to split degree programs between two institutions in different countries. In a franchise arrangement, one institution allows another institution to deliver its curriculum; however, the exporting institution awards the credential (Healey 2008). Dual-degree programs provide students with an opportunity to earn two separate degrees from different institutions. Conversely, joint-degree programs allow students to earn a single degree that is offered by two or more institutions affiliated through a cooperative arrangement.

Definitions from Three Sources

Three prominent organizations that conduct research on higher education have offered slightly divergent definitions of international branch campuses. In 2009, the American Council for Education detailed five requirements for an international branch campus: (1) a building in the host country, (2) coursework in multiple disciplines, (3) provisions that enable students to complete a majority of their course requirements on the branch campus, (4) face-to-face instruction, and (5) administrative staff that is employed on a full-time basis (Green and Koch 2009).

The OBHE has published four reports on international branch campuses since 2002 (Becker 2009; Garrett 2002; Lawton and Katsomitros 2012; Verbik and Merkle 2006). Although the 2009 OBHE definition excluded institutions where students only complete part of their degree on the branch campus, the 2012 definition is quite inclusive, establishing broad criteria for international branch campuses:

A higher education institution that is located in another country from the institution which either originated it or operates it, with some physical presence in the host country, and which awards at least one degree in the host country that is accredited in the country of the originating institution. (Lawton and Katsomitros 2012, 3)

The Cross-Border Education Research Team at the University of Albany, State University of New York, proposes a third definition that incorporates material from each of the preceding demarcations. They state that an international branch campus is “an entity that is owned, at least in part, by a foreign education provider; operated in the name of the foreign education provider; engages in at least some face-to-face teaching; and provides access to an entire academic program that leads to a credential awarded by the foreign education provider” (C-BERT 2015).

DEFINITIONS: PROBLEMS AND CHALLENGES

These definitions are likely to change as international branch campuses evolve, become more structurally complex, and are subject to greater outside scrutiny. Currently, for instance, the Chinese government, through the auspices of East China Normal University, retains a controlling 51 percent share in the New York University (NYU)-Shanghai campus and mandates that Chinese students must make up 51 percent of each entering class (Admissions & Financial Aid n.d.). Such an arrangement raises questions as to whether or not NYU-Shanghai is actually an international branch campus. Is it instead a different type of institution, perhaps a collaborative university, in which New York University and East China Normal University are almost equally vested?

Similarly, Healey (2014, 22) highlights a number of fascinating details about the University of Nottingham’s Malaysia campus:

The “campus” is legally incorporated as a private Malaysian company, in which the two local partners have the majority stake. The University of Nottingham is, in effect the minority shareholder in a private offshore company. With the exception of the senior managers, who are seconded from Nottingham, the faculty and staff are employed by the Malaysian company. ... Most of the faculty and staff are Malaysian, and all but a handful of seconded managers are locally employed.

Insider information such as Healey's complicates our understanding of the funding formulae, structural paradigms, and hiring practices of international branch campuses and ultimately obfuscates current definitions. Moreover, if one follows the prescription that a foreign educational provider either awards or accredits the credential for an international branch campus, some institutions would not match the definitions set by the OBHE or by C-BERT. For example, the National University of Singapore, not Yale University, will grant diplomas for Yale-NUS College. When such a degree is not directly linked to the home institution, concerns about the value of the credential may naturally ensue.

Even campus facilities can be difficult to assess. As noted by the Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education in their 2014 *Review of UK Transnational Education in the United Arab Emirates*, only two institutions (Heriot-Watt and Middlesex) out of 11 are "readily recognizable as branch campuses including the range of facilities a student would expect of a campus in the UK" (Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education in their 2014, 14). Exeter University's campus in the United Arab Emirates was singled out for exclusion in the 2012 OBHE report on international branch campuses because it "rents teaching rooms" while only maintaining limited office space and a small library.

TOWARD A SOCIAL JUSTICE AGENDA: A CONSIDERATION OF FOUR CULTURAL FACTORS

Thus far, definitions of international branch campuses have focused on tangible structural and organizational dimensions. And yet, a single definition has proven elusive. For this reason, it is understandable that the values of an international branch campus, which can be even more abstract and difficult to define, remain ripe for interrogation. In particular, can international branch campuses serve as locations for the propagation of social justice? We propose that a consideration of institutional values on an international branch campus should be evaluated by four cultural factors: (1) the *motivations* behind the creation of the branch campus, (2) the *mission* of the home campus, (3) the *leadership* of the branch campus, and (4) the *environment* of the home campus and the host country.

Motivations

Host countries and exporting institutions are motivated by a number of factors to establish international branch campuses. From the perspective of the host country, international branch campuses can facilitate greater research collaboration across borders, enhance a country's prestige through an affiliation with a globally recognized institution, expand the capacity of the higher education sector, and/or develop a national workforce that is relevant to a knowledge-intensive economy (Becker 2009; Knight 2011). Meanwhile, exporting institutions have been similarly motivated by self-interest, enticed by the promise of economic gain, the potential for stronger international connections, the recruitment of highly desired foreign students, the potential to build

a “global brand,” and/or a desire to gain influence in an emerging higher education marketplace (Becker 2009; Sidhu 2009; Edelstein and Douglass 2012; Wilkins and Huisman 2012).

The pursuit of these goals by both sides, however, has limited the social impact of international branch campuses on their surrounding communities. If neither the home campus nor the host country is motivated to consider important aspects of social justice—such as access to education, the identities and needs of different groups, and the ability of constituencies to participate in dialogue—then the international branch campus is likely to remain insular (Tikly and Barrett 2011).

Mission

If, however, one of the motivations for building an international branch campus involves a desire for social justice, that aspiration should be reflected in the institutional mission. The mission of an organization denotes how the actors within an institution understand the overarching ideology of their university. Informed by the history of the institution, a mission can offer meaning, direction, and purpose to institutional actors (Tierney 1988).

While it is true that branch campuses may be scrutinized if they do not match the institutional norms of the home campus, the mission statements of international branch campuses can be different from the mission statements of home campuses. In fact, branch campuses within national borders often have distinctive mission statements that reflect a divergent curriculum, different departmental strengths, and service to a particular local population (Wolfe and Strange 2003). As Schwaller (2009, 55) observes, there is “a constant tension between the identity and strengths of the system versus the identity and strengths of the branch campus.” Such tension can be positive, as it permits space for institutional actors on a branch campus to forge a unique institutional identity through a public statement of values.

Leadership

Another cultural construct that necessitates consideration is *leadership*. Several aspects of leadership are contingent upon culture, including who the leaders are, whether formal or informal leaders are recognized by institutional actors, and the manner in which leaders communicate with their organizations (Tierney 1988). If a social justice agenda is not communicated and supported by the actions of recognized leaders, it is unlikely to flourish.

Environment

Unless an international branch campus cultivates an environment where students and curricula embody a multicultural perspective, a wide range of viewpoints are respected, dissent is accepted, and inequities in the surrounding communities are discussed and explored, then a commitment to social jus-

tice is unlikely to take root. We have argued elsewhere that academic freedom is a transcendent value that needs to be protected, regardless of location (Tierney and Lanford 2014). We fully appreciate cultural differences and how a nation's identity may shape the manner in which academic life is organized. Nevertheless, when an institution threatens physical harm to an individual because of the nature of one's ideas and writings, it ought not to be viewed as a relativistic matter left to the sociocultural mores of an institution or country. The environment of the campus therefore needs to allow space for inquiry and debate.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

We believe that international branch campuses are singularly well positioned for the exploration of cultural differences and an interrogation of social justice. A danger exists, nevertheless, that international branch campuses will either share few values in common with their home campuses or become cloistered zones of free speech that have little influence on the societies they inhabit. International branch campuses should reflect the identity and values of the home campus as much as they enable dialogue between different cultures. Rather than being removed from society, the administration, faculty, and students on international branch campuses should also be empowered to interact and share ideas with their local communities, especially as economic inequality continues to grow throughout the world (Piketty 2014) and the repression of basic human rights remains a universal concern (Amnesty International 2013). Through such involvement, international branch campuses could fulfill their potential as valuable locations for fostering deeper cultural awareness, enrichment, and understanding.

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China's Approach Toward HE Regional Cooperation with ASEAN

Wen Wen

INTRODUCTION

The international dimension of higher education has transformed the higher education landscape over the past two decades. A more recent development has been an increased focus on higher education collaboration and exchange within the Asia-Pacific region (Knight 2012), which indeed is one of the world's most dynamic regions. It used to be the biggest net importer, China and India being the biggest sending countries of international students, but according to the latest Asian Development Bank statistics, while earnings from trade in higher education services still favored the wealthier English system, significant growth was evident in the Asia-Pacific region (Welch 2011). China, Singapore, and Malaysia have become three major destinations of international students and have got substantial income from exporting educational services; Thailand and Indonesia have also managed to develop specific market niches in international education (Neubauer 2012). For China, earlier estimates of its income of \$2.3 billion USD in international enrollments in 2011 (Wen 2014) are conservative given that the number of international students enrolled in Chinese higher education increased from 292,611 in 2011 to 356,499 in 2014 and the indirect economic effect is much more than the direct income. In Singapore, income from exporting educational services comprises 3.3 percent of Singapore's economy, and the latest plan is to increase this to 5 percent in the coming years (Ng and Tan 2010; Welch 2012).

Within two decades of opening to the global economy and rapid domestic economic development, China has come to dominate the whole of the regional political economy, thereby significantly changing what "it is" within any

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regional frame (Weiss 2005). The most important regional strategy for China is its relations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). China is taking a “soft” approach toward regionalization, which is in alignment with the ASEAN way by focusing on consultations, dialogue, and consensus rather than legally binding resolutions as the main institutional arrangement. Given the increasing importance of the knowledge economy, higher education is taking a more important role in regionalization. China–ASEAN interactions in higher education have increased rapidly, which demonstrate an emerging regionalism in Asia (Mok 2012). Through regional collaborations, Southeast Asian higher education institutions (HEIs) enable themselves to establish stronger voices in global policy dialogues (Robertson 2010).

Nevertheless, China–ASEAN relations in higher education have been documented little (Yang 2012). From the limited literature on China–ASEAN regionalism in higher education, a few points arise such as the existence of complex and longstanding relations, the absence of robust institutional architecture, “quiet achievers,” and so on (Yang 2012; Welch 2012). Given the mounting complexity and importance of regionalization, further examination is still needed. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to depict a detailed picture of China–ASEAN higher education relations and attempt to elaborate the dynamics of the landscape of higher education regionalization. Due to the difficulty in obtaining data of all the ASEAN countries and the fact that statistics are collected on different bases, this review utilizes the statistics and results documented in Chinese literature and previous studies, and thus illustrate the attempts to promote ASEAN–China higher education partnerships mainly from China’s perspectives.

CHINA’S SOFT APPROACH TOWARD REGIONALISM

Regionalism of ASEAN is shaped by the famous “ASEAN Way” which is defined primarily by a consensus decision-making process, consultative procedures, voluntarism, and non-interference in member states’ internal affairs (Beeson and Jayasuriya 1998; Kahler 2000). The ASEAN way of regionalism is different from North American and European regionalism, which mainly features formal procedures, rulemaking, and enforcement (Zhao 2011). This soft ASEAN way is rooted in “the traditional Asian distaste for treaty-defined institutions” (Clarke 1995), reflecting the region’s differential cultures, histories, social-economic, and political conditions. Indeed, the region comprises states with different religions, namely Buddhism, Confucianism, and Islam and different political philosophies, from communist to authoritarian, from constitutional monarchies to military dictatorships, from personal dictatorship to bureaucratic governance, and from democratically elected governments to single-party systems. What is more, the colonial history of many ASEAN countries has accentuated their concern about ceding their sovereignty in the name of regional integration (Zhao 2011). As Hirono (1988) has observed, no nation in the Asia-Pacific, however willing to compromise in the interest of

attaining the common objectives of regional institution, “is ready to surrender sovereign rights over its domestic affairs and foreign relations.”

China's approach toward regionalism shares many common features with the ASEAN way. Both reach a consensus that sovereignty matters most and building enforcement and/or punitive mechanisms are not allowed. Also, both agree on consultations, dialogue, and consensus rather than legally binding resolutions as the main institutional arrangement. This soft approach is reflected in the value of the free concept of a harmonious world presented by China's previous president Hu Jintao. The concept of a harmonious world derived from the traditional Chinese Taoism, within which “harmony” was at the core of dealing with everything from state affairs to neighborly relations. This has provided a conceptual foundation of China's regional approach. China's preference in this soft approach is mainly motivated by its domestic interests to create a peaceful peripheral environment for its economic growth and political stability, particularly its frontier security and prosperity. China's aspiration to compete with Japan and the USA in the Asia-Pacific region is another driving force.

China works with ASEAN as the core institution in regional cooperation. Since the mid-1990s, China began to shift from bilateralism to multilateralism in its regional strategy. Southeast Asia, particularly ASEAN and ASEAN-related organizations, has drawn China's special attention. China has established a very close relationship with ASEAN having attended the 24th ASEAN foreign ministers conference in 1991, and has institutionalized participation in dialogue and consultation with ASEAN foreign ministers since then. A network of regional institutions has been constructed (Zhao 2011): in political issue areas, China is a dialogue partner of the ASEAN ministerial meetings, a member of the ASEAN-Regional Forum, and a founding member of the East Asia Summit. In security issue areas, China launched the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in 1996 and has hosted the Six-Party Talks since 2003. In economic issue areas, China joined the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) in 1991 and the Chinese president has attended APEC leadership summits since its first gathering in 1993 and hosted the 2001 APEC summit in Shanghai. China also worked with the ASEAN to create the ASEAN+3 and ASEAN+1 mechanism, and is an active member of the Tuman River Cooperation Project. In social development issue areas, China is a signatory member of the Greater Mekong River Environmental Protection Mechanism, East Asia Environmental Protection Annual Conference, and ASEAN+3 Public Health Cooperation Mechanism.

Nonetheless, these regional institutional networks do not represent center-periphery relations in the traditional sense but purely as a geographical frame and term to structure these relations from a Chinese perspective (Su 2007), to put it specifically, “becoming friends and partners with neighbors” (*yu lin wei shan, yu lin wei ban*) and “building an amicable, tranquil and prosperous neighborhood” (*mu lin, an lin, fu lin*). Nevertheless, many argue that China's preference for the soft approach in regional cooperation is “simply putting off disputes about sovereignty until sometime in the future,” and may become a

major barrier for many regional institutions to move beyond the stage of “talking shops” to effectively resolving conflicts in the region (Zhao 2011).

CHINA–ASEAN RELATIONS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

From the early 1990s, both China and ASEAN appear to be committed to furthering exchange and collaboration in higher education. This is partly because higher education has increasingly become tied more tightly to the economy, for higher education not only does cultivate talents to meet the demand of the burgeoning regional trade but is also tradable in and of itself as a “service” and brings potential benefits for both sides. As mentioned earlier, China, Malaysia, and Singapore’s international enrollments in higher education are yielding significant income. Moreover, from the Chinese perspective, higher education is part of its wider ambition to boost its projection of soft power within the region (Welch 2011; Yang 2012), while from the ASEAN perspective, higher education has been considered as the important means to forge the ASEAN identity and elevate citizens’ quality of life. However, while higher education has gained attention on both sides, little is known about what has happened in practice due to the lack of detailed data and research. Even ASEAN itself has pointed out: “while there is information on aggregate level of commercial services trade by China and ASEAN, there is little statistics on bi-lateral or ASEAN-China trade in services” (ASEAN 2001, 13, cited from Welch 2011). China expressed the same concern that research in this regard is imperative (Wen 2012).

Although higher education as part of a regionalization strategy has gained prominence rhetorically, neither the scale nor the content of the cooperation and educational exchange between ASEAN and China has been developing as quickly as expected. Higher education cooperation between ASEAN and China includes three forms in practice: student mobility, institutional partnerships and joint programs, and language training. The three channels of higher education collaboration have been formed in a context in which some prominent trade agreements, framework agreements, and consortia connect China and ASEAN. The most important one is the China–ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA). As for consortia, in 2009, an “ASEAN+3” network was initiated by the ASEAN University Network (AUN), which would focus on promoting the key areas such as ASEAN and East Asian Studies between universities in both China and ASEAN. In August 2010, China–ASEAN Ministers of Education issued the “Double 100,000 Plan,” designed to facilitate 100,000 Chinese and ASEAN students to enroll in each other’s universities, respectively, by 2020. Other important instances of cooperation include: the ASEAN–China Rectors 2010 conference that collected reports on successful collaboration between ASEAN and Sun Yat-sen (Zhongshan) University, Yunnan Agriculture University and Soochow (Suzhou) University, the Association of Pacific Rim Universities (APRU) that comprises 42 Asia-Pacific university members including institutions from China, Singapore, and

Malaysia, UNIVERSITAS 21 with 24 member universities including National University of Singapore, Fudan University and Shanghai Jiaotong University from China (Welch 2012), and the framework agreement on mutual recognition in academic higher education qualifications with Vietnam (2009), the Philippines (2009), and Malaysia (2011).

STUDENT MOBILITY

Student mobility is a significant representation of the China–ASEAN cooperation in higher education. In the past two decades, the total number of international students coming from ASEAN countries has increased from 33,232 in 1999 to 356,499 in 2013, as has their share in China's international education market from 11 percent in 1999 to 19.2 percent in 2013. In Fig. 12.1, the year 2003 marks significant growth in the number of international students from ASEAN. In 2013, out of the 15 countries sending most international students to China, four are within ASEAN (Table 12.1).

Distinct features of the ASEAN group of international students in China can be specified in three aspects. First, China and ASEAN cooperate more on the vocational level than other countries: in the year 2013, 1337 ASEAN students were engaged in vocational-level education, constituting 66.7 percent of all vocational-level international students in China. Most such students study in the fields of hotel management, accounting, or E-commerce. Second, most ASEAN students are located in Southwest provinces neighboring ASEAN such as Yunnan and Guangxi (Yang 2012). Despite keeping a low profile, these provinces of China are the top destinations for many ASEAN students because

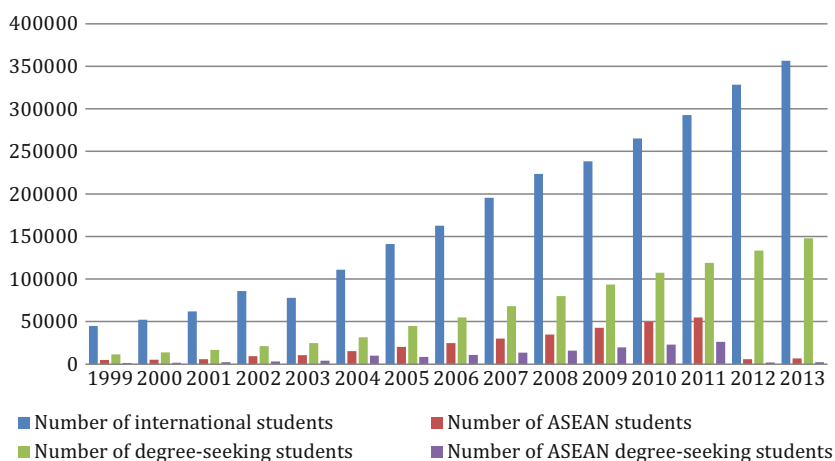


Fig. 12.1 Total number of international students, ASEAN students, and degree-seeking students in China (1999–2013)

Table 12.1 Top 15 countries in China's international education market in 2013

	<i>Country</i>	<i>2013 Enrolment</i>	<i>2013 Market share (%)</i>
1	South Korea	63,029	17.68
2	USA	25,312	7.10
3	Thailand	20,106	5.64
4	Japan	17,226	4.83
5	Russia	15,918	4.47
6	Indonesia	13,492	3.78
7	Vietnam	12,799	3.59
8	India	11,781	3.30
9	Kazakhstan	11,165	3.13
10	Pakistan	10,941	3.07
11	France	9649	2.71
12	Mongolia	8054	2.26
13	Germany	7058	1.98
14	Malaysia	6126	1.72
15	UK	5465	1.53

Note: ASEAN countries in bold

of their geographical proximity and relatively low tuition and living costs. For example, Yunnan Province is a top host for students from Myanmar, Vietnam, and Laos, and students from Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, and Cambodia prefer Guangdong Province, while Guangxi Province is the favorite place for Vietnam students in China (Wei 2005). Third, governmental input to international education has been increased in recent years, from 801,470,000 RMB in 2010 to 1,950,794,400 RMB in 2014 and the number of governmental scholarship receivers has been increased from 5211 in 1999 to 33,322 in 2014. ASEAN benefits largely from China's input on international education. Particularly, three ASEAN countries benefit the most from China's generous investment in international education: Cambodia (31.5 percent), followed by Laos (21.5 percent), and Vietnam (15.6 percent)—as a result of Cambodia's friendly relationship with China and the shared communist ideologies with Laos and Vietnam.

However, various discrepancies in ASEAN in regard to student mobility are emerging. In 2013, the top three ASEAN senders were Thailand, Indonesia, and Vietnam, sending over 10,000 students to China, followed by Laos, Singapore, and Malaysia, each of which sent 3000–10,000 students. ASEAN countries that sent less than 3000 students to China were the Philippines, Myanmar, Cambodia, and Brunei. If we take the total population of each country in ASEAN into account, it can be seen that higher-income countries such as Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia sent relatively more students than others, which is consistent with the fact that student mobility is more prevalent in higher-income countries. However, among the three higher-income ASEAN countries, Malaysia may be an exception—with a population that is six times that of Singapore's, the number of Malaysian students in China is virtually the same as those from Singapore (ASEAN Secretariat 2006). This

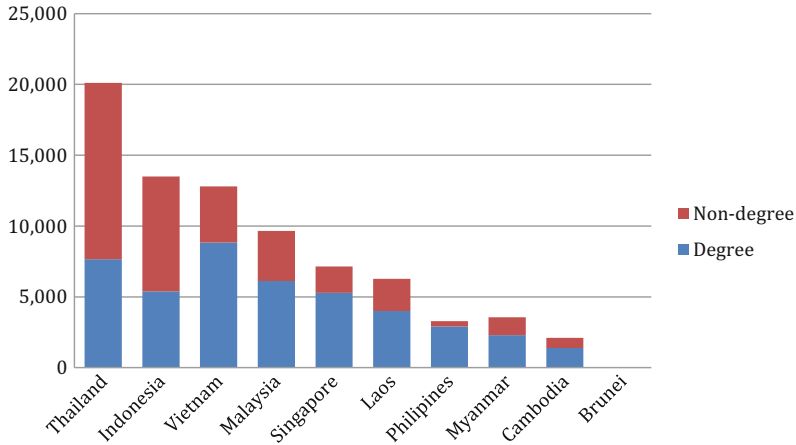


Fig. 12.2 Ratio of degree-seeking students to non-degree students by country in 2013

may be attributed to factors such as students' religious affiliations (as in the case of Malaysian students opting for Egypt or Indonesia), as the top overseas destinations for outward-bound Malaysian students were the UK, Australia, the USA, Egypt, and Indonesia (UNESCO 2013). It could also be related to Malaysia's intention to build an education hub for international students, not to send but to attract international students. Additionally, students from higher-income ASEAN countries are more likely to enroll in non-degree programs while their counterparts from lower-income ASEAN countries are more likely to be degree-seeking students in China (Fig. 12.2).

INSTITUTIONAL PARTNERSHIPS AND JOINT PROGRAMS

Many Asian universities are striving to visualize ways in which students' mobility can act as a platform for collaborative networks (Kell and Vogl 2012). China-ASEAN educational cooperation is moving from its prior emphasis on voluntary student exchange to more institutionalized partnerships between institutions. By the end of 2014, China-ASEAN operated two cooperative institutions (located in Chongqing Province and Jiangsu Province, respectively) and 36 joint programs, mostly on vocational-level education and initiated by private HEIs. Subjects include tourism, accounting, management, and so on. The programs are usually in the form of "3 + 1," "2 + 2," or "2 + 1," where the first three years (or two years) of the course study take place at the Chinese institution and the last two years (or one year) at the foreign partner institution.

The discrepancies in ASEAN are also reflected in these institutional partnerships and joint programs. China's cooperation is mainly with Singapore, Thailand, and Malaysia. Among 36 joint programs between China and ASEAN,

25 are with Singapore, 10 with Malaysia, 1 with Thailand, with no joint programs documented for other ASEAN countries. The Ministry of Education recently established strict regulations regarding Sino-foreign joint institutions and programs, and it is estimated that the growth of institutional partnership between China and ASEAN will be hindered to some extent.

LANGUAGE, TEACHING, AND LEARNING

The increasingly greater cooperation in politics, the economy, and culture between China and ASEAN countries brings about the urgent need of bilingual individuals fluent in Chinese and an ASEAN language. Chinese higher education has responded to the need for such bilinguals or multilinguals. Moreover, the combination of higher education with the appeal of Confucianism has become the effective policy strategy (Yang 2012).

Confucius Institutes, initiated by the government to promote Chinese culture and language, have been a significant non-profit platform for Chinese language education since 2004. By the end of 2014, the government had opened 475 Confucius Institutes and 851 Confucius Classrooms throughout the world, with 26 Institutes and 19 Classrooms in ASEAN countries. In addition to Confucius Institutes, the Beijing Language and Culture University's main task is teaching the Chinese language and culture to foreign students, has built partnerships with 210 universities in 39 countries, and has set up branch schools in Singapore and Thailand, while also launching joint undergraduate and postgraduate programs with Rangsit University in Thailand (Kell and Vogl 2012).

Chinese students are also increasingly interested in Southeast and South Asia and their politics, cultures, and languages, especially for Vietnamese, Lao, and Thai. In Guangxi Province, ten HELs have programs specialized in the Thai language, and the number of Vietnamese language learning programs has doubled the number of Thai programs. Guangxi University as an example has undergraduate students able to major in Burmese, Khmer, Lao, and Indonesian languages. For students in programs such as Teaching Chinese as a Second Language, International Commerce and Marketing, and Tourism will have the opportunities to go to ASEAN countries for half a year or one year.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

A few points arise from the above analysis and bear further reflection. First, China-ASEAN relations in higher education demonstrate that higher education regionalization has gained prominence rhetorically, but the cooperation and exchange in practice is still sporadic, non-planned, and less regulated. Knight (2012) distinguishes the reactive role of higher education with the proactive role regarding regionalization. The former is to respond to the influences of regionalism while the latter is to enhance regional integration. While higher education in Europe and North America is perceived as a tool for the

overall goal of regional economic integration, there is no evidence that higher education plays a proactive role in China–ASEAN regionalization.

Second, regionalism used to be perceived as “similar” countries banding together in familiar forms, while ASEAN–China relations in higher education demonstrate the new regionalism which links legacy structures with newer inter-regional forms (Naya and Plummer 2005; Steger and Roy 2010; Neubauer 2012). For example, CAFTA, “ASEAN+3” network, AUN, APRU, and other mechanisms and agreements are all intertwined with ASEAN–China higher education relations. What makes the picture even more complex is that hierarchy and stratification already exist within ASEAN, making it hard for China–ASEAN cooperation to follow a same path.

Last but not least, while internationalization of higher education in the developed areas has gained extensive attention from the central government, China–ASEAN collaboration in higher education is mainly initiated by third- or fourth-tier universities in less developed border areas of China. Local institutions and governments have been proactive to interact with their counterparts in ASEAN countries mainly for economic incentives, while China’s central government’s role is lacking to some extent. Although there is argument that the reality of today’s regionalism is not well captured by a dichotomy of state and non-state actors (Söderbaum 2002), the absence of the state has indeed caused concerns about the sustainability of higher education cooperation between China and ASEAN. The current emphasis of China’s government in higher education is to foster a few Chinese universities to the world-class standards, while universities at the bottom of the hierarchy can rarely gain access to resources. With deficient financial support from the central government, a shortage of qualified teachers, a loss of identity, and lack of confidence, it is hard to say that regional cooperation between China and ASEAN will be carried out in a sustainable way in the long term.

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Transformation of Higher Education Systems in the Dynamics of Contemporary Globalization: The Case of Japan

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INTRODUCTION

Many higher education reforms are influenced by the dynamics of globalization from various angles. First, globalization raises standards beyond national and institutional boundaries. Transnational or cross-border education requires the common aims and missions and educational practices that are required to meet the same quality assurance standards. Second, globalization is associated with the spread of neo-liberal ideology that pursues economic efficiency, which is often realized through the privatization of public sector agencies. Every country can feel the effects of globalization especially in the area of higher education reforms.

At the same time, every government seems to be concerned about national integration and nation building especially in the developing countries. But currently even developed countries are concerned with these issues as many of these societies have large newly migrant populations and thus they also have to face the same challenge of social cohesion. Most countries have to strike a balance between globalization and localization. In the case of higher education, there is an interplay between global influences and national or internal responses in its development.

The Japanese case of higher educational reforms is also the outcome of the interaction between globalization and localization. First, this chapter gives an

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overview of the transformation of Japanese higher education policy. It then focuses on governance reform to promote internationalization in higher education through the Top Global University Project (TGUP) that was initiated in 2014. Finally, it points out the features of the Japanese government's initiatives on the internationalization of higher education in Japan.

TRANSFORMATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY IN JAPAN

Post “100,000 Foreign Students Plan” and “Asian Gateway Initiative”

Japan is giving special attention to the internationalization of its higher education system, particularly by sending Japanese students overseas and attracting foreign students to study in Japan. In 1983 when the “100,000 Foreign Students Plan” was initiated, the Japanese government viewed the recruitment of foreign students as the main strategy to internationalize its higher education system. At its early stages in the 1980s and 1990s, a number of foreign universities established branch campuses in Japan, but most of them could not be sustained because the Japanese government did not recognize them as registered higher education institutions (HEIs) under the Japan education laws in force at the time. As a result, nearly all foreign universities withdrew from Japan except for Temple University which established its Japan campus in 1992 in Tokyo. At that time, Japanese higher education policy did not accommodate any cross-border higher education initiatives.

With this background, the “Asian Gateway Initiative” was launched in May 2007 as a key strategy to internationalize Japanese higher education in a new direction. The goal of the “100,000 Foreign Students Plan” was reached in 2003, but in a broader context in which other Asian countries were already using other kinds of strategies in internationalizing their own higher education systems. The international student policy can be viewed as a tool to attract better human resources and to make Japan a hub of international flows of people, goods, money, and information. The Council for Asian Gateway Initiative (2007) stated three basic objectives, namely “Towards an Open Japan,” “Working towards an Open Asia,” and “Respect for a Diverse Asia” (The Council for the Asian Gateway Initiative 2007, 4). Its aim is to build a vigorous and open economic system designed to assist in the dynamic growth of the country, taking into account Japan's delayed response to Asia's accelerating economic growth in the preceding years. Overall, Japan aspires to be the gateway connecting Asia by opening up its society and strengthening ties with its neighbors in order to share prosperity with other Asian countries.

The Initiative proposed Ten Major Policy Priorities and included two specific objectives on education. The first of these objectives is to “Restructure policy for foreign students in order for Japan to serve as a hub for a human network in Asia: mobilize stakeholders in order to formulate a new national

strategy” (Asian Gateway Initiative 2007, 13), and the second is to “Further open up universities to the world: target educational hubs and improve evaluation of universities to encourage universities to become more international” (ibid., 16). To achieve these objectives, seven basic plans of action were proposed as follows (ibid., 13–15):

1. In light of the sudden expansion of the international student market around the world, the aim is to secure at minimum the current share of incoming students (about 5 percent) along with securing quality talent in order to maintain intellectual contributions and influence around the world.
2. In order to expand opportunities for Japanese students to study abroad, the strategy is to develop the universities’ offshore programs and short-term study abroad programs and to improve the system of sending young researchers abroad, expanding youth exchange programs, and facilitating strategic dispatch of students and researchers to countries of importance.
3. Promote university—industry cooperation, and so on with an eye on the career paths of students, and reexamine the resident status system so as to facilitate the hiring of international talents and tapping in on their entrepreneurship spirit.
4. Promote Japan’s gateway to various parts of the world and to encourage cooperation and linkages with overseas universities. Strengthen cooperative ties between universities with related organizations such as diplomatic establishments abroad, the Japan Student Services Organization, and The Japan Foundation. Also drastically increase the number of overseas sites for Japanese language education by employing the franchise system.
5. Take advantage of the appeal of Japanese culture and promote the Japanese culture industry, such as Japanese pop culture.
6. Improve the state-funded international student program.
7. Expand and develop the short-term student exchange programs and provide support for boarding facilities for international students.

As part of the “Asian Gateway Initiative,” the “Accepting 300,000 international students plan” was launched in July 2008 which aspired to increase the number of international students with the overall goal of making Japan more open to the world. As a joint effort of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Economy and Industry, Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, and Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, and Transport as well as Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT), this meant that all these government agencies are working together to promote an overall international students policy. The Plan included some specific strategies to attract more international students such as promoting study in Japan, improving the student admission process, internationalizing Japanese univer-

sities, improving living conditions for international students, and encouraging Japanese companies and organizations to accept international students for employment. In other words, the Japanese government is encouraging the HEIs to promote their foreign students policy starting from admission to a life after studying in Japan.

Global 30 Project and Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources

After the launch of the “300,000 Foreign Students Policy,” the strategic plans of Asian Gateway Initiative were implemented by *Global 30* project starting in 2009.¹

Seven public universities, namely Tohoku University, University of Tsukuba, The University of Tokyo, Nagoya University, Kyoto University, Osaka University, Kyushu University, and the six private universities, Keio University, Jochi (Sophia) University, Meiji University, Waseda University, Doshisha University, and Ritsumeikan University, were chosen to participate in the project. These universities were required to introduce classes in English and to accept more international students as well as to promote strategic international cooperation, networking, and to share resources among themselves. Meanwhile, overseas offices that serve as liaison offices for promoting “Study in Japan” were set up in eight cities in seven countries.

Another project introduced alongside Global 30 was *Go Global Japan*, a Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources Development. The Council for Promotion of Human Resources Development was established by concerned cabinet ministers under the umbrella of Japan’s New Growth Strategy in 2011. The issues related to higher education which must be resolved in order to meet the human resources demands include (1) increasing the opportunities for overseas experiences including studying and living abroad, (2) strengthening English education, (3) improving college entrance examinations, and (4) improving recruitment strategies. The Japanese higher education system is to be reformed in order to build a world-class university system by introducing a flexible academic calendar, and to promote study abroad programs, so that the number of students with overseas experience will reach 80,000. The education system will be flexible so as to allow cooperation with industry, and if necessary, allow for early graduation, as long as quality is assured (Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources Council 2012).

“Re-Inventing Japan Project”

Besides the Global 30 project and the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources Development in Japan, the Japanese government initiated another global initiative. Termed as the “Re-Inventing Japan Project,” it is a funding project that aims at preparing human resources for the global labor market, by giving financial support to collaborative programs with foreign universities. The first project under this funding scheme started in FY 2011. It focuses on China,

South Korea, and Japan in East Asia and is known as CAMPUS Asia. The second project from FY 2012 focuses on Asia and US Network, and the FY 2013 project focuses on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries with the third project being the ASEAN International Mobility for Students (AIMS) Program conducted in collaboration with the Regional Center for Higher Education and Development of Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization. The FY 2014 project focuses on Russia and India while the FY 2015 project concentrates on Latin America countries and Turkey. Examining these various countries and regions, it is obvious that the Japanese government selected countries with which it has a strong political and economic relationship. Another important feature of the Re-Inventing Japan Project is that quality assurance is very much emphasized when establishing student exchange schemes. In particular, the credit transfer system and accreditation were given special attention when promoting international student mobility.

Bilateral Institute MJIIT Between Japan and Malaysia

In 2012, the Japanese government set up a government-led bilateral institute in Malaysia. Termed as the Malaysia and Japan International Institute of Technology (MJIIT), it took a considerable period of time to establish. Originally, the idea to initiate a Japanese-type education institution in Malaysia was agreed upon by the prime ministers of both countries in 2001. In 2003, it was decided that this new university would be named the Malaysia-Japan International University of Technology, but subsequently, the dialogue between the two governments dragged on until 2010 when it was decided that MJIIT would be set up by Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, one of the national research universities in Malaysia and since then MJIIT was opened in June 2012.

Why was it that this institute was finally established after more than 10 years' discussion? One critical element was the realization that it must provide benefits to both sides. For the Malaysian side, this institute would help to promote education and research on science and engineering. The mission of MJIIT is "Leading in cutting-edge technology education and research." The institute would provide the Japanese style of engineering education blended with a Malaysian distinctiveness. It would seek to lead in the fields of electronics, precision, environmental and green engineering, and management of technology. On the other hand, the Japanese side hopes to develop ASEAN human capital to improve the quality of life in the region. MJIIT provides exposure to graduates with the relevant knowledge skills and open mindedness to ensure the sustainability of the ASEAN communities, which in turn would serve as a catalyst for a holistic partnership between Japan and ASEAN in particular linking Japanese industries and enterprises with Malaysian industries and businesses through R&D and social community projects. The academic programs at MJIIT are strongly supported by a consortium of 25 Japanese universities and five associate members from Japanese government agencies and industry.² This means that MJIIT not only represents a bilateral academic relationship but also has the possibility of strengthening relationships between Japan and ASEAN communities.

Japanese Higher Education Transformation Policy

All the above-mentioned projects have assumed the role of creating a platform for the internationalization of higher education in Japan. Consequently, Japan's higher education policy attaches great importance to making "international intellectual contribution" and gaining "mutual international understanding." This policy is implemented through the Asian Gateway Strategy Initiative, which operates on the premise that it is important to shift the model to intra-regional and short-term exchanges in order to foster intercultural and international understanding. This model of higher education constitutes a distinct form of "international higher education," wherein, while still subject to each nation's education policies, various countries cooperate to foster the next generation of students and higher education professionals (Ninomiya 2008). The Global 30 Project, the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources, the Re-Inventing Japan Projects, and MJIIT project all are designed in part to promote student mobility which includes both bilateral programs and multi-lateral exchange programs and at the same time taking care to promote the quality assurance issue. As a result, transnational education programs such as CAMPUS Asia Program, AIMS Program, and MJIIT have been implemented. Their vision is quite different from the strategic and competitive model of higher education policies in that it emphasizes the understanding of international higher education as more cooperative and collaborative rather than competitive (Lee 2012; Sugimura 2012, 2015).

GOVERNANCE REFORM TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONALIZATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION: TOP GLOBAL UNIVERSITY PROJECT

As indicated above, continuous internationalization has moved Japanese higher education policy to be more open and strategic with regards to student mobility and programs. However, this policy also has brought about reforms in the governance of the universities involved, which resulted in strengthening the powers of university presidents. The Global 30 Project ended in March 2014. During its last five years, a number of overseas offices were established throughout the world, and the number of foreign faculty members working in Japanese universities has been steadily increasing. Programs taught in English have been introduced as various Japanese universities became part of the action plans of the "Asian Gateway Initiative." During the same period, the number of foreign students studying in Japan has also been increasing though it decreased temporarily after the big earthquake and tsunami that occurred on March 11, 2011.

As a follow-up to the Global 30 Project, MEXT initiated a new project known as the Top Global University Project (TGUP) in 2014. The project involves two types of universities. Type-A schools consist of the 13 universities that were selected because they have the potential to be ranked in the top 100 in the global

higher education ranking over the next ten years. Type B schools consisting of 24 universities were selected to lead Japan's internationalization program by pioneering innovative and experimental practices.

In this TGUP ten-year program that would last until 2023, the Japanese government expects the universities chosen for this program to recruit excellent students and researchers from around the world. And in order to survive within the international higher education market and to attain high universities' rankings, these universities are required to foster human resources who have the capacity to understand and appreciate cultural diversity and global issues and how to work to develop a sustainable future, while improving their performances to meet global standards (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2014.)

Compared with past projects such as the Global 30 project, TGUP differs in the sense that it calls for university's governance reform while promoting internationalization. TGUP requires universities to focus not only on program reforms but also how they govern themselves. For example, TGUP recommended the introduction of salary increments and tenure tracks for faculty who can assist in the promotion and achievement of international mobility. Meanwhile, MEXT also moved to change the School Education Law that strengthens university presidents' power in decision-making at the expense of the authority of the faculty in their various organized forms. The amendment makes it easier for a university to reform because the president can decide important structural issues on a unilateral basis. The project aims to improve universities' international profiles and to enhance their international competitiveness.

However, one "down side" to this reform is that it is causing much confusion and concern among faculty members. Traditionally, professorial meeting structures have great influence in the governance of universities especially in curriculum and personnel matters. For example, in the process of internationalization, while some faculty members strongly believe that teaching in English can increase the opportunities of learning in HEIs, other members are opposed to this practice because to them it is meaningless to teach in English, especially in classes where most of the students are Japanese, or if the courses are about a distinctive Japanese subject such as Japanese law, history, or literature. Yet another controversy has arisen over whether to make all Japanese students study abroad. Some universities have already introduced special programs of sending all their students to study abroad, but opponents to this policy insist that the significance of studying abroad should be planned and implemented more carefully rather than rushing into it by introducing commercialized programs that tend not to be well thought out in terms of their design and implementation. In the past, professorial staff would have an important and perhaps determinative opinions in such matters say at professorial meetings, but under the current regulations, they can give opinions to the presidents, and finally, the presidents can decide any policy.

INTERNATIONALIZATION AND NEO-LIBERALISM IN THE JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION CONTEXT: COMPETITION AND EFFECTIVENESS UNDER NEO-LIBERALISM

Most of the university governance reforms in Japan are closely connected with the ideology of neo-liberalism. Internationalization can bring about a common worldwide standard system and can accelerate the mobility of students, faculty, programs, and institutions, which in turn creates competition among HEIs in various regions and countries. For example, the number of international students present in a country or at a given institution is one of the most frequently used indicators to measure the level of internationalization of higher education. Therefore, many Japan HEIs compete with one another to recruit more international students under the policy of “Accepting 300,000 international Students Plan.”

In order to recruit these students, the medium of instruction must be in English, so increasing the number of programs that use English as the medium of instruction has been regarded as an essential means to compete against other countries that are also interested in recruiting international students. The introduction of double and joint degree programs can also be viewed in the same manner. For a long time, the Japanese School Education Law did not permit HEIs to introduce collaborative degree programs with foreign universities even though other Asian countries had started to offer these cross-border programs since the 1990s. However, the Japanese government finally changed its policy and amended its Law in April 2015 to enable HEIs to offer double degree or joint degree programs. As a result, currently, Japan HEIs can move ahead to expand their transnational education programs, which are more effective in attracting both foreign and domestic students.

These strategies also may help raise the position of universities in the global competitive rankings. The 13 Type-A universities of TGUP are required to be ranked within top 100 positions within 10 years from 2014. To achieve this goal, these universities are required to improve the quality of their programs in ways that will attract more international students. Yonezawa (2013, 142) has pointed out that “the top universities, especially national universities, implemented governance reforms during the incorporation process. At the same time, they developed their own management structures by establishing original and distinct action plans.” The more efficient and competitive reform in higher education has been accelerated by TGUP.

Japanese Local Context

Besides incorporating neo-liberalist ideology in university governance, another recent issue has been the introduction of nationalism into university rituals. The Minister of Education, for example, asked all the national universities to hoist the national flag “Hinomaru” and to sing the national anthem “Kimigayo” during the entrance and commencement ceremonies in June 2015

(Asahi Shinbun 2015). This official statement raises another controversy for a number of the national universities that strongly oppose this directive because for them the Minister has infringed on university's autonomy, a statement of which is enshrined in the Article 7 of the Fundamental Law of Education.

Another higher education reform introduced in 2015 by the Japanese government was the idea of categorizing three types of national universities according to their functions. They are (1) universities which can contribute to local development based on their specific and strong areas, (2) universities which can promote national and international programs, and (3) universities which can compete and cooperate with world-class universities.

However, the ulterior motive of this policy seems to be “scrap and build” targeting at HEIs which need to improve their efficiency. The Japanese government announced the policy targeted at those universities that specialize in the humanities and social sciences. The government places greater importance on science and technology almost across the board and would like to see the change of the humanities and social sciences faculties to the more innovative ones focusing on practical skills in the national universities. According to the government, humanities and social sciences disciplines cannot produce the skills and knowledge required for continued economic development within a globalized world of increasing technological competition. This change seems to be an opposite policy to the liberal arts programs.

Other Related Issues

As mentioned above, the new Japanese higher education policy emphasizes the need for collaboration and cooperation with other Asian countries. Participation in the CAMPUS Asia and AIMS programs provides opportunities for Japan to play an active role in regional development beyond its national borders. Yonezawa and Meerman (2012, 76) have pointed out that “no country in the region believes it possible to sustain its higher education system without region-wide collaboration. The rise of an Asian economy with multiple centers, such as China, Singapore, South Korea, India, and others, inevitably requires a shift in Japanese diplomacy including in the arena of higher education from one reflecting one-sided reliance to one espousing linkages with other OECD countries, to create a balance between East and West.” This regional strategy is very important when considering the role of Japanese higher education in the current era of globalization (Sugimura 2015).

The MJIIT project was originally based on the bilateral agreement between Japan and Malaysia, but this model of collaboration can be applied to other ASEAN countries. Kitagawa (2013) has pointed out that national and regional debates over the role of regional science and innovation systems, and the role of universities and other HEIs in the economic and social development of their localities are intrinsically linked to wider issues of governance, which constitute a multilevel governance structure of science and innovation policy. The case of MJIIT is a good example of such regional science and innovation systems.

CONCLUSION

Globalization has an impact on higher education policy in Japan. With the Asian Gateway Initiative, the Japanese higher education sector seemed to be more open and diversified through a variety of programs including the Global 30 Project, the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources, the Re-Inventing Japan Projects, and the MJIIT project. However, in the local context, the Japanese government has introduced reforms affecting the governance of universities such as the “scrap and build” policy of doing away with the humanities and social sciences and focusing national educational resources on science and technology instead. In addition, the national universities are required to hoist the national flag and to sing the national anthem, which are acts reflecting a surge of new nationalism with potentially various and unforeseen consequences. The balance between globalization and localization appears to be a delicate one in the higher education sector. The current situation of Japanese higher education seems to place much emphasis on double degree or joint degree programs and vocational education, but undermines the relative importance of the humanities and social sciences. Thus, the impact of globalization on higher education in Japan has resulted in a set of policies pertaining to the internationalization of higher education and at the same time, a series of reforms on university governance that emphasize the values of local context.

NOTES

1. The Global 30 Project’s two purposes were as follows; first, to open up Japan globally, and to aim at accepting 300,000 foreign students by 2020 as a part of the strategic plan to expand the flow of people, things, money, and information within Asia and the world. In doing so, Japan would attract talented foreign students strategically from various countries and in different fields. Second, for the purpose declared above, the government would awaken the interests of foreign students to study in Japan. The strategic plan is to organize systematically from entrance to Japan and acceptance in Japanese universities to employment in Japan after graduation. To implement this plan, various ministries would be involved to coordinate the smooth progress from entry to exit (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology 2009).
2. The five government offices that encouraged MJIIT were Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry, The Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Japan International Cooperation Agency besides MEXT.

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Cross-Currents in Asian Higher Education

Edilberto C. de Jesús

Political, economic, and demographic developments intensified the urgency and accelerated the pace of higher education reform initiatives pursued by Asian countries in the first 15 years of the twenty-first century. At this juncture, contentious issues regarding the role, shape, structure, and governance of higher education institutions, debated in the last quarter of the twentieth century, had basically reached resolution.

While it was clear which views had prevailed on such questions as the massification, privatization, and internationalization of higher education, working out their implications continues to occupy university administrators, policy makers, and parents. On some of these issues, the course of events deflected the intended trajectory of reform initiatives toward unexpected and unwanted directions, raising new challenges for the higher education sector.

Asian governments and institutions had begun to feel the pressure to undertake fundamental changes in the education sector in the last two decades of the twentieth century. The driving force stemmed from stunning and sustained advances in science and technology achieved in academic and industrial research centers. Their applications generated new jobs and even new industries, such as business process outsourcing (BPO). New employment opportunities, for which new competencies were required, opened up a competitive, global marketplace for human resources. The need to acquire talent equipped with the new knowledge, values, and skills drove the demand for access to higher education, to which Asian culture had traditionally accorded a commanding premium.

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MASSIFICATION

Until the mid-nineteenth century, a university education, as developed in Europe and the Americas, was largely an elite entitlement. Education in comparable institutions of higher learning in pre-colonial India, China, Japan, and Southeast Asia typically focused on preparing recruits for service in the government or the religious bureaucracies, whose concerns tended to overlap, since the supreme secular power also exercised sacred authority. Countries under colonial regimes came to adopt the higher education systems of their colonizers and access to higher learning for the indigenous population remained even more restricted. Some level of training was deemed appropriate for the natives, but colonial governments considered higher education for them an unnecessary luxury and a dangerous threat as a potential source of subversive ideas.

The universal, long-term trend, however, pointed toward increasing numbers receiving the benefits of higher education, as societies and their economies grew in scale and complexity. Even colonial governments, constrained by the lack of personnel from the home country, had to introduce training beyond literacy and numeracy to produce local staff capable of working in the health, agricultural, and local government sectors; keeping them ignorant risked compromising the economic viability of the colonial enterprise.

Decolonization brought into power in Asia national governments that placed priority on rebuilding their educational systems from the ruins of World War II. This goal of newly independent states received affirmation from the 1948 United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, which proclaimed everyone's right to education. But as late as 2000, when United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) launched the global campaign for Education for All (EFA), the advocacy focused only on the right to an elementary education. By this point, the phenomenon of massification, witnessed earliest in the USA by the mid-twentieth century, had already rippled across the world, with some developed countries sending half of the student cohort beyond secondary schooling, advancing from mass to universal higher education. By 2007, UNESCO discussions at its General Conferences in Paris reflected concerns that it had not paid sufficient attention to the issues of higher education.

UNESCO's 2015 Global Monitoring Report admitted that, "Education for All remains unfinished business in East Asia and the Pacific" (UNESCO 2015). Still, the EFA campaign achieved enough progress to stimulate the demand for higher education and make UNESCO the victim of its own success.

The momentum was inexorable. The expansion of basic education required more teachers, which the tertiary sector had to produce. As more students completed elementary schooling, parents, anxious to give their children whatever competitive edge they could provide, pushed for access to secondary education. Governments responded to voters demand by progressively expanding the free public education they would fund up to the secondary level. This

was a major commitment, since what had become the universal template for pre-university education was a K–12 system: a year of pre-school or kindergarten, six years of elementary, and six years of secondary education. The Philippines, one of a handful of countries still maintaining a K–10 system, will transition to K–12 by 2016.

For developing countries already prescribing a K–12 system, the demand for college degrees was, to some extent, an effort to keep up with developed nations of the North. The culture in Asian countries also put a premium on white-collar, office jobs, mainly reserved in the colonial era to the ruling class. Many jobs that did not require a college diploma were available, although these were admittedly not the best paying or the most prestigious. But the diploma disease blinded the youth to these employment opportunities and drove them to invest in obtaining a costly college degree. At the same time, many college graduates failed to get the kind of employment and compensation that they expected their credentials to give them.

Where many college graduates were unemployed or overqualified for their jobs, those who only completed high school found themselves at a competitive disadvantage in the job market. Seeking to acquire college credentials was, therefore, not a completely irrational response. Neither was the employer's inclination to bypass high school graduates in their hiring, when college graduates were available, no matter what the minimum skill requirements for the position might be.

PRIVATIZATION

As in Europe, the state in Asia assumed the responsibility and the authority to provide its citizens with educational services, from pre-school to post-graduate studies. Concerns about excessive state control in the USA gave the private sector the room to own and operate private schools and universities. The American colonial government established in the Philippines an extensive system of public education, but it also encouraged the founding of private schools, which multiplied to exceed the enrollment of government institutions at the tertiary level. The best private colleges and universities, run by religious orders, offered education comparable in quality to that available in the state-established University of the Philippines.

By the 1980s, it had become clear that the state could no longer provide the financial resources for subsidies and scholarships to meet the increasing demand for higher education. The recourse, in Europe as in Asia, was to permit the entry of private parties into the higher education sector. Acceptance of tuition-fee-charging colleges did not come easy, especially in Europe, but the concept had carried the day by the turn of the century. With reluctance, in some cases, and enthusiasm in others, governments yielded the monopoly on higher education they had exercised.

Left-leaning, populist critics have continued to decry the “commodification of education.” The charge is somewhat ironic, since the policy shift aimed

at expanding access to higher education beyond the limited numbers that governments could provide. The desired outcome was to make access more democratic, rather than preserving it for the intellectual elite. Since competitive examinations regulated admission to the university, those who could afford costly cram courses to prepare for them enjoyed better chances to pass the hurdle. Thus, the intellectual elite produced by the universities also tended to be the economic elite.

The example of China undercut the leftist criticism. In 1998, the state schools started to collect tuition from their students, although the Ministry of Education also decreed that none of the students who passed the admissions test should be excluded because they could not pay the fees. Communist ideology notwithstanding, China unabashedly embraced privatization, bluntly admitting that a college education was a commodity with a cost and expected returns. Suppliers could charge for their educational services what they estimated the market would bear, looking only at possible underpricing by competitors. In their decisions on education for their children, consumers must consider their capacity to pay for the value they expected to receive (Zhong 2011). Permitting private higher education institutions (HEIs) expanded gross enrollment in higher education, less than 10 percent in 2000 to 29.7 percent in 2013.

The objections to privatization centered on fears that private academic institutions would not be able to maintain the quality of their educational programs. In most Asian countries, indeed, the public generally regarded state universities as superior to those in the private sector. To some extent, the comparison was invidious. Newly established, private HEIs needed time to establish a track record and to produce cohorts of graduates whose work could testify to the worth of their alma mater.

The Philippines was an exception. The main campus of the University of the Philippines maintained its reputation for excellence. It offered the largest number of undergraduate and post-graduate degree programs. Subsidized tuition rates ensured a large number of applicants, who had to pass a rigorous, national entrance examination. National and international surveys of university rankings placed the main University of the Philippines (UP) campus in Diliman at the top of the higher education system. But the leading private schools were seen as offering education of at least comparable quality.

Since private education had a long-established presence in the Philippines, privatization could not offer the ready response to massification that it did in other countries. The government could have chosen to support the private sector in opening up more HEIs. Instead, it decided to establish more State Colleges and Universities (SUCs). This approach won for politicians the favor of voters seeking subsidized access to higher education for their children. Given budgetary constraints, however, the government could not maintain support for an expanding number of SUCs at the level required to maintain quality standards. Budget difficulties affected even the UP system, which had also expanded the number of its campuses.

To compensate for state failure to provide the necessary resources, the government also allowed SUCs to collect fees from their students, though their rates were as low as 10 percent of those imposed by the leading private schools. SUCs were supposed to focus on academic programs that were not available in their catchment areas. To generate supplemental tuition income, they also started running popular programs in education and business that private schools were already offering. Loss of students to SUCs threatened the financial viability of private schools almost entirely dependent on tuition fees and undermined efforts to maintain quality. The government response to massification resulted in a pricing competition that damaged the private HEIs, without resolving the problem of the SUCs.

Elsewhere in the region where it was a relatively recent phenomenon, privatization also segmented the education market according to the buyers' capacity to pay. This segmentation effectively acknowledged the trade-off between cost, as limiting access to higher education, and the quality of the education made accessible. In such a segmented market, it was not possible to enforce one, uniform and mandatory definition of quality. Fitness for purpose or value for money became the operative principle. Buyers could accept that Toyota offered quality in both the Corolla and the Lexus cars. Both had the capacity to bring the driver from Point A to Point B, the necessary function the cars had to deliver. The variation in their price tags reflected a difference in the level of quality they offered.

It was a perfectly rational and appropriate strategy for an entrepreneur to offer a no-frills, higher education program to a low-income market. Students would not enjoy air-conditioned classrooms, the benefit of participation in intercollegiate athletic competitions, or even extracurricular activities. But the institution would make available to them the resources required to learn the subjects in their chosen disciplines. The critical assumption underlying this model was the ability of the government to ensure that such institutions, public or private, provided the minimum level of resources required, a point disputed by activists against privatization.

Even more difficult for many sectors to accept was the notion that private parties could offer educational services as a profit-making venture. They could not deny private HEIs the right to recover their costs and to earn a surplus, in theory, for reinvestment in the venture. But they would insist on close surveillance to ensure that surplus earnings did go to reinvestment rather than leaking out as profits to education entrepreneurs.

But the battle over for-profit academic institutions has also been largely won. Not surprisingly, with its legacy of private sector dominance in the tertiary education sector, the Philippines best illustrated the turning of the tide. Four of the Taipans, the Chinese-Filipino leaders of the country's leading conglomerates, have acquired their own tertiary level institutions, two of them registered by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Even the venerable Ayala Corporation, which built up the firm on real estate and banking, has entered the education market. In 2015, those higher education systems with

the biggest enrollment were for-profit enterprises: STI Education Services Group (2014–2015 revenues of P2.2b) with 80,000, Phinma Education Network (PEN) with 50,000, and Far Eastern University with 40,000.

But even in the Philippines, discomfort with the concept of profit-seeking schools persisted and the government remained sensitive to populist pressures. The Philippine Commission on Higher Education (CHED) requires private HEIs to conduct consultations with stakeholders, including students and faculty, before it will grant approval for tuition increases. A law also prescribes that 70 percent of the tuition increase approved should go to faculty and staff, and 20 percent for school improvements. Only 10 percent of the increment can go to the education entrepreneurs.

CORPORATIZATION

The entry of private capital into the education sector almost inevitably led to the adoption of private enterprise practices in the management of HEIs. These practices sometimes amounted to no more than a change of names: Chancellors and Rectors become Presidents, and Provosts become Chief Operating Officers, or Executive Vice Presidents. They also included the expansion in the scope of old offices and the introduction of new ones with the growing complexity of the legal, business, and technology concerns that academic institution had to address. The Buildings Administrator may now require more credentials and a higher rank to assume responsibility for environmental concerns. Some universities appoint an executive for information technology or for the management of their investment funds.

Management as a discipline also contributed to this trend as business schools began to study the organization and operations of academic institutions and to offer training programs for their executives. The continuous improvement and total quality management movement have expanded to the academic sector, with universities seeking International Organization for Standardization certification for their administrative processes. Business schools, as tertiary-level institutions, have taken the lead in extending efforts toward quality assurance to the curriculum. But universities, including those in the public sector, have also adopted this approach.

Faced with massification pressures, state universities also had to deal with budget concerns and have started to collect fees from their students. Under a policy framework granting greater autonomy to universities, governments effectively required the practice. Autonomy gave HEIs more flexibility in determining their academic activities, but required that they also raise funds to supplement the government budget. Autonomy freed the state from the obligation to fund SUCs fully.

Corporatization has become controversial in its application of cost–benefit principles to academic decisions. HEIs have begun to compute what it costs to run a course and how many students are needed to enroll in it to break even. Research proposals need to include the potential revenue they may generate, as

one of the factors considered for their approval. Engineering and the sciences, with clear, commercial applications in the market, gain an edge with these metrics. The humanities and the arts, where enrollment has also declined, have pressed for affirmative action policies to help them survive.

INTERNATIONALIZATION

An executive to handle an office for international students, or, more broadly, for internationalization projects is another new concern for HEIs. Initially, support for international education related to access. Restrictions on the admission of the indigenous population to tertiary level institutions in the colony led to those with the motivation and the means to seek higher learning overseas, primarily in their respective colonial capitals: Filipinos going to Madrid, Malaysians and Burmese to London, Indo-Chinese to France, and Indonesians to Amsterdam.

After gaining independence, the task of rebuilding educational systems from the ravages of war, anti-colonial resistance, and internal conflict attracted international support. The largest and most successful initiative was the Fulbright Fellowship program, which provided funding to bring academics, many from HEIs in developing countries, to American universities to obtain their PhD degrees before returning to their home institutions.

In Southeast Asia, newly independent states governing multiethnic societies enforced protectionist policies to favor politically dominant indigenous groups. Immigrant communities, mainly Chinese, had to look for university places abroad. In Malaysia, the issue of access also led to UK and, later, Australian universities establishing collaborative programs with Malaysian institutions, following a variety of models. A program might allow students to take all their academic studies in a Malaysian institution, with a partner in the UK sending external examiners to evaluate these courses for accreditation in the UK and periodically deploying their own faculty to teach some courses in Malaysia. "Twinning" arrangements permitted students to begin tertiary studies of their courses in Malaysia for one or two years before moving to the UK institution to spend the additional years necessary to receive degrees from both partner universities. Eventually, with the passage of more liberal laws, UK universities established branch campuses in Malaysia.

While access remained an important element in the internationalization of higher education in Asia, other drivers have assumed greater importance in the last two decades. Asian universities looked at partnerships with universities in the developed countries as a way of raising the quality of their own educational programs. Partnerships facilitated a process of technology transfer of pedagogy and curriculum content to enhance standard courses and start up new areas of study.

Privatization and corporatization had introduced the novel idea that academic institutions dependent on paying customers needed promotional, branding, and marketing support to broaden their base. Even nonprofit HEIs have

joined the game, including in their budgets resources to cover advertisements in mass media outlets. Alliances with First-World universities of established credentials burnished the brand, the association producing a halo effect reflecting on the less prominent institution.

With transportation and communications technology shrinking distance and compressing time, internationalization increasingly became a desirable objective to be pursued for its own sake. Contagion from assorted types of crises—tsunamis and other climatic disturbances, Middle East Respiratory Syndrome and other diseases of pandemic proportions, terrorism, the bursting of a business bubble in one economy—had the potential to breach national borders and to infect countries around the world. It was no longer prudent to assume that developments at distant points of the globe and be would not impact on other places.

Well-educated citizens had to know about their own country but should also develop an awareness of what was happening in the rest of the world. Enriching the curriculum with more international relations content was an obvious and relatively inexpensive way of promoting this awareness. But universities aspiring to achieve “world-class quality” and “global competitiveness” sought to move beyond academic content to provide students with cross-cultural experience through faculty and student exchange programs. This was a more costly proposition, as well as more complicated in requiring changes in university systems. In terms of public perception, however, the visible proof that an institution was truly international in character and quality became the proportion of foreign students and faculty admitted into its programs and the proportion of national students and faculty that foreign universities would consider suitable for theirs.

Altruism aside, why would universities acknowledged for their excellence divert resources to partner with weaker institutions? From the national foreign policy perspective, the opportunity to provide higher education for the nationals of other countries was a projection of soft power. During the period of the Cold War, both the USA and the USSR provided educational assistance to their allies, actual and potential.

The appeal to foreign students of American and English HEIs, however, predated the Cold War. Traditionally, England and the USA had attracted the largest number of foreign students. Other European countries had equally old and prestigious universities, but England enjoyed the advantage of the many colonies it had governed and the spread of the English language among them. American universities benefitted from, and contributed to, the spread of English and consolidated its dominance through the strength of its research centers, post-graduate programs, and scholarly journals. The collapse of Communism and its Superpower status also helped; soft power worked better when the country also carried a big stick. United Nations conferences provide simultaneous translation into several languages, but English had clearly emerged as the working international language for diplomacy and business. Europe has yielded to the demand for academic mobility, growing the number of programs

conducted in English over 11 times, from 725 in 2001 to 8089 in 2014 (IECF Monitor 2014a).

Australia has emerged as a new education power, leveraging the strength of its English language programs and its proximity to the Asian market. Enrollment in English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) grew 31 percent in the last two years to reach over 163,000 students in 2014, boosting the international education market; about two-thirds of those who complete ELICOS programs continue their studies in Australia. In 2013, education services accounted for over \$15 billion AUD, ranking third behind iron and coal exports.

The War on Terror and tighter border controls, following the 9/11 attack, made it difficult for foreign students, especially those from Muslim countries, to pursue higher education not only in the USA but also in Europe. This paved the way for other exporters of higher education services to emerge. In the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) region, Singapore, Malaysia, and, to a certain extent, Thailand (for the Greater Mekong Subregion [GMS] countries), pursued this goal as a policy objective.

Such was the demand for higher education that even the Philippines became a destination for foreign students seeking to learn English, but also to acquire professional qualifications in specific fields in which its HEIs were known to excel. Students from Korea and China, from pre-university students to professionals, found English-language lessons adequate and more affordable in the Philippines (IECF Monitor 2014b). Programs in the health sciences attracted students from South Asia and the Middle East. More recently, Nigerians have pressed access to schools preparing seamen for the merchant marine industry.

In the end, the market arguably has proved to be the dominant driver for internationalization. If the educational products that HEIs had were commodities with a value, then they could be traded even across international boundaries. The inclusion of educational services within the framework of the World Trade Organization legitimized and promoted the internationalization of higher education, generating revenue for the universities and the countries that could attract foreign students and operate campuses overseas. A 2015 survey conducted in 16 countries around the world—including China, India, Brazil, Indonesia, Mexico, and Turkey—showed that 77 percent of the respondents would consider sending their child abroad for either undergraduate or post-graduate studies. Of those who would consider an international education, nearly half were prepared to pay a 25 percent premium above the cost of university education at home and about 25 percent were willing to pay 50 percent more to send their children abroad.

BARRIERS TO MOBILITY

Academic mobility programs, especially those involving students, required certain preconditions; faculty exchange programs were relatively easier to

arrange because they involved smaller numbers. The importance accorded to the internationalization goal by ASEAN shows in the willingness of member countries to align their higher education systems with those followed in Europe, the USA, and Australia–New Zealand with whose universities they wish to partner.

In Southeast Asia, one constraint was the diversity in the different countries' academic calendar, with the opening of classes taking place in March, June, or July, where in the West, universities began sessions in late August or September. To achieve meaningful scale in exchange arrangements, students had to be able to move seamlessly from a term in one country to the next term in another. By 2016, most of the universities pursuing mobility programs will have moved university opening sessions to late August or September.

The more thorny issue involved the comparability of the course coverage and the academic standards of partner universities. This problem also confronted the European Union (EU) in the 1990s, when it promoted the Bologna Process in the 1990s to ensure the compatibility, comparability, and coherence of the higher education systems maintained by its member states (WENR 2015). The Bologna Process had the benefit of building on the experience of the Erasmus Program, which had supported a program of student exchanges among EU universities in the 1980s. Still, the launch of the European Higher Education Area, proposed in 1999, happened only with its Declaration at the Budapest Vienna Ministerial Conference in 2010 (European Higher Education Area 2015).

As in Europe, the drive for regional integration promoted collaboration in the human resource development sector as a common goal in Southeast Asia. In 1965, the Ministers of Education of Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, South Vietnam, and Thailand established the Southeast Asia Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) to promote regional cooperation in education, science, and culture. In addition to maintaining a Secretariat in Bangkok, SEAMEO established a network of regional centers focused on specific educational areas, such as science and mathematics, English, and tropical medicine. In 1993, with Thai government support, SEAMEO adopted, reorganized, and relocated the Regional Institute for Higher Education and Development (RIHED) from Singapore to Bangkok. As SEAMEO expanded the scope of its mission and influence, RIHED developed as the Center focused on helping align the higher education systems of the member countries and facilitating academic exchange, collaborative research, and policy discussions among their stakeholders. Among the institutional mechanisms established by RIHED were the regular consultations among the SEAMEO Directors-General of Higher Education.

The establishment of ASEAN in 1968 provided a broader platform for building a regional community. Initially focused on security issues arising from the Cold War confrontations in Indochina, ASEAN expanded its membership to include all the countries represented in SEAMEO and

expanded its concerns to cover economic and sociocultural issues. The ASEAN process eventually involved regular meetings of the leaders heading the key ministries.

Because the education ministers already met at the SEAMEO annual conference, ASEAN did not convene a ministerial meeting for education, but it did engage with education officials at the sub-cabinet level through ASEAN Subcommittee on Education (ASCOE). An ASCOE study in 1994 explored the feasibility of founding an ASEAN University. At a time when the ASEAN countries had established and were strengthening their flagship academic institutions, the study advised against a bricks-and-mortar project to build a new university and recommended instead the organization of a network of the leading ASEAN universities. In 1995, ASEAN established the ASEAN University Network (AUN) of 13 universities. Support from the Thai government enabled AUN to establish in 2000 a permanent secretariat in the campus of Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok.

The mandate of AUN and RIHED overlapped, but the proximity of their offices in Bangkok and the fact that their heads were often professional colleagues in Thai universities and/or the Ministry of Education facilitated their coordination, as did the inclusion of the SEAMEO Secretariat Director in the AUN board. A joint SEAMEO–ASEAN project in 2003–2006 for a closer integration of their respective initiatives in education also facilitated the coordination between the two agencies. The two institutions agreed that the education ministers would hold two-day annual meetings, taking one day for ASEAN and the other day for SEAMEO. This format became necessary because the two associations did not share an identical set of members. Timor Leste was a member of SEAMEO, but not of ASEAN, and the two organizations had different dialogue partners or associate members.

AUN began with 13 universities, expanding by 2015 to include 30 of the region's leading HEIs. All of Singapore's three universities were in the network. Indonesia, with over 4000 HEIs, had one more university in AUN than Singapore. AUN's elite group of HEIs included those with the aspiration and in the best position to partner with their counterparts in the developed countries. Because AUN had a smaller group of roughly comparable institutions to work with, it could pioneer pilot projects on issues such as curriculum development, quality assurance, student mobility, and credit transfer arrangements. It could serve as a bridge to link ASEAN HEIs among themselves and with their counterparts in the developed countries.

For the task of preparing less developed HEIs in the region to address the same issues, RIHED, with its closer links to the ASEAN education ministries, was better placed to render assistance. It was RIHED, with Asian Development Bank funding support, that facilitated the process leading 23 universities from the countries of the GMS (Cambodia, China, Laos, and Myanmar) to form a consortium during a meeting in Vientiane, Laos, in July 2015.

CROSS-CURRENTS

The division of labor between RIHED and AUN in ASEAN mirrors the segmentation that has developed among and within developing countries, while undergoing the global processes of massification, privatization, and internationalization. Many countries have reached a stage where their best HEIs can compete at the international level. Within ASEAN, Singapore leads the region, but the top universities of Brunei, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Thailand have improved their international reputation. But by the criteria monitored by global university ranking systems, a significant gap still separates the HEIs of the region from those in developed countries. The Times Higher Education World University Rankings counted eight HEIs in the top 100 list, three from Japan, three from China/Hong Kong, two from Singapore, and one from South Korea (Times Higher Education 2015)

The priority given to access and the strategy of privatization have also increased the number of HEIs in Asia and widened the diversity among them. Beyond access, where all the ASEAN countries have made impressive progress, the issues of retention, relevance, quality, and equity have emerged. The best private schools can focus almost exclusively on quality, now measured against international benchmarks. They have no problems attracting students and they can be ruthless in dropping students who fail to meet their standards. Governments have to cover all of these interlinked but independent variables, which, like access, many have pursued as separable objectives.

For the students to reap the benefits of education, however, access, retention, relevance, quality, and equity describe an arc that must be sequentially traversed. Admission to college will not mean much to students if they are unable to complete their studies. Completing the course may not pay off if the program is not relevant to what will face them after college. The relevance of courses will be irrelevant if the quality of instruction leads to low learning outcomes.

Governments own the goal of equity. It is responsible for ensuring that their students have access across the educational system to instruction of a comparable level of quality that is acceptable to the market. Rampant privatization has undoubtedly permitted substandard institutions to operate. But some state schools in the Philippines fare no better than some private schools in providing their students with the preparation needed to pass the government's own licensure examinations for the legal, accounting, and teaching professions. Tolerating substandard HEIs, whether private or public, to continue defrauding students violates a government's accountability to uphold equity.

The rising cost of higher education has focused attention on the issue of retention. The failure of students to complete their courses within the prescribed academic period is a problem even for HEIs in the USA, where a completion rate beyond 50 percent is regarded as acceptable. But American students who drop out of higher education arguably have better chances of going back to college than for their counterparts in developing countries. High

dropout rates squander financial resources and, even more important, demoralize students and diminish their prospects for the future.

Some HEIs in the Philippines have begun to make the reduction of dropout rates a specific target. PEN, a private, for-profit corporation operating five HEIs across the main island groups of the Philippines, has focused on the low-income market for education. The students they accept come from provincial public high schools, arriving with inadequate preparation for college, especially in their command of English, typically several grades lower than expected for Grade 11 students.

Helping students stay in higher education has required a comprehensive strategy to deal with the factors PEN has identified as critical to success: the ability and aptitude of freshman enrollees, their motivation, and their social preparedness for a school environment bigger and more intimidating than that to which what they were accustomed. The strategy included orientation sessions at the start of the school year, where senior students talked about the transition problems they experienced and what helped them to cope; guidance in advising freshmen on their choice of major programs; and close monitoring of students at risk because of either academic or financial reasons. PEN organized tutorial sessions involving both faculty and advanced students. Those who failed subjects were encouraged to repeat them, at half the regular tuition rate.

Describing the university as an ivory tower did not use to be such a pejorative dismissal of its role. In the last 40 years, however, HEIs have faced questions about their relevance in increasing volume and intensity. The criticism has come most loudly from employers, complaining that they are not producing the graduates that they need. Large companies have resorted to establishing their own training centers, even their own “universities” to ensure that they will have employees with the skills they require. The mismatch between the graduates of the HEIs and the needs of the market has become a recurring refrain in the region.

The speed at which the market changes poses a problem for HEIs and was one source of the mismatch. HEIs tended to move at a more measured pace, with the approval process for offering new courses typically requiring the endorsement of several academic and administrative committees. The private, for-profit HEIs respond more quickly to market signals. But even entrepreneurial HEI executives must deal with government accreditation and approval processes that delay the implementation of new programs.

“Mismatch” is, perhaps, not the appropriate term to describe the situation when graduates simply fail to bring to the company the level of job-preparedness that employers expect. Companies invest in training programs for new employees, to orient them to policies and procedures they are expected to follow and to introduce them to the corporate culture. But the new hires are expected to bring with them the skill sets of the profession they studied, as well as soft skills, English communication skills, and those needed in managing interpersonal relationships, for instance, that they should also have learned in

college. Deficiencies in these areas reflect on the quality of the education provided in HEIs. In 2012, the Philippine Department of Labor and Employment identified 150,000 “hard-to-fill” jobs looking for applicants. Nearly half of the jobs were for clerical and call center positions (Philippine Statistics Authority 2014).

The Philippine BPO sector, already larger than India’s, employs close to a million people. For the next five years, the industry wants to recruit 100,000 call center agents. College graduates apply for a job that does not really require completion of a four-year college program. Out of 100 applicants to the industry, only five to eight qualify for employment. This represents, perhaps, an extreme case of “mismatch,” but the problem exists in other industries and in other countries.

It is somewhat ironic that as developing countries ramp up access to university education, business and industry are suggesting that many jobs they need to fill do not require a university degree; a shorter academic track, combined with an internship program with a company, would prepare students adequately for the job. The danger is that the developing country market will persist in the pursuit of university degrees, when the evidence suggests that these are superfluous. Studies are showing that even in Europe and the US employers will be recruiting for middle skills, those requiring training beyond high school but attainable in less than the four years of a degree program. An Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development study estimated that technicians and associate professionals would be able to cover overall employment growth in the EU. Georgetown University’s Center on Education and the Work Force projected that a college degree or higher will be needed for only 35 percent of the 55 million job openings in the USA to 2020 (IECF Monitor 2014c).

Within ASEAN, the theme of strengthening academe–industry linkages is gaining currency. This was one of the areas discussed as an area of collaboration among the members of the GMS University Consortium in Vientiane. Philippine Business for Education, with support from US AID, has convened in the last four years an annual education summit. The last two meetings have focused on expanding and strengthening academe–industry linkages.

Countries have had to temper their pursuit of English as the international medium of communication, for instance, recognizing that the bulk of the population communicate through the national language or even prefer the mother tongue in multi-language societies. In the early 1970s, Prime Minister Mahathir changed the medium of instruction in the school system from English to Bahasa. The government tried to restore the use of English in the schools for math and science in the in the early 2000s, but had to give up the effort. In East Malaysia, in the meantime, the indigenous peoples of Sabah and Sarawak were lobbying for the use of mother tongue in their schools.

In the Philippines, business and government worry about the decline of English proficiency in the country, even as foreigners flock to centers of English-language instruction. President Benigno Aquino III is the first president who uses Filipino in all his national addresses. Most television stations broadcast

mainly in the national language, with the partial exception of the cable channels. A television station has begun to broadcast news in four other indigenous languages. CHED established a Committee on Internationalization in 2014. One of its concerns was the proliferation of Philippine HEIs offering their academic programs overseas. CHED noted that many of these schools were not the top-ranking HEIs in the country and appeared to be exporting programs mainly to generate revenue. The quality of programs marketed by a few schools was bound to reflect on the quality of the entire system. HEIs trying to raise the quality of their programs by importing faculty from the developed countries, on the other hand, faced problems with the regulations of agencies concerned with immigration, visas, labor and employment, and national security. Academic mobility is not the province of education ministries alone, not in the Philippines and not in the region.

Governments in Asia will continue to pronounce their commitment to aligning their educational systems to global trends. To the best of their ability, will allocate funds to strengthen the HEIs best prepared for credit transfer arrangements and academic mobility. Malaysia's Education Blueprint 2015–2025, for instance, aims to raise tertiary enrolment from 36 percent to 53 percent and to place two universities in the Global Top 100 and one in Asia's Top 25 (ICEF 2015). But a fixation on rankings in countries burdened by budgetary constraints, suggests Jamil Salmi (2014), former World Bank Tertiary Education Coordinator, may create “dangerous distortions in resource allocation in favor of a few flagship institutions, to the detriment of the overall tertiary education system.”

In the end, national priorities must take precedence over the ambition to be counted among those countries distinguished by world-class universities. Recognizing the demand of the majority of the population for basic services, governments in developing countries ignore these priorities at their peril.

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Prospects of Higher Education in the Asian Region with Specific Reference to China

Jinghuan Shi, Lyeong Jo, and Jiayi Li

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, globalization has reached a new stage named Globalization 3.0 by Thomas Friedman (2005) in which all competitors have equal opportunities to compete, differentiating from the previous Globalization 1.0 in which nation-states were the main protagonists and Globalization 2.0 in which multinational companies led the way in driving global integration. The globalized and fast-moving society also accelerates the changing pace of higher education (HE) and “the very foundations of centuries-old university concept are under attack as never before” (Nature 2014).

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HE IN ASIA

The concept of internationalization has been widely used in analyzing the development of HE in recent years. Academic study has helped us to clearly differentiate the dual processes of globalization and internationalization. While globalization refers to economic, political, and societal forces pushing HE toward greater international involvement, internationalization includes policies and practices undertaken by academic systems and institutions—and even individuals—to cope with the global academic environment (Altbach and Knight 2007).

The global economy is making the world smaller and the nation-states closer. Irina Bokova, the Director General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), depicted the situation in

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following manner: “the world is globalizing quickly—exchanges have never been so rich, nor connections so deep” (Bokova 2014). As the world becomes more and more a community of common destiny, education becomes more and more of a means to strengthen the interconnection and interdependence among countries (Shi 2012).

The global economic integration has increased the demand for international talents. The expansion of cross-border HE has brought about the international mobility of students, academic staff, program, institutions, and knowledge. Asia-Pacific attracts much attention in the globalization process because it has the fastest growing HE market resulting from rapid economic growth in many countries in the region. In 2010, globally more than 4.1 million tertiary students were enrolled outside their country of citizenship and more than half of these students were from Asia (OECD 2012).

Scholars have observed that in Asian countries, there existed several waves of internationalization of HE over the past few centuries. “The first wave involved students travelling to the West to study, which was typical of the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth century. The second wave involved Western institutions establishing an international presence through collaboration with local counterparts in offering joint programs. The third wave, over the past few decades, involved the creation of branch campuses in the Asia Pacific region, especially in Singapore and Malaysia” (Mazzarol et al. 2003). Anthony B.L. Cheung from Hong Kong added the fourth wave, which is “to build up reputable local universities and joint international institutions, both to retain local talent as well as to attract foreign students.” He believes that “the rise of Asia in the twenty-first century represents alternative routes to modernity” and strongly proposes “Asia-centered internationalization strategies” (Cheung 2012, 181).

Asian countries and territories, especially those from East Asia, such as China, Japan, and the Asian Little Dragons (South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Singapore), have made great efforts in developing HE and created a distinctive model of HE and university-based research that many emerging nations would like to imitate. Across East Asia, governments have invested heavily on top universities and basic research. The access to vocational and junior colleges has been greatly expanded. Generally speaking, HE in emerging Asian countries is treated “not only as part of nation-building, but also as an extension of their national ‘soft power’—to enable them to become more competitive in the global human capital economy” (Cheung 2012, 178).

The major element of internationalization in HE is understood as “expanding international student mobility” (Wende 2011). In this competitive era, the international employment opportunities place high value on internationalized curriculum, generic skills, and the subject matter and technical knowledge from the graduates. Culture, economy, ideology, knowledge transmission, and development of human resources are given much emphasis in the internationalization of a university. Internationalized universities are supposed to produce

high-quality graduates, who would be more flexible and adaptable to different working environments and therefore would be able to gain employment in the global labor market. The challenge is how to internationalize universities in the Asian region so as to produce high-caliber graduates.

QUALITY AND GOVERNANCE OF HE IN ASIA

Quality has always been a critical issue in HE and even more so in recent times. Statistical data show that the global enrollment of tertiary students was 97 million in 2000, 178 million in 2010, and projected to reach 263 million in 2025. In this context, UNESCO proclaimed in its document *UNESCO Education Strategy 2014–2021* that developing educational systems to foster quality and inclusive lifelong education for all is the first strategic objective and HE is among the three strategic thematic areas targeted for the first half of the period covered by the strategy (2014–2017) (UNESCO 2014). Focusing on HE, UNESCO identified three key areas to work on. The first one is open distance learning as represented by innovative models such as open education resources and massive open online courses. The second area is the internationalization of HE as shown in the mobility of students/professionals/programs across borders and the recognition of qualifications in HE. The third area is on reforms in the governance of universities including quality assurance (QA) mechanisms.

“Governance” and “quality” are complex problems in HE policy as described by Glen Jones (2013) because the stakeholders who are associated with the problems have different perspectives and different frameworks for understanding the problems. Thus, solutions to the problems are neither right nor wrong and in most times, the problems were not even solved completely.

Asia-Pacific countries have experienced an explosive growth in HE in the past few decades and there is much concern on the QA of HE in the region. The Regional Report of Asia and the Pacific (UNESCO 2014) defines QA in HE as systematic management and assessment procedures to monitor the performance of HE institutions. Despite vast diversity among Asian countries, most of them are convinced that QA is of utmost importance to the competitiveness of their HE systems. QA is also critical in the progressive internationalization of HE. The following is a brief description of various QA mechanisms that are found in some of the Asia-Pacific countries:

China The evaluation of HE in China began on a trial basis in 1985. The Interim Regulation of HE Institution Evaluation was then issued in 1990 and the Ministry of Education established the Higher Education Evaluation Center (HEEC) in 2004. Quality has become a central issue in the HE sector in China over the last decade and more details are provided in the next section.

Japan Japan only managed to make its HE evaluation and QA system work since the beginning of the 1990s, though Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA) was established as early as 1947. It has developed a two-

track evaluation system combining self-evaluation and external assessment. The basic feature of the system is to value the diversification and pluralization of higher education institutions (HEIs).

South Korea The first systematic and detailed evaluation of Korean universities occurred in 1982, with the establishment of the Korean Council for University Education. From 2005, the academic program evaluation, which was similar to the program accreditation cycle, was conducted on the basis of five-year terms.

Taiwan University evaluation in Taiwan started in 1975. The first opportunity to conduct a private HE institutions' mid-term strategic plan with governmental financial support occurred in 1980. Since 2006, a strong emphasis was placed on the implementation and promotion of Discipline/Field Assessment (Cheng 2009).

India The National Assessment and Accreditation Council was established by the University Grants Commission in 1994. It is the only External QA agency in India and it follows a grading system in accrediting institutions (Prasad 2009).

Malaysia The Malaysian National Accreditation Board (or Lembaga Akreditasi Negara) was established in 1997, and it was in charge of QA for private HE programs. In late 2007, the Malaysian Qualification Agency was established as an overall integrated agency for QA of both public and private HEIs.

Philippines The public HEIs established the Accrediting Agency of Chartered Colleges and Universities of the Philippines in 1987. The government initiated the Presidential Commission for Education Reform to study the QA issue in 2000 (Ordonez and Regina 2009).

Australia Australian universities have a long history of having internal systems and processes to assure quality. The 2006 International Student Survey results show that the two important factors for students to decide to study in Australia are quality of education and safe and secure environment (Shah et al. 2011). HE reached a historic landmark point in Australia in 2012 and the changes of national funding policy required the establishment of a national regulator, Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency (TEQSA) and some initial Threshold Standards. The replacement of Australian Universities Quality Agency by TEQSA, represents "a conceptual shift: from fitness for purpose to standards" (Richard 2013).

It can be concluded from the above cases that quality of HE has been recognized as a big concern in Asian countries. Many governments have mandated a system of QA which usually focuses on the establishment of minimal quality standards which may be easy to achieve by good HEIs but require significant efforts to be achieved by other HEIs. Although some of the QA agencies are quite independent of the government, such as JUAA, Philippines Accrediting Association for Schools, Colleges, and Universities, there is increasing public interests and governmental involvement in the QA movement in many of the Asian countries.

CHINA’S HE DEVELOPMENT WITH THE ECONOMIC UPRISING AND REFORM

The ending of the “Cultural Revolution” in 1978 was a landmark in China. Together there came the open-door policy and the idea of constructing a strong modernized socialist country with Chinese characteristics. What happened in the following 30 years, as seen by the whole world, China experienced unprecedented economic growth and social transition as shown in Fig. 15.1.

Within 30 years, China became the second largest economy in the world. Chinese urbanization rate exceeded 50 percent in 2012, compared with 19.39 percent in 1980s (shown in Fig. 15.2). The data benchmarked the first time in China’s history that the urban population surpassed the rural population who mainly lives on agriculture.

Together with China’s economic success, great emphasis has been placed on developing a robust HE system that can fully support the rapid economic growth and social transformations. Since 1998, when the central government began expanding HE, the system has seen unprecedented changes such as the rapid increase of student enrollment, structural reorganization, institutional mergers, an improvement of educational programs, and so forth (Shi and Englert 2007).

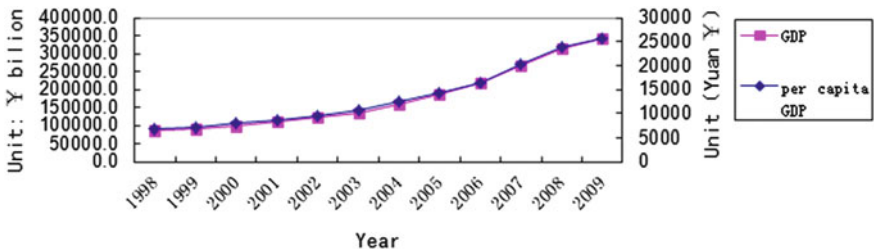


Fig. 15.1 China’s GDP and GDP per capita 1998–2009 (Source: Department of Development and Planning Ministry of Education (2009))

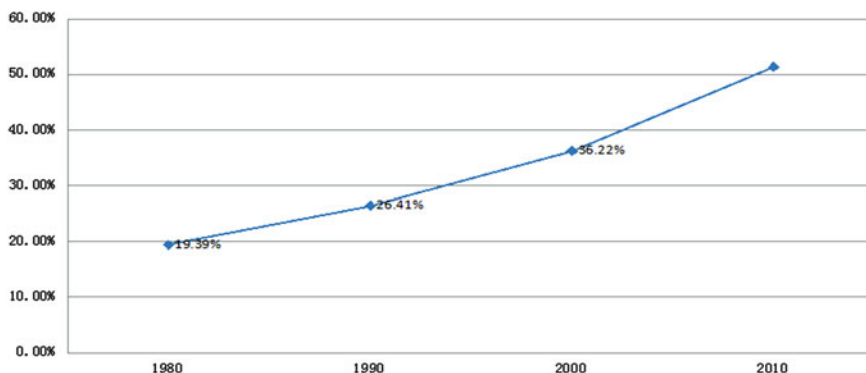


Fig. 15.2 Urbanization rate of China (*Source: The State Council (2009)*)

MASSIFICATION OF HE IN CHINA

One of the most notable changes was the transformation of the Chinese HE system from elite to mass education. The gross enrollment ratio (GER) before 1997 was consistently less than 7 percent which was far lower than the 15 percent criterion for mass HE according to Trow's classification (Wan 2006). However, the GER jumped from 9.8 percent in 1998 to 15 percent in 2002 within only four years, thus entering into the “massification” stage.

From 1998 to 2009, the aggregate enrollment grew at an annual rate of 17 percent and the total student enrollment in post-secondary education institutions in 2010 was over 30 million, almost a fivefold increase of that in 1998 as shown in Fig. 15.3. In 2009, there was a total of 2305 HEIs as compared with 1283 in 1998. Together with the rapid expansion of HEIs, the number of students enrolled also increased sharply as shown in Fig. 15.4.

During this period, market forces in China have been activated and the whole socio-economic system has become globalized. Reform efforts took place in all the sectors, from fiscal policy, taxation, financial system, foreign trade, planning, investment, to the housing, social welfare, and so on. Market forces play a more important role and a macro adjustment framework came into being.

Since the 1980s, the market mechanism has penetrated the HE sector resulting in the privatization and diversification of HE. HEIs run by the non-state sectors include the enterprises-run institutions, social-forces-operated agencies, and other types of private HE institutions came into being. At the end of 2002, a specific law for promoting private education was issued and private education grew rapidly afterwards. By the year of 2009, the number of registered private HE institutions reached 656, making up 28.5 percent of the total number HE institutions as shown in Table 15.1.

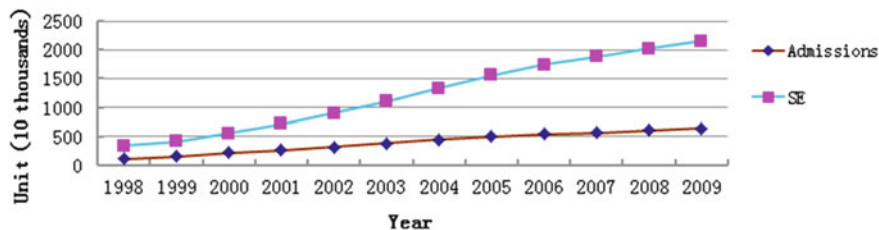


Fig. 15.3 Admissions and student enrollments of HEIs 1998–2009 (Source: Department of Development and Planning Ministry of Education (2009))

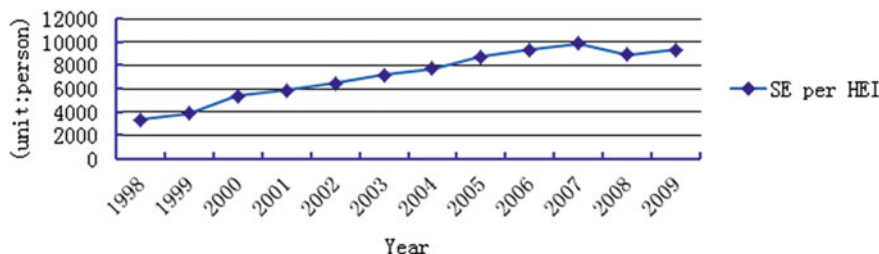


Fig. 15.4 Student Enrollments (SE) per HEI 1998–2009 (Source: Department of Development and Planning Ministry of Education (2009))

Table 15.1 Registered private HEIs and percentages

	Post-secondary level	Undergraduate	Vocational college
2002	131 (9.4 %)	4 (0.6 %)	127 (16.6 %)
2009	656 (28.5 %)	370 (33.9 %)	286 (23.5 %)

Source: China Education Year Book (2002, 2009); Department of Development and Planning Ministry of Education (2002, 2009)

ENLARGED AUTONOMY OF HEIS

Autonomy of HEIs implies that HEIs have the right to independently make decisions and implement internal matters such as developing curricula, organizing departments, offering academic programs, hiring faculty and staff, implementing research projects and exchange activities, and the like. However, such seemingly natural autonomy of HEIs did not belong to them a couple of decades ago. In recent years, the government gradually realized the pitfalls of the previous highly hierarchical system and excessive government intervention in the HE system. The rigid nature of political orders restricted the self-innovation and self-evolution of the HE system, which was supposed to be able to spon-

taneously modify its general direction based on the changing demand of labor markets and the socio-economic context of the society. Therefore, in 1998, the Law of Higher Education was promulgated defining the autonomy of HEIs. After the Law, the State Council and Ministry of Education issued more documents to further explain the HE autonomy and facilitate its implementations.

Increasing the autonomy of HEIs is a part of the overall reform, which in current China, refers to the “construction of the modern university system” which has three major components: the university constitution as a “root” of legal foundation; a clear mission statement as a “soul” of core value, and a good governance as a “bone” of the system (Shi 2014). China’s HEIs, in the traditional hierarchical pattern, functioned more like affiliated departments of the government with a little room of autonomy. The document “Temporary Regulation on the Construction of the University Constitution” issued by the Ministry of Education in 2011 (Ministry of Education 2011) representing the deepening of the comprehensive reform in HE, proclaimed that all state-run universities need to draw up the university constitution. By 2014, 32 universities have published the constitutions, including Peking University, Tsinghua University, China People’s University, and other top state-run universities. Clarification of the university’s autonomy appears to be one of the core items in the constitution.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HE IN CHINA

Open-door policy, which started in 1978, has brought tremendous changes in the Chinese society. Going global, both geographically and mentally, represents the most notable changes.

In September 2003, the State Council started implementing the “Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Chinese Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools.” This document particularly encourages local universities to cooperate with renowned overseas universities in fostering student exchange, research collaboration, and joint-degree programs. Students were sent abroad to study in many parts of the world, and collaborative partnerships in academic exchange and socio-economic development have been established with many countries, allowing for interesting experiments in knowledge transfer and adaptation. Approximately 144,000 students left China to study abroad in 2007, and 44,000 returned from abroad in the same year (Department of Development and Planning Ministry of Education 2009). China is fast becoming one of the most popular study abroad destinations for international students. China attracts large number of students throughout Asia, especially from developed countries such as South Korea and Japan. With the Projects 211 and 985, China aims to develop a number of its top universities to be world class and these selected universities were given more resources to pursue world-class standing with the hope that these universities will bring new vitality and cultural resources into the world community.

According to the 2014 international student statistical data from Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China, there were 377,054 students from 203 countries and regions studying in 31 provinces, 775 HEIs, scientific research institutes, and other teaching institutions. South Korea, the USA, Thailand, Russia, and Japan were the top five countries with the most students in China. Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin were the most popular cities for international students. Students pursuing degree course were 43.60 percent of total, 11.16 percent more than 2013. Those pursuing master and PhD degrees were more than 18.20 percent than that in 2013. Out of the total international students, 90.2 percent were self-supporting (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China 2014).

Based on the Ministry of Education statistics of 2014, 459,800 Chinese went to study abroad and 423,000 of them were self-supporting and there were 364,800 Chinese returnees. Compared to the statistical data of 2013, 2014 saw 11.09 percent more Chinese study abroad and 3.20 percent more returnees. From 1978 to the end of 2014, a total of 3.5184 million Chinese studied abroad. Since China's reform and opening policy, 1.8096 million Chinese students (74.48 percent) returned to China after they graduated (Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China 2014).

The internationalization efforts of HE in China can be categorized into three models. The first is a *state-led model*, which has clear national goals and the activities are mainly supported by the state and are directly under the supervision of the government. In the early stage of the open-door policy in the 1980s, China mainly followed this model. The second is a *university-led model*, which aims at fulfilling particular institutional needs, especially when universities were given more institutional autonomy and they strived for stronger cooperation with their international partners. This model is usually adopted by the top comprehensive research universities, which have both the resources and autonomy to carry out such activities. A good example is that of Tsinghua University which recently initiated two groundbreaking programs called Schwarzman College (Scholar) Program and Global Innovation Exchange (GIX). The Schwarzman College, located in Tsinghua campus, is designed to cultivate future leaders with a global vision and a good understanding of Chinese culture and society. It will enroll 100 of the best undergraduates in 2016 (later increased to 200) from all over the world for 1 year master degree studies in Tsinghua University focusing on international relations, economics, and public policies. The GIX program is supported by Microsoft, located in Seattle. It will pioneer new models of global teaching and learning which connect students and faculty directly with research-led companies as well as non-governmental organizations in a holistic, project-based environment that will prepare students to solve global issues through technological innovations. The third one is a *government/university cooperative model*, which integrates the goals of both state and institutions. The interests of the two sides are kept in balance and this will be the model for the future.

THE CHALLENGES AND REFORM EFFORTS IN CHINA'S HE

Mr. Li Keqiang, the Premier of the China's State Council, said in the Third Session of the 12th National People's Congress in 2015 that the country is in "a crucial period" and the economic development has entered "a new normal" stage. We must be "mindful of the difficulties and challenges on the road ahead, continue to promote development in a sound and balanced way through reform and speed up the transformation of the growth model so as to achieve quality, efficient, and sustainable development." (Li 2015).

Summarizing the challenges China is facing in HE, the following issues need mentioning:

Pressure from the Industrial Upgrading

The economic growth of China for the past three decades has been resource dependent, relying heavily on labor and natural resources. The GDP energy consumption per unit is much higher than the global average, while the resource allocation per capita is a lot less than the global average. For instance, petroleum and gas per capita in China is only 1/15 of the world average, and arable lands per capita only 30 percent of the world average. Because of limited natural resources, China can no longer support the traditionally high-energy-consuming yet low-efficiency growth model. Constant increasing cost has pushed almost all the economic sectors, from manufacturing to transportation, to the non-optional industrial upgrading for a more environmentally friendly and energy-efficient economy.

From the perspective of national competitiveness, reports released by the World Economic Forum pointed out that the social economic development of a country can be divided into three stages as shown in Fig. 15.5. The first stage is factor-driven model, in which a nation's economic growth is primarily reliant on raw materials and labors with very basic education. The second stage is efficiency-driven model, in which national competitiveness is manifested through HE, vocational education, efficient resource allocation by market, and advancement of technology. The third model is innovation-driven, where the core competitiveness is displayed through innovation, research, and development of new technology and products.

Although for the past decade China has stepped into the second phase of efficiency-driven economic growth, the national competitiveness is still weak compared to developed countries in terms of technology utilization, HE and vocational education development, national innovative capacity, and so on. Moreover, the modernization of industries requires modification of the HE system. Modernization of the agriculture and manufacturing sectors require a large supply of highly skilled labor force, which rely heavily on the development of education, especially the higher and vocational education sectors.

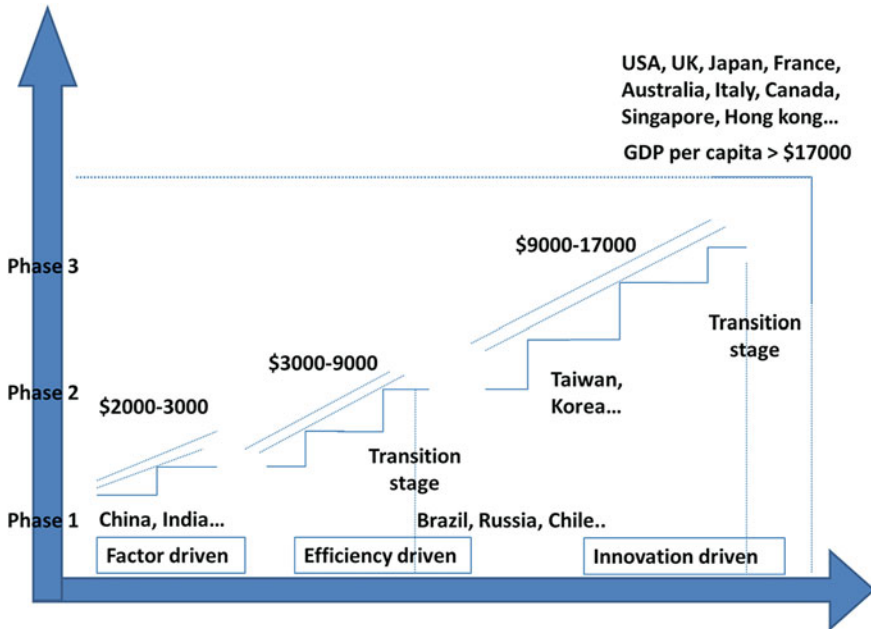


Fig. 15.5 Three phases of a country’s economic growth (Source: World Economic Forum (2006); Graph by author)

Labor Market: Demand and Supply

The structural imbalance between the supply and demand in the labor market is quite conspicuous. The contradiction of college graduates not able to find jobs versus huge demand for highly skilled technicians is very obvious. Lu Xin, the Deputy Minister of Education, mentioned in her speech that the employment rate for college bachelor degree holders right upon graduation was only 77.4 percent in 2013, 0.7 percent lower than that of 2012 (Deputy Minister of Education 2015). The percentage of Chinese college graduates working in direct production sectors is quite low.

It is almost a global issue that the supply of graduates from the current HE system cannot keep pace with the demand of the country’s rapid expanding economy and it is particularly serious in China. Given the experience of most developed countries, a strong economy can lower the unemployment rate and strengthen the labor structure. To equip the labor forces with the ability to acquire and master the rapidly updated technologies and knowledge becomes an important task for HE of any modern country, including China.

As the economy expands and moves up the value chain, it requires a more skilled labor force, which is currently in even shorter supply. The HE in China is now under reform in both the macro system and the pedagogical level, as

curriculum and teaching/learning modes, for the purpose of producing qualified knowledge workers, as the country's economy shifts from manufacturing to a knowledge-based economy.

Regional Disparity of HE Resources

Because of the elements in geography, natural resources, historical and cultural tradition, there exists huge regional gaps in economic and education development in China. Both the government and society have realized that although great efforts have been made in bridging the gaps, the regional disparities still exist and may have even become wider in recent decades. Based on the Educational Development Index (EDI), China can be divided into four tiers based on the education performance, from the first tier with Beijing and Shanghai having the highest EDI scores of 85–100, to the fourth tier such as Guangxi, Gansu, Qinghai, Yunnan, and so on with EDI scores below 70 (Min and Wang 2009).

The first type of disparity lies in the institution distribution. The disparity is both vertical and horizontal, meaning that both the level and the number of HEIs in prosperous regions exceed those in poorer areas. Imbalanced inputs and effects of HE reforms account for one of the reasons. Economic status and market resource flow could be another reason. The second type of disparity lies in the public expenditure on HE. For instance, the total investment for HE from provincial public expenditure in Guizhou was 521 million RMB over a six year period (2002–2007), while Shanghai invested 1800 million RMB into HE in just one year (2006), which is more than three times as much as Guizhou had invested over six years (2002–2007) (Ma 2011).

Therefore, in order to improve the overall HE performance, what is needed is a macro strategy for regional coordinated education development. Two goals need to be achieved. One is to enhance the interaction among the regional HEIs; the second is to improve the national overall education resource allocation. The current strategy from the central government in reducing the regional economic gap provides a platform for multiple sub-level social reforms including HE. To achieve a more balanced economy, it is necessary to build up national cooperation mechanisms that focus more on the economic demand of poorer areas; to encourage more flexible and diversified financial management systems; to improve national level supervision and adjustment on funding flow; to encourage performance-based development of regional HE; and finally, to create more appealing employment conditions in poorer areas to attract college graduates. There is increasing awareness in China that worsening and widening disparity between HE in the eastern and western provinces, the prosperous and poorer areas, would not only diminish the HE performance as a whole, but to raise further social issues and to diminish the national competitiveness.

In the era of information explosion, frequent technology upgrading and free market resource flow, may increase the possibility of a more balanced HE, but the “digital gap” may also enlarge the regional disparities.

NATIONAL EDUCATION STRATEGIES TOWARD THE FUTURE: FAIRER ACCESS AND QUALITY ASSURANCE

During the past three decades, China has achieved, in an overall sense, a steady progress in economic and social development. Looking ahead, more difficulties and obstacles will need to be overcome, as pointed out by Premier Li Keqiang, that the systemic, institutional, and structural problems have become “tigers in the road” holding up development. Without deepening reform and making economic structural adjustments, sustaining steady and sound development would be difficult to achieve. In the area of HE education, the government priority is to provide more equal opportunities, while enhancing the quality.

In order to improve fairer access to HE, efforts were specially undertaken in rural and less-developed areas, such as increasing subsidies, college loans schemes, and other financial or interpersonal supports. There were 28 provincial-level jurisdictions allowing children who live with their migrant worker parents to take the college entrance examinations in their cities of residence. Overall, the government spending on education has reached over 4 percent of GDP (The State Council 2015).

As for the QA of HE, there are joint efforts from both the governments of different levels and the HEIs in various forms. Back in 1985, the Higher Engineering Education Evaluation was carried out as a trial. In 2003, the national “Action Plan of Education Innovation 2003–2007” required that all HEIs undertake the quality evaluation every five years. The establishment of the HEEC as an administrative body under the auspices of the Ministry of Education in 2004 marks a new stage for the development of a systematic and professional evaluation system of HE in China. A national database of the basic institutional information concerning college infrastructure and other basic facilities has also been established. In 2006, The Ministry of Education and Ministry of Finance jointly initiated the Project for Quality Assurance which has several objectives: (a) to optimize the curriculum setting for post-secondary education and to improve accreditation mechanisms, (b) to encourage education resources sharing among facilities and to set up a nationwide framework, (c) to encourage innovation and application skills of students through teaching style modification, (d) to clarify the faculty qualifications and recruitment criteria, (e) to improve the assessment schemes, and (f) to promote more education collaborations between developed areas and less-developed areas, especially the western regions under the Program for Partner Assistance to HEIs in the western region (Shi 2015). Now China is working hard to improve the national quality assessment and assurance system of HE and to encourage the HEIs to strengthen their own capacity in raising and maintain quality.

Generally speaking, China’s HE development is a part of an overall social transformation, heavily affected by the global knowledge economy and the country’s reform agenda. The close connection of HE with macro surroundings raises the social expectation on HE in changing the world but some time these expectations are unrealistically high resulting in disappointment when

they are not met. Understanding this, we will not be surprised to see the heated dispute on the role of HE in China's development and endless debate on the reform policy of HE. When it comes to the future of China, skepticism and confidence coexist. On the one hand, there are skeptics like the famous sinologist David Shambaugh's saying "the Coming Chinese Crack-up" (Shambaugh 2015), and on the other hand there is the Nobel Laureate Joseph E. Stiglitz's comment of "2015 as the start of Chinese century" (Stiglitz 2015). Such conflicting opinions indicate that China has entered a crucial stage of its transformation, so has the country's HE.

Looking ahead, China is facing both the opportunities and challenges. The Chinese government and society have realized that the country needs to have a strong, responsive HE system with high quality to support the country's development. The joint efforts have been made in deepening the reform, which leads to building up a better environment, better awareness, and a better HE system.

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Cultural Challenges Facing East Asian Higher Education: A Preliminary Assessment

Rui Yang

INTRODUCTION

Higher education has developed extensively in most East Asian societies including the People's Republic of China, Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.¹ The development is even more remarkable when compared with other non-Western societies. Western-style modern higher education systems have been well established in various societies throughout the region. Tertiary enrollment in East Asia is moving toward universal, with recent fast expansion in China from 3.5 percent in 1991 to 13.3 percent in 2001, 26.9 percent in 2011, and 37.5 percent in 2014. Participation in other East Asian societies is already high, exceeding 90 percent in Korea, 80 percent in Taiwan, and 60 percent in Hong Kong and Japan (UNESCO 2014). Research has also been growing rapidly. East Asia invested \$448 billion in research and development (R&D) in 2011, a third of the global total. China, for example, overtook the European Union in 2012 and is expected to surpass the USA in a few years. In 2011, China was already the second-largest performer (\$208 billion), accounting for about 15 percent of the global total. Japan was third at 10 percent (\$147 billion). Its R&D investment was the world's third highest, while Korea was fifth with 4.03 percent of its gross domestic productivity invested on R&D (National Science Foundation 2014). East Asia has become the world's third great zone of higher education, science, and innovation, alongside North America and Western Europe/UK, with research powerhouses, and the fastest growth in scientific output (Marginson 2014). Published science grows equally quickly.

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From 1995 to 2011, the number of journal articles rose by 16.5 percent a year in China, 13.6 percent in Korea, and 7.9 percent in Taiwan.

East Asian societies aspire openly to elevating some of their universities to world-class status (Mok and Cheung 2011). In China, striving for world-class universities has been designated as a key policy direction. The government is investing heavily with major policies including Projects 211 and 985, which devoted substantial resources to selected universities so that they can become world class (Mok and Chan 2008).² In Hong Kong, universities benchmark themselves strategically with key institutions in major English-speaking countries especially since the 1990s (Deem et al. 2008). Similarly in Taiwan, major policy initiatives have been launched to target world-class status for selected universities, with large government investments (Song and Tai 2007). In Korea, specific policies such as “Brain Korea 21,” “World-Class University,” and “Study Korea” projects, and the incorporation of Seoul National University were aimed at building world-class universities (Byun et al. 2013). In Japan, the government pushes 30 universities to emerge competitively as truly “world-class” institutions. Among them, five are supposed to attain a top 30 global ranking, while at the top of the five one is expected to be into the global top 10 (Yonezawa 2007).

While East Asia’s achievement in higher education has been widely acknowledged, assessment of its future development is not. To some, East Asian universities are leaping ahead to join the distinguished league of the world’s leading universities (Marginson 2011), challenging Western supremacy, and gradually eclipsing the Western university system. As Morgan (2011) writes, “Sun sets on Western dominance as East Asian Confucian model takes lead,” and the “Confucian model” has put East Asia’s universities at the cutting edge. To others, although East Asian universities have made tremendous strides in terms of the volume and quality of research output, they generally still lag behind the best universities in the West. The notion of “world-class” status in East Asian societies has been largely imitative rather than creative (Mohrman 2005). Financial and other resources combined with some innovation strategies can make progress only so far. A kind of “glass ceiling” is to be reached soon (Altbach 2010). While both views cite culture as the reason, none of the views have demonstrated sufficient understanding of East Asian societies and cultures. Although there is an evident pride of the notion that East Asian universities should not follow Western models of excellence, few in the region are able to theorize their differences from Western universities.

Questions still remain about the actual potential of Asia’s universities and whether they can truly break the bonds of Western hegemony. It is interesting to observe the strikingly different and even opposite assessments of higher education development in East Asia. Neither the positive nor the negative judgments have been based on a solid understanding of the reality of how different cultures have actually affected the development of universities in the region. Here, a few observations can be made about the existing literature

on higher education in East Asia. First, East Asian higher education systems are often misconceived as very similar, while their differences have often been neglected (Altbach 2010; Levin 2010; Marginson 2011). Second, researchers tend to see a single dimension of highly complex issues, while the reality actually involves multiple dimensions, which include successes and failures, costs and benefits, as well as twists and turns. Third, higher education development is always a combined result of the past and present as well as the local and global, while most existing studies only look at one or two of factors. Fourth, assessing East Asian higher education development is seldom based on empirical data, nor does it use a cultural perspective, while a combination of both is even more infrequent.

In contrast, views by those from within the region are much less likely to go to extremes. Having experienced the complexities and based on their intimate knowledge of their own societies, they would not reach such oversimplified conclusions as the above. While recognizing recent achievements, they acknowledged that building East Asian identity is an arduous task for universities in the region. What has been lacking is a cultural perspective that gives weight to the impact of traditional ways of cultural thinking on contemporary development. To many in East Asia, modern universities are foreign transplants. Due to their fundamental differences from the Western traditions, East Asian cultural roots and heritages have led to continuous conflicts between their indigenous and the imposed Western higher education values. East Asian universities have their institutional establishments based on Western values on one hand, and another system supported by traditional cultures on the other. The two systems do not always gel with each other. Instead, constant tensions between them can reduce the efficiency of university operations. Although there have been strong attempts to indigenize the Western idea of a university, little has been achieved. The Western concept of a university has been adopted in East Asia for its practicality (Yang 2013). This explains why the achievement in science and technology is so much greater than that in the humanities and social sciences in the region. This gap is precisely the bottleneck in the development of higher education in East Asia.

With the fact that modern universities are uniquely European in origin and characteristics, and autonomy and academic freedom—something lacking in the East Asian tradition—as their definitive scholarly values, we might need to ask how much further East Asian higher education systems can go, and whether or not there is a “middle-income range/trap” in the development of East Asian higher education. With the East Asia factor fully in focus, this chapter raises questions about the perceived shift of the center of gravity in higher education to Asia. It not only describes recent developments in East Asian systems of higher education but also interrogates whether or not and how the rise of East Asian universities is reconstituting the architecture of global higher education, with far-reaching social, political, and economic consequences. Based on the author’s longstanding professional observations, this chapter assesses East Asia’s higher education development to attest Altbach’s (2010) notion of a

“glass ceiling.” It first historicizes East Asian higher education, tracing the cultural roots to illustrate where the systems started and departed before shifting to the major challenges faced by these systems.

CONFUCIAN TRADITIONS AND THEIR TENSIONS WITH MODERN UNIVERSITY DEVELOPMENT IN EAST ASIA

Higher education is deeply rooted in culture. Human civilizations of diverse regions of the world have had their various higher learning traditions. Observers of East Asian higher education, however, tend to downplay such an important historical factor in their analysis of higher education development. What is now described as the “research university” is rooted in the universities established in Europe during the Middle Ages. The model was profoundly shaped by nineteenth century Germany and the twentieth century America and spread around the world through both colonization and emulation of its scientific achievements and contribution to nation building (Altbach 2001). A millennium earlier, China had spawned another influential model. Characterized by close integration within a meritocratic bureaucracy that entrusted governance to those who could demonstrate their knowledge through written examinations, Chinese classical institutions of higher learning reached their definitive form in the twelfth century, about the same time as medieval European universities came into being. Its curriculum featured a Confucian approach to scholarship that put emphasis on connectedness and integration “between theory and practice, fact and value, individual and community, institution and political-social-natural context” (Hayhoe 2001, 347).

Ancient Chinese higher learning institutions appeared in the Eastern Zhou Dynasty (771–221 BCE). The famous Jixia Academy was established before the Platonic Academy in Greece. During its ancient civilization for thousands of years, China developed its rich traditions in higher learning that contrast sharply to those in the West. With its central focus on political utility defined by the ruling class, Chinese ancient higher education focused on knowledge of human society. Higher learning institutions were established to serve the emperor. This tradition portrays a unique Confucian way of thinking about human individuals, society, and nature as well as the relationships among these entities. Higher learning was to prepare would-be officials for the state. Higher institutions were a subsidiary body of the bureaucratic system. As part of the ruling system, these institutions neither could nor attempted to go beyond the imperial framework. Even students in private institutions set their eyes only on the imperial examination in the hope of attaining an official position. In contrast with medieval European universities which were autonomous corporations of students and masters, governed by internal rules set by the academic community itself and protected from the outset by Pope Gregory IX’s bull (Mora 2001), Chinese classical higher institutions were under threat from the

imperial bureaucracy which sought to co-opt them to the service of the examination system. They never had statutory group autonomy. Therefore, they can hardly be called a university.

Such a strong Confucian tradition, characterized by an alliance between education and politics, has exerted great impact on the development of China's higher education, and by extension throughout East Asia and parts of Southeast Asia. In addition to the same Confucian roots of higher education developed originally in China, East Asian societies also shared similar experiences of importing modern Western-style higher education systems. Within this process, it is remarkable to see how traditional ways of thinking have survived dramatic social and cultural changes, and how they remain deeply rooted among East Asian people. While the historical impact on it is amazingly profound, contemporary higher education developments in East Asian societies departed from each other in their modernization of higher education due to their different histories since the nineteenth century. The different ways in how they have responded to classical and external forces explain well how their higher education systems have progressed over the past century and a half.

Among East Asian societies, Western science and technology are viewed as the cornerstones for development. It is not surprising that Western institutional patterns are commonly used to achieve these goals, as shown in Japan and Hong Kong. Two basic realities have thus shaped East Asian higher education systems: the foreign origin of the basic academic model and the indigenization of their universities as part of the development process. There has been considerable interplay between foreign implants and influence and Asian realities and a great deal of local impact as well. Although attempts to harmonize the foreign and the traditional have continued, the integration between them has rarely been achieved, resulting in different situations in different societies. Altbach (1989) has characterized the long historical impact of Western academic models, practices, and orientations on shaping the nature of Asian higher education systems as "twisted roots." Today, East Asian universities are essentially Western institutions with little linkage to their indigenous intellectual traditions. This has affected East Asia's ambition to establish effective modern higher education systems.

China

Not surprisingly, China has struggled the most. From the early twentieth century to 1949 when the Communist Party came to power, Chinese higher education development was more problematic than that of Japan, in part because by the nineteenth century China had become an arena for the colonial rivalries of various European powers (and later Japan as well), partly because China's imperial government did not have a clear policy concerning the direction of higher education and science. As a result, there was no unified policy and development was both slow and haphazard. In those parts of China where Western nations held sway, their academic patterns were followed when

universities were established. German, French, and British as well as American and Japanese influences could be seen. China's academic development was a mix of independent development and semicolonial influences. Starting from the second half of the nineteenth century, modern universities were established by Western missionaries and Chinese modernizers, modeled on Western practices. By 1910, there were three government universities: the Imperial University and Beiyang and Nanyang technological universities.

China's higher education legislation in 1912 was patterned on European experiences. Modern arts and sciences, rather than classics, became core curricular areas, and professional fields such as engineering and law were also developed. However, the room for implementing the legislation was extremely limited. Yuanpei Cai, the Chancellor of Peking University, emulated the German model by focusing on autonomy, professorial governance, and academic freedom. In so doing, he arguably created China's first truly modern university. The integration of arts and sciences through the core discipline of philosophy formed an atmosphere of extraordinary intellectual vitality, and provided the May 4th Movement (1919) with an ideological and intellectual base. The Movement was an important turning point for modern China, and from it Confucianism was repudiated. Later legislation in 1922 and 1924 aimed to foster a modern Chinese spirit to replace Confucianism. Such a hope, however, was never fulfilled. China therefore began to experiment with Western-style modern universities in the late nineteenth century. Since then, attempts to indigenize the Western idea of a university have never ceased, with highly limited successes at various levels (Yang 2011).

South Korea

Long before Western missionaries landed on the Korean peninsula, a reformist school of thought, Sirhak (practical learning), began to evolve in the seventeenth century. Searching for the national identity and the historical idiosyncrasy of Korea, Sirhak scholars called for a critical examination of national conditions with self-oriented interest independent of long cherished Chinese values. They represented the spirit of a new age and led to the development of modernistic thinking in the eighteenth century. The new nationalism of the intellectuals was carried forward by the nationalistic reform advocated in the late nineteenth century when missionaries began to spread Western ideas and influences. By then, Korean values were well defined with reference to Chinese influence.

In the mid-nineteenth century, there was no well-articulated system of education and no established form of higher education in Korea. State-run higher learning institutions were open only to the privileged to learn Confucian philosophy and ethics. Private institutions offered lower levels of education. Western values began to influence Koreans when missionaries entered Korea in the nineteenth century and opened institutions of higher learning. The establishment of Western-style institutions successfully introduced the structure and

content of Western higher education. During the period 1876–1910, Western influence met resistance from indigenous Korean society. Some critical periods of historical transition saw frequent conflicts between Western values and a deep-rooted indigenous nationalism. As time went on, more Koreans returned from the West and advocated Western systems and ideas.

After 1945, American influence on Korean higher education development was direct and strong. The US military government sent Korean educators and students to the USA for training so that they could rebuild the nation's education system upon their return. The military government also brought into Korea many American educators and specialists to serve as consultants and advisors, together with substantial financial support for Korean higher education. With such influences, an American-style higher education system was soon established. However, even while Western influence continues to gain prominence, there has never been a shortage of conflicts and tensions between the Western and the traditional. Some leading scholars trained in traditional thoughts and disciplines have been reluctant to accept Western influences. Debates have continued and nationalism in the Korean academic community has remained strong.

Today, calls for Koreanizing higher education are vocal, despite the fact that the Korean academic profession is dominated by those who are American-educated. Korean higher education looks to the West (especially North America) for criteria and standards to implement its natural and engineering sciences and for solutions to its social problems. In natural sciences and technology, there is an ever-increasing demand to learn from the West because such learning is regarded as the best path to Korea's national development. Social scientists are still debating whether or not the Korean way is possible and meaningful in their fields. While everyone in the humanities agrees that Western values must be fused with Korean values, few know how to achieve such a fusion.

Taiwan

Taiwanese higher education shared the same historical trajectory with the mainland system until 1949. During the last years of the Qing Dynasty, Western-style universities were founded only in the mainland. An incomplete Western-style educational system was established in Taiwan during the Japanese occupation, with a five-year medical school that can be seen as an institution of higher learning. After the education rescript in 1919, more institutions of higher education were established. The promulgation of the 1922 education rescript saw even more higher education institutions established. Taihoku Imperial University was established in 1928 to serve Japan's ambition to expand southward. Taiwan was restored to China after World War II. Chinese culture was resumed on the island and tertiary institutions were reformed according to the practice on the mainland that had been based largely on the American prototype. Reforming existing institutions took place. In late 1945, Taihoku Imperial University was transformed into National Taiwan University.

Since the 1960s, tertiary education has expanded to meet social and economic needs. By 2014, Taiwan was home to a total of 159 higher education institutions, including 124 universities, 21 colleges, and 14 junior colleges. The development of Taiwanese higher education has been much influenced by foreign forces especially the Japanese and American experiences. Taiwan was ruled by Japan for two generations before World War II. The establishment of tertiary institutions during the period laid the foundation for the later development of Taiwanese higher education. The Japanese impact was then replaced by the American after 1949. The system with respect to institutional organization, length of study, curriculum, and degree structures to graduation requirement has since been patterned after the American model. University graduates studying abroad have overwhelmingly gone to the USA, and those who have returned play significant roles in all aspects of Taiwanese higher education. However, by using the West as its reference point, Taiwanese higher education has experienced great difficulties in positioning itself in an increasingly multi-polarized world. To relocate itself and reconstitute a critical subjectivity, integrating the traditional with the foreign values is badly needed. This has proven to be highly difficult for Taiwanese higher education.

Japan

Before the Meiji Restoration (1868–1912), Japanese higher learning institutions had been entirely modeled on the Confucian tradition. The prototype of modern Japanese universities was an artificial product. The Western-oriented Meiji government set up modern universities to import Western knowledge and ideas as part of Japan's nation building. Government officials eagerly examined various Western models in order to adopt the best elements of each. In early 1870, the "university regulation" was issued. Although some traditional scholars tried to introduce Confucian studies into the modern university curriculum, the newly established academic system was almost entirely based on Western experiences, a far cry from the Confucian way of organizing knowledge.³ Traditional Confucian knowledge and values did not gain the support of the utilitarian Meiji government. By the 1880s, a Western-style higher education system was institutionalized in Japan. Imperial universities were founded to meet the urgent needs of nation building. The University of Tokyo, one of the pioneers of Western-style modern universities in East Asia, was established in 1877.

Japanese higher education experienced another significant phase of Westernization immediately after World War II when the firmly established Meiji-type institutional paradigm began to be replaced by a new American model under the influence of Occupation Forces. Even though the Occupation Forces consisted of representatives of several allied powers, the occupation of Japan, in contrast to that of Germany, was administered almost exclusively by the USA. Japan's post-World War II higher education reform was based completely on the suggestions from American advisors who strongly advocated an

egalitarian policy. Thus, a plural track of higher education before World War II was changed into a single track. Private universities and women's colleges were encouraged, teacher-training institutions were upgraded to tertiary status, and the American ideal of general education was promoted. The higher education system was decentralized, with the introduction of American-style Boards of Trustees.

However, after the occupation period (1945–1952), much of Japan's educational system reverted back to the older system. Recurrent issues in Japanese higher education have long been lingering. Among them, the most fundamental issue is cultural. After the Meiji Restoration, Confucian classics were replaced by Western learning. Yet, the Confucian and the Western have never been blended harmoniously. How to integrate Western values with Japanese culture remains a fundamental challenge. The notions of a hybrid culture and the negativity of culture proposed, respectively, by Shuich Kato (1974) and Tomotsu Aoki (1988) offer temporary solutions only. They are painkillers rather than prescriptions. Neither of them provides effective solutions to Japan's longstanding perplexity about cultural relations with the West.

Hong Kong

Some forms of educational provision existed in Hong Kong as early as the Han Dynasty. However, for a long time, education was a luxury for people in Hong Kong, and they needed to travel to the north to receive good education. During the British administration (1841–1997), the Hong Kong education system was closely modeled after those found in the UK. By 1861, a modern Western-style education system was formed in Hong Kong. Founded in 1911, the University of Hong Kong was the first university in the territory, designed as a “British lighthouse in the Orient.” After the sovereignty change in 1997, Hong Kong higher education continues to follow the British tradition. Its history is a process of imposing Western models on Chinese soil. Its features display an unharmonious combination of Western and traditional elements.

For instance, although the higher education sector now boasts a larger percentage of world-ranked institutions than any other system in the world, students excel in rote learning, resist active forms of teaching and learning, prefer passive forms of information reception, respond best to teacher-centered pedagogy, and are unlikely to participate or ask questions in class (Jaffee 2012). The fact that Hong Kong universities constantly rank among the best in Asia is fundamentally due to their indiscriminate imitation of their Western peers. Emulation will not take Hong Kong universities much further. Hong Kong's formal education is a Western transplant, while its informal (yet powerful) system is very much still based on the Chinese traditions. Within the system, only the Western is accounted as “scholarship.” Indigenous wisdom and knowledge have rarely been integrated into modern higher education establishments. The two systems do not always work together, leading to inefficacy of the higher education sector.

MAJOR CHALLENGES

East Asia's recent success in higher education has created many challenges in various forms and shapes depending on the societal settings. Various observers have interpreted the challenges differently. The Asian Development Bank (2011) lists the challenges as education quality, relevance of curriculum and instruction, financial resources, and equity. To the World Bank (2012), East Asian higher education is "not yet fulfilling its potential." There is still scope to enhance equitable access to widen the talent pool, and to raise the share of graduates in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. Graduates need to be trained in the skills that are demanded by the fast-growing market. Universities are required to conduct applied research and contribute to technology development, with better financial management and more engagement with society. While such observations are valid and even important, they are made only with reference to the Western experience, but fail to grasp the most fundamental problems in the development of East Asian higher education. To my judgment, the most fundamental challenge is cultural: the indigenization of Western university models which can be analyzed at two levels: historical roots and academic culture.

Challenge I: Historical Roots as a Lingering Ghost

As noted above, East Asia's markedly different cultural heritages have caused continuous conflicts between the traditional and the Western ideas of a university. Constant tensions between the two have substantially reduced the efficiency of university operation in East Asian societies. The more developed their universities are, the further away they are from their cultural traditions. The unique East Asian tradition in higher education has been a problem rather than an asset in their modernization. Right from the outset, the two systems have never been on equal footing. Even with recent developments, Western models influence the direction of change in East Asian higher education institutions. With Western knowledge fully institutionalized, the only realistic choice for East Asian societies is to have both systems at the same time. The coexistence of the two proves extremely challenging. Indeed, the merging of traditional and Western ideas of a university remains an unfinished business throughout East Asia.

The difficulty lies with the fact that neither system tolerates the other easily. The clash between the two traditions has become the most fundamental cultural condition in the development of higher education in East Asia. It is a specter that has been lingering and haunting East Asia for more than a century. The "pain" it has caused is felt constantly especially at individual levels, and tensions exist at both the institutional and systemic levels. While most East Asian societies share such a challenge, the extent varies depending on their differing social, political, and historical situations. With its rich history, China feels the impact most acutely. The Korean situation largely echoes the Chinese,

although the two societies began to differ much during Mao's period in China and American influence on Korea after World War II.

The conflict is evident to a much lesser extent in Hong Kong where the higher education system was modeled entirely on the British system since Hong Kong became a colony in 1841. Hong Kong higher education is essentially Western, with a small Chinese element at the institutional level. The fact that Hong Kong universities are visible especially in Times Higher Education and Quacquarelli Symonds rankings is due to the system's resemblance to the Anglo-Saxon to an extraordinary degree, rather than based on actual productivity and quality of academic work. In the case of Japan, the society has repeatedly attempted to replace classical Confucian influences with the Western as shown by the phenomenon of Datsu-A Ron (leaving Asia) during the Meiji Restoration in 1868. Japan has been adopting Western patterns aggressively from the inside out. As a result, a Western-style higher education system has been firmly established and sustained in Japan for much longer than in its East Asian neighbors.

However, the promises of both Hong Kong and Japan are limited. For example, the conflict between classical and Western values still lingers on in Japan. Western traditions are after all foreign imports. They are the major reason for Japan's longstanding loss of cultural identity. This is why the Nobel Prizes won by the University of Tokyo are confined to science and technology while some of its prominent US counterparts have many more in economics, as shown in Table 16.1. The question is why they are ranked so similarly in science and technology but are so differently ranked in social sciences in the Academic Ranking of World Universities, as shown in Table 16.2.

A general scenario among East Asian societies is that the stronger their higher education traditions are, the lower the systems have achieved in the contemporary global higher education landscape. East Asian traditions in higher education seem to be a negative asset with respect to rankings. Despite some remarkable progress made by the Chinese and Korean systems, such patterns remain unchanged. Contemporary East Asian universities have increasingly become less connected to their indigenous intellectual traditions. This could be the reason why they have failed to build their own identities. The much-desired integration between East Asian and Western ideas of a university has

Table 16.1 Nobel Laureates at Universities of Chicago, Stanford and Tokyo, by 2015

<i>Categories</i>	<i>University of Chicago</i>	<i>Stanford University</i>	<i>University of Tokyo</i>
Chemistry	16	8	1
Economics	28	8	0
Literature	3	0	2
Peace	1	0	1
Physics	29	15	6
Medicine/physiology	12	7	1
Total	89	38	11

Table 16.2 Performances in ARWU: Universities of Chicago, Stanford, and Tokyo

Universities	Chicago	Stanford	Tokyo
Founding year	1891	1885	1877
Institutional ranking*	8th (06) 9th (05, 07, 08, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15) 10th (04) 11th (03)	2nd (03, 04, 07, 08, 09, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15) 3rd (05, 06, 10)	18th (04) 19th (03, 06, 08) 20th (05, 07, 09, 10, 12) 21st (11, 13, 14, 15)
Mathematics	34th	2nd	48th
Physics	8th	6th	7th
Chemistry	45th	3rd	25th
Economics/ business	2nd	7th	151st–200th
Social sciences	2nd	6th	(151st–200th in 2015)

Source: ARWU (2015)

*year in brackets.

never been achieved, and continuous efforts are needed to “indigenize” the Western concept. Only when the indigenous and the Western are successfully integrated, can East Asian universities lead in the international arena.

Challenge II: Toxic Academic Culture

Another challenge facing East Asian higher education is their academic culture, which refers to the attitudes, beliefs, and values held by academics in relation to various aspects of their work. It integrates a specific group of academics (Maassen 1996), and has strong impact on what is done, how it is done, and who is involved in doing it, concerning decisions, actions, and communication on both instrumental and symbolic levels (Chaffee and Tierney 1988). A number of terms have been used to describe the academic culture in East Asian universities such as integrity, ethics, misconduct, and even corruption. Altbach (2004a) cites the academic culture as a significant impediment for East Asian higher education to reach a leading status in the world. According to him, corrupt academic culture damages the standing of institutions and the academic community particularly badly (Altbach 2004b). He maintains that an academic culture that is based on meritocratic values, free inquiry, and competition is largely absent in East Asia (Altbach 2010).

Throughout East Asia, academic dishonesty has always been an issue, from student cheating (Strauss 2014) to fraud by scientists (Hu 2014). Research shows that academic dishonesty is increasing in Hong Kong (Chapman and Lupton 2004; Mok 2011) and Taiwan (Lin and Wen 2007). According to Song (2014), South Koreans dub their nation as the “Republic of Plagiarism,” where a former Olympic taekwondo champion and priest—alongside with scores of academics and politicians—have all fallen on their own swords after copying chunks of academic research. Perhaps more successfully than any other people of the world, the Japanese have evolved a social system capable of ensuring order and proper behavior. However, Japan is by no means immune from

academic fraud. The 2000s witnessed much publicity over high-profile cases of scientific misconduct (Slingsby et al. 2006). More recently, the Japanese academic establishment was stunned by Haruko Obokata's fabricating data, doctoring images, and plagiarism (McNeill 2014). Thus, researchers are beginning to give due attention to the impact of a corrupt academic culture on national higher education development (Shin 2009).

Academic misconduct is particularly serious in China (Xiao 2014). Since the 1990s, academic culture has fast become decadent and this "tainted" culture has penetrated deeply into the higher education sector from regional to national flagship institutions and permeated into almost every aspect of university operations. Portraying the wider society, it has taken various forms including falsifying or plagiarizing academic achievements of others, obtaining scientific research projects or rewards by bribery and other illegal means, deliberately hiding academic scandals and covering up academic corruption by universities or research institutions. Those involved include students, professors, academicians, and institutional leaders (Yang 2005). Within the Chinese higher education system, performing research and holding an official position are closely linked. Academic performance has a direct bearing on career advancement into administrative positions. Being promoted into government or even staying within universities with administrative responsibilities can mean far more substantial financial rewards than what pure academic work can bring. Chinese scholars are therefore more and more prone to becoming trapped in the pursuit of administrative standing, rather than devoting their time to legitimate academic research.

Under the influence of a corrupt academic culture, the practice of *guanxi* restricts the free movement of staff, students, and resources and career advancement of faculty. Decision-making is not based on academic merit but personal relationships and preferential treatment. Plagiarism and the falsification of scientific results are common. Those in powerful positions carve up major research grants. Without many opportunities left for diligent individuals, academics seek instant success and quick bucks, and misconduct is often found in daily practices. This toxic culture has devastating effects on higher education development and the entire nation's modernization program, leading to distortions and inefficiency at both institutional and systemic levels. These practices damage the morale of individuals and institutions, ruin the academic atmosphere of Chinese universities, and pollute the minds of young students. It is serious enough to keep the development of China's advanced science from success (Guo 2010). It has also negatively affected China's attempt to encourage Chinese diaspora scholars to return and serve China (Liu et al. 2002; Yang 2005).

With rampant academic dishonesty, it is fair to point out that China's state education policies began to stress the need for preventing research misconduct in the early 1990s. In 2006, the Ministry of Science and Technology and the Ministry of Education stepped up efforts to build academic norms and research integrity, through developing standards and regulations,

setting up special agencies, issuing policy papers, organizing national forums or seminars, and promoting international cooperation. Some universities have established their own units to deal with academic fraud and corruption (Sun 2010). There are clear signs of awareness of such a serious issue within the Chinese higher education sector (Gong and Liu 2013). While it is reasonable to expect some positive instantaneous policy impacts, when considering the general shortage of social trust and the width and depth of the issue in the society, it is just not realistic to hope that the problem will be uprooted in the years to come. This has been confirmed repeatedly by the overwhelming majority of my respondents.

Despite a few scandals, Japan distinguishes itself from other East Asian neighbors in academic culture. Indeed, Japan has been able to maintain an excellent academic culture. This explains why the Japanese system has been the best performer among East Asian societies, as illustrated by the fact that Japan's unparalleled position in winning Nobel Prizes especially in science and technology (see Table 16.3). Japan is truly outstanding in its achievements in science and technology, both in research innovation and in training talents in the fields. Unrivaled among all non-Western societies, Japan has won 21 Nobel Prizes in scientific research. Other East Asian societies have one (see Table 16.4). Such a telling difference should not be underestimated. It is also important to note that Japan's early Nobel Prizes were won when the country was still in an extremely difficult economic condition and suffering hardships. Similarly, the latest Nobel Prize in Medicine won by Chinese scientist Youyou Tu in October 2015 is based on her work during the pre-reform era when China suffered from extreme economic hardships and political isolation. It is even more significant to notice the consistency of the remarkable performance of Japanese universities, while other East Asian universities have achieved very little. Such a substantial difference has been unfairly ignored by most observers.

Academic culture, therefore, matters hugely. Compared with the first-level fundamental cultural challenge noted above, a toxic academic culture hurts some East Asian higher education more directly with profound impact on its everyday operations. Although sharing similar issues at the first level of challenges, Japan beats other East Asian societies at the second level of challenges. Unfortunately, it is far beyond the higher education sector to solve these widespread and deep-rooted social problems, though the situation may differ from country to country within East Asia. In this respect, the toxic academic culture could be just another expression of the same problem as the first-level challenge.

CONCLUSION

The Western impact on East Asian higher education has been significant. Meanwhile historical traditions still play an important role in all social institutions, and no institution is more influenced by history than universities

Table 16.3 List of Japanese Nobel Laureates

<i>Year</i>	<i>Laureate</i>	<i>Nobel Prize</i>	<i>Alma Mater</i>
2015	Takaaki Kajita	Physics	Tokyo
	Satoshi Omura	Physiology/medicine	Kitasato
2014	Isamu Akasaki, Hiroshi Amano, and Shuji Nakamura (US citizen)	Physics	Kyoto, Nagoya, and Tokushima
2012	Shinya Yamanaka	Physiology/medicine	Kobe
2010	Akira Suzuki and Ei-ichi Negishi	Chemistry	Hokkaido and Tokyo
2008	Osamu Shimomura	Chemistry	Nagasaki
2008	Makoto Kobayashi, Toshihide Maskawa, and Yoichiro Nambu (US citizen)	Physics	Nagaya and Tokyo Imperial
2002	Masatoshi Koshihara and Koichi Tanaka	Chemistry	Tokyo and Tohoku
2001	Ryōji Noyori	Chemistry	Kyoto
2000	Hideki Shirakawa	Chemistry	Tokyo Institute of Technology
1994	Kenzaburō Ōe	Literature	Tokyo
1987	Susumu Tonegawa	Physics	Kyoto and UC, San Diego
1981	Kenichi Fukui	Chemistry	Kyoto Imperial
1974	Eisaku Satō	Peace	Tokyo Imperial
1973	Leo Esaki	Physics	Tokyo Imperial
1968	Yasunari Kawabata	Literature	Tokyo Imperial
1965	Sin-Itiro	Physics	Kyoto Imperial
1949	Hideki Yukawa	Physics	Kyoto Imperial

Table 16.4 Nobel Laureates in other East Asian societies

<i>Year</i>	<i>Laureates</i>	<i>Nobel Prize</i>	<i>Society</i>
2009	Charles K. Kao	Physics	Hong Kong (for work at ITT Corporation in the USA)
2000	Dae-jung Kim	Peace	South Korea
1986	Yuan Tseh Lee	Chemistry	Taiwan (work based in the USA)
1957	Chen Ning Yang, and Tsung-Dao Lee	Physics	Mainland China (for work respectively at Princeton and Columbia Universities)
1989	Tenzin Gyatso	Peace	Mainland China (for activities outside China)
1998	Daniel C. Tsui	Physics	Mainland China (for work at Bell Laboratories, USA)
2000	Xingjian Gao	Literature	Mainland China (French citizen)
2010	Xiaobo Liu	Peace	Mainland China
2012	Yan Mo	Literature	Mainland China
2015	Youyou Tu	Medicine	Mainland China (for work mainly during the pre-reform era)

(Altbach 2004a). East Asian higher education development is fundamentally about the relations between Western and indigenous higher education traditions, a relationship that has rarely been managed well. It is now time to devise an East Asian distinctive “Idea of a University.” Whether or not and how this can be achieved remains to be seen. Although building their own identities has proven hard for East Asian universities, it has become an urgent need. For long, East Asian universities have been aping their Western counterparts, and the imitation has been performed well, especially in comparison with those in other parts of the non-Western world. Yet, imitation will not take East Asian higher education much further. East Asian universities will not become truly world class if they fail to develop their own character. This is the greatest challenge confronting East Asian universities.

It is fair to note the awareness of such a need and even a sense of urgency among some of the best East Asian university leaders. However, neither they nor higher education researchers in the region have come out with anything of real substance about how East Asian universities differ from or can be different from their Western counterparts, both conceptually and practically. For instance, when Professor Chorh Chuan Tan, President of the National University of Singapore, was interviewed by the *Korea Times* in June 2014, he was reported to use the word “different” emphatically. “We don’t have to follow the same patterns that are happening in the West. We should be learning. We should be leapfrogging. We should be doing different things and trying different models,” he said (Jung 2014). However, he failed to deliver anything substantial that could be a solid basis for such intended differences. Such a response has been confirmed repeatedly by my research interviews with major scholars and university leaders throughout East Asia.

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NOTES

1. I use “People’s Republic of China” and “China” interchangeably throughout this chapter for ease of expression. I recognize that, in constitutional terms, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan are all parts of China.
2. The Chinese government has selected a handful of institutions to invest focally. Typical examples are national initiatives such as Projects 211 and 985. The first is a constructive project of nearly 100 universities and disciplines in the twenty-first century conducted by the government of China aiming at cultivating high-level talents for national economic and social development strategies starting from the mid-1990s. The second

is another constructive project, to some extent based on the first, for founding world-class universities in the twenty-first century by the Chinese government, reflecting a conscious strategy to concentrate resources on a few institutions with the greatest potential for success in the international academic marketplace.

3. For example, the Chinese library, known as the Imperial Catalogue of the Four Treasuries, classified knowledge into four areas: Confucian classics, history, philosophical writings, and miscellaneous works.

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Can East Asian Universities Break the Spell of Hierarchy? The Challenge of Seeking an Inherent Identity

Akiyoshi Yonezawa

INTRODUCTION

East Asian higher education systems have been known for their strong orientation toward competition in the world ranking of universities. Marginson (2011) has identified the “Confucian Model,” and pointed out the tendency for public investment in research and the pursuit “world-class universities” under a strong government, and how this phenomenon applies to East Asian higher education systems. The recognition of higher education as a positional good is not limited to East Asia. However, it is also true that most East Asian countries and universities do not have clear ideas of their own identities in higher education. It has been said that top universities in East Asia have tried to achieve the status of world-class universities by comparing themselves globally with top-ranked universities, which are mostly located in the USA and Europe (Altbach and Balán 2007). Many other universities tend to only follow the models of the prestigious universities in their own countries or region.

A more active discussion is now ongoing to determine the unique identities of East Asian universities (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004; Mok 2013; Neubauer et al. 2013). Through economic success and the advancement of science and technology in East Asia, this region and its higher education systems have started to receive much attention from around the globe (Yonezawa et al. 2014). The marketing strategies to attract international students and faculties

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have motivated East Asian universities to seek their own distinctive identities. Almost all East Asian countries face the challenge of a declining youth population and the aging of the rest of the population (Yonezawa and Kim 2008). While top universities in the region are competing for world-class researchers, other less prestigious universities are keen to recruit full-fee-paying international students so as to ensure regular revenues. East Asian universities need to demonstrate their distinguished attractiveness not only domestically but also internationally.

In this chapter, the author discusses the future prospects of East Asian higher education in the following manner. First, the author reflects on the history of East Asian universities in relation to knowledge transfer through translation of materials into their own languages and identifies the current knowledge environments surrounding these universities in the era of globalization. Second, the author analyzes the profiles of East Asia's top universities by making use of widely available indicators in the various international ranking exercises. Third, the author reflects on the upcoming challenges and future prospects of universities in East Asia.

THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN KNOWLEDGE TO THE COMMITMENT TO KNOWLEDGE CREATION

Altbach and Balán (2007) have pointed out that all the universities in the world have origins in the European universities from the Middle Ages, except for Al Azhar University, which was founded in Cairo in the tenth century. This does not mean, needless to say, that human intellectual activities only originated in medieval Europe. Prior to European domination in the world after the fifteenth century, significant numbers of works written in Arabic were translated to Latin to facilitate wider knowledge transfer to the European community. Arabic civilization had inherited characteristics of European civilization in the Hellenic period again through translation. Then, in the Age of Discovery, Spanish universities and colleges were established all over the world, including the University of Saint Thomas in the Philippines, the oldest existing university in Asia.

East Asia is a region that has a long and diversified tradition of cultural and intellectual activities. From a geopolitical point of view, the dynasties that had developed in China had almost always occupied the central position in the intellectual and cultural activities of East Asia. Even now, discussions that contrast the identities of the East and the West imply that China is the representative system in East Asia (e.g., Hayhoe and Pan 1996).

During the mid-nineteen to mid-twentieth centuries, Japanese higher education also adopted the role of a gateway for introducing Western civilization to the Eastern world. In 1877, the University of Tokyo, a first-generation Western-style university, was established by the Japanese government. This university and other higher education institutions throughout Japan invited many Western experts to offer advice on designing curricula and tutoring.

After a short period, however, those experts were replaced by Japanese academics trained in Western countries, and eventually by those trained in Japanese universities (Yonezawa 2015). Through translation into the national language, Western knowledge was rapidly disseminated among Japanese intellectuals and among those citizens who had acquired modern primary and secondary education.

In China, Peking University was established in 1898, based on university models in Europe, North America, and Japan. Some universities received a strong influence from Western models, and others, such as Peking University, tried to develop indigenous intellectual education under the initiatives of national intellectual leaders (Hayhoe et al. 2012). Many Chinese and other Asian students came to Japan at the beginning of the twentieth century to study modern education developed by East Asian themselves, and also to seek higher education opportunities available under the military's influence and colonization by the Japanese Empire.

In the latter half of the twentieth century, Japan established a world-class higher education system based on advanced science and technology with a large private higher education sector and high participation rates relying on household funding. China had also developed a highly diversified and dynamic higher education system before World War II, although its universities experienced a series of turmoil in the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945), the Chinese Revolution of 1949, and the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). After the Cultural Revolution in the late 1970s, Mainland China started to reconnect with the international academic communities by sending massive number of students abroad. From the mid-1990s onward, China began to massify its higher education system and at the same time develop a number of world-class universities.

After World War II, South Korea and Taiwan established stratified higher education systems by concentrating their public finances on a limited number of public universities, and also by relying on a significant number of faculty members trained in North America and Europe. At the same time, these two economies also developed large private higher education sectors with some very prestigious private universities. Under the continuous but decreasing influence of the UK, Singapore, and Hong Kong limited enrollment to their universities into the 1990s with some high profile universities which carried out their education and research mainly in the English language.

Today's environment surrounding East Asian universities in the area of knowledge transfer and creation is completely different from what it was in the era before the Internet became widely accessible at the turn of the century. Japan, China, South Korea, and other East Asian economies are now forming a *de facto* region that produces scientific knowledge through publications that are primarily in English and therefore accessible to readers around the world.

Almost all newly created knowledge now becomes immediately accessible to anyone in the world. Language barriers still exist, but the automation of translation is approaching the level of practical use. Audiovisual materials and cloud-

based learning tools are already coming into daily use in teaching, learning, and research training. Detailed activities of each researcher can be monitored, for example, when he or she published, what kind of literature was published, details of citations, and who viewed or checked specific work; this kind of information is usually reported to the authors and also to university managers.

Some countries are trying to control the flow of knowledge in cyberspace, but it is rare that the importance of science and technology themselves is officially denied. It is true that not all universities and higher education institutions have access to this new academic environment. In less-developed countries, the physical facilities for learning and research, and also access to cloud-based knowledge resources, are still very much lacking, and the gap between the developed and developing countries is increasing.

In East Asia, however, the physical and networking facilities of university campuses have significantly improved in the last quarter of the century, partly because these countries have local industries related to information technology. At the same time, the expansion of higher education systems and markets in East Asia has certainly developed an environment that allows more diversified approaches in university education and research. Some can focus more on world-class research, and others can focus more on specific types of quality education. This can be observed by the development of diversified indicators to assess the performance of universities. In Japan, for example, several media enterprises are publishing various types of rankings and performance data, and the government also started a web database of university portfolios in 2014. These data give wider perspectives in knowing the multifaceted characteristics of respective universities (Yonezawa 2013).

COMPETITION FOR WORLD-CLASS STATUS

In the mid-2000s, two world-class university rankings systems, namely, the Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) by Shanghai Jiaotong University and the Times Higher Education Supplement (currently, the Times Higher Education, THE) emerged, and the competition for a position among top “globally competitive” universities in their respective countries became quite controversial (Altbach and Salmi 2011; Hezelkorn 2011).

Currently, a university’s ranking is recognized as mandatory information when a university and other stakeholders seek partnerships and collaboration. Even if a country does not have universities with major rankings, governments frequently refer to ranking positions when they award national scholarships or recruit new staff members. The practice of universities and individuals seeking world-class environments for learning and research has become widespread, and the number of universities wishing to establish world-class status has continued to increase.

In East Asia, where the concept of regional higher education typically seen in Europe is still undeveloped, national governments have become the main players in international competition. For example, in 2014, the Japanese gov-

ernment started a 10-year project to support “Top Global Universities,” which is aimed at getting thirteen Japanese universities ranked within the top 100 in the world (Yonezawa and Shimmi 2015).

However, the methodologies for ranking universities are varied and have evolved over the years partly due to the significant increase of data concerning university activities and also due to an increasing number of “rankers” (university ranking providers) with different missions. Thus, the results of university rankings are also becoming more varied. For example, in 2014, only two Japanese universities were ranked in the top 100 in the World University Rankings in the THE and Best Global Universities by “US News and World Report,” while three were ranked in ARWU by Shanghai Jiao Tong University, five were ranked in Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) World Class University Rankings, and eight were listed in the Rankings of Universities by the Center for World University Rankings (CWUR) in Saudi Arabia. In 2015, two Asian university rankings were published. The University of Tokyo is ranked number one in the Asia University Rankings by THE, but ranked twelfth in QS University Rankings Asia, reflecting differences in ranking methodologies.

The results of international university rankings vary according to the indicators used and weight given to each indicator. The U-Multirank does not provide comprehensive rankings, and other rankings allow users to choose their own indicators and weights. It is becoming common for ranking providers to publish subject-based rankings. The domination of university ranking providers in the assessment of university performance has likely passed. Users, including universities and governments, now have more options for searching ranking results that fit their own purposes.

Given this context, what are the current profiles of East Asian universities in the various types of rankings? To what degree can we know the similar characteristics from these different data sets now available to the ranking providers? Here, the ultimate question would be “Can East Asian universities break the spell of both domestic and international hierarchies and seek their inherent university mission as the universities in this region?”

In the following section, the author examines the current profiles of top universities in East Asia based on the available data from the various global and regional rankings. The limitations of this approach are evident (Shin et al. 2011). First, we can only access the internationally comparable data of the very top universities, but we do not know the profiles of a majority of the universities in this region. Second, in most cases, we can only access the aggregated scores that are created based on the different indicators used by the different ranking providers. Despite these limitations, we now can access all kinds of information on the universities that are ranked at the top in the region and they are also aiming to be ranked high in the world league tables. What I intend to do in the remainder of the chapter is to examine whether these East Asian universities resemble one another or not.

Currently, there are five major world university rankings based on various combinations of indicators. The ranking results, especially for East Asian

universities, are very different depending on the selected indicators and their respective weights. ARWU 2014 focuses on the scientific performance of universities based on publicly available quantitative data. CWUR 2014 also relies on publicly available data, but includes a wider range of indicators. THE 2014, QS 2014, and US-News 2014 focus more on reputation surveys, combined with data on financial and human resources, research performance, and numbers of international student and academics, data collected mainly from universities themselves. Among the three, the US-News puts the heaviest weight on research profiles, whereas the QS focuses more on the university's international reputation.

The following sections examine: (1) the research performance; (2) the reputation both from academics and external stakeholders, such as employers; and (3) international profiles of top East Asian universities. Based on the international ranking exercises, the main performance indicator is research performance, partly because it is very difficult to compare other education performance indicators. As for educational performance, there appears to be no clear consensus on how to measure it. For example, QS utilizes the faculty–student ratio and employer reputation, THE shows the results of combined indicators with a heavy weight given to reputation, and ARWU utilizes the number of prizewinners among alumni. Therefore, the author has decided to exclude the education performance from the analysis presented below.

RESEARCH PERFORMANCE

The indicators identified for research performance include: (1) awards such as Nobel Prizes, (2) high-level research performance by a limited number of researchers and fields, and (3) overall quality and quantity of research.

Awards

In order to show the highest level of research performance, the number of Nobel Prize winners and Field Medals of staff and alumni are used as the indicators by ARWU. The CWUR uses similar indicators covering a wider range of awards and controlled by size. Among East Asian universities, the Japanese top national universities, especially Kyoto University and the University of Tokyo, show distinguished performance as measured by these indicators.

It is quite obvious that the Japanese scientific communities have achieved a high level of research performance earlier than other East Asian economies. This is partly because the Japanese national university system has a hierarchical structure that enables it to concentrate talented students and researchers in a small number of top universities. However, it cannot be perceived that the award indicator works to the advantage of Japanese universities in a significant way when compared to other East Asian universities. For example, in the ARWU, the University of Tokyo was ranked 14th when the award factor was excluded, but it was ranked 21st when the award factor was included.

Highly Cited Researchers

In order to measure relatively high levels of research, the ARWU uses the number of highly cited researchers as well as the number of articles published in *Nature* and *Science*. The CWUR also uses the number of highly cited research papers and combines this with the number of research papers appearing in highly influential journals.

Based on these indicators, the most distinguished group of universities from East Asia consists of two top Japanese universities, namely, the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University, followed by Osaka University, Tohoku University (Japan), and other non-Japanese universities such as National University of Singapore (Singapore), Tsinghua University, Peking University (China), and Seoul National University (South Korea).

Publications and Citations

With respect to publications and citations, all five major rankings use some form of indicators but take different approaches. For example, the CWUR uses the university's h-index as the measurement of the high impact of research. Using this indicator, three Japanese top national universities, namely, the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, and Osaka University make up the distinguished group, followed by National University of Singapore, Seoul National University, Tohoku University, and the University of Hong Kong. However, some rankings do not provide the raw data scores, or alternatively use a complex method of statistical normalizing.

In order to observe the relationship between performance and the publication database, the CWTS Leiden Ranking provided by the Centre for Science and Technology Studies of Leiden University and the Performance Ranking of Scientific Papers for World Universities of National Taiwan University (NTU Ranking) provide rankings specifically focused on research performance.

Figure 17.1 shows the research performance of 174 East Asian universities measured by quantity and quality. The horizontal axis indicates the number of publications in international scientific journals selected by CWTS from the Web of Science, provided by Thompson Reuters. As this indicator represents the quantity of research output, which is dependent on the number of affiliated researchers, a university with a large number of researchers in fields that produce many articles is advantaged. The vertical axis shows the proportion of a university's publications that belong to the top 10 percent of most frequently cited articles, compared with other publications in the same field. This indicator represents the quality of research output, independent of the size of faculties and components of various academic fields.

Within Fig. 17.1, three high-performing groups with different profiles can be identified. The universities in the first group score high on both the high quantity and quality of research. In this group, two top universities of Singapore (National University of Singapore and Nanyang Technological University) and, possibly, one Chinese university (Tsinghua University) are included.

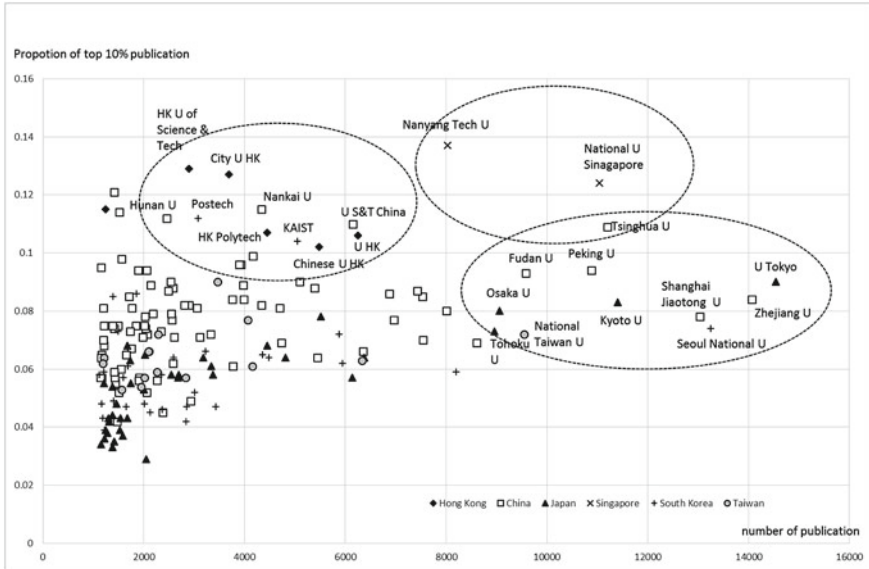


Fig. 17.1 Research performance of selected East Asian universities by quantity and quality (*Source:* Created by author based on the data of CWTS Leiden Ranking 2015)

The universities in the second group produce large amounts of publications but their quality, in general, is modest. Four Chinese universities (Peking University, Zhejiang University, Shanghai Jiaotong University, and Fudan University), four Japanese universities (University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Osaka University, and Tohoku University), one South Korean university (Seoul National University), and one Taiwanese university (NTU) are included in the second group.

The universities in the third group produce a modest number of publications but their quality is relatively high. Five universities in Hong Kong (University of Hong Kong, Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong Polytechnic University, City University of Hong Kong, and Hong Kong University of Science and Technology), three Chinese universities (University of Science and Technology China, Nankai University, and Hunan University), and two South Korean universities specializing in science and technology (Pohang University of Science and Technology [Postech] and Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology [KAIST]) are included.

This grouping exercise indicates that there are multiple approaches for demonstrating high research performance. As seen in the first group, the pursuit of both quantity and quality of research output should be ideal, but it is only possible when there is a very strong national investment in research combined with a concentration of national (in the case of Tsinghua) and international (in the case of Singapore) high caliber researchers. Other national flagship univer-

sities in leading economies in the non-English speaking systems in the second group maintain research influence by having a large number of researchers. Universities in Hong Kong and two South Korean universities that conduct education and research in science and technology (mainly in English) in the third group demonstrate high-quality research, but the quantity of their published articles is rather limited. A similar level of performance is also achieved by some mainland Chinese universities but they operate in completely different environments.

Four major university rankings, such as the CWUR, the Leiden Ranking, and the NTU Ranking, provide field- and subject-based rankings. The approaches of performance measurement vary among ranking providers. Most indicators are based on publication databases, while QS and THE use the results of reputation surveys as well.

From these results, we cannot determine critical differences among East Asian economies except for gathering some vague impressions. In the humanities and social science fields, the use of English in education and research to some degree seems to be advantageous, while the flagship universities in non-English speaking economies are also ranked highly when the results of reputation surveys are counted. In the basic science fields, the universities of the countries with long academic traditions such as Japan are relatively strong, while in the applied fields, such as engineering, the universities from newly emerging economies, such as China, are relatively strong.

REPUTATION AND LINKAGE WITH INDUSTRY AND BUSINESS

Two major rankings, THE and QS, factor in reputation, based on the wide range of surveys conducted among academics. Each of their score distributions is completely different. In the THE reputation ranking, the scores among the very top universities differ drastically, from 100 by Harvard University which is ranked first, to 21 by Columbia University which is ranked tenth. From East Asia, only five universities, namely, the University of Tokyo (Japan, 12th, 19.3), National University of Singapore (Singapore, 24th, 10.4), Tsinghua University (China, 26th, 9.5), Kyoto University (Japan, 27th, 9.3), and Peking University (China, 32nd, 7.7), are ranked within the top 50, and the ranking scores of 51st and lower are not revealed.

By contrast, the academic reputation scores of the QS World University Rankings provide very high scores to a wide range of universities. From East Asia, seven universities, namely, the University of Tokyo (Japan, 7th, 100.0), National University of Singapore (Singapore, 9th, 100.0), Kyoto University (Japan, 16th, 99.9), Peking University (China, 19th, 99.9), Tsinghua University (China, 27th, 99.6), the University of Hong Kong (Hong Kong, 30th, 99.3), and Seoul National University (South Korea, 32nd, 99.0) are given scores of 99.0 or more. Even the score of Fudan University (China), ranked 50th, is still high at 94.7.

Although the weight to be assigned to the reputation indicators is heavy (33 percent in THE, and 40 percent in QS), it is hard to identify any significant

difference of reputation among the very top East Asian universities. At least for the flagship universities of the respective East Asian economies, the reputation surveys are not disadvantageous in general, but there are no apparent differences among their scores and therefore the ability to use them for comparative purposes is definitely limited.

As for the perspectives and commitment from industry and business, major ranking providers are still trying to develop appropriate indicators. THE publishes a score of the income from industry. Peking University, Tsinghua University (China), KAIST, Postech, Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul National University (South Korea), and Nanyang Technological University (Singapore) are among the top scorers. QS publishes the scores of data that employers offer for the reputations of given universities. Flagship universities, such as National University of Singapore and Nanyang Technological University (Singapore), Tsinghua University and Peking University (China), the University of Tokyo (Japan), and the University of Hong Kong (Hong Kong) are among the very top scorers but without any significant differences among them, thereby once again providing data of limited use.

INTERNATIONAL PROFILES

Two major rankings, namely, THE and QS, provide international profiles based on the international flow of faculties and students. QS scores the share of faculties with international associations. Here, universities in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Macau show distinguished international profiles, followed by universities in China, Taiwan, and South Korea. Japanese universities generally ranked low in international profiles. Two private universities, Ritsumeikan University and Waseda University, are ranked higher than top national universities on this indicator, but even then these two universities rank significantly lower than other top-ranked universities in East Asia. QS also provides the scores of the share of international students within the overall student body. Here, again, universities in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Macau show significantly high profiles, followed by universities in South Korea, Taiwan, and China (especially in Shanghai). The profiles of Japanese universities again are quite low on this indicator.

From the analysis above, we can identify two approaches for East Asian universities to achieve high positions in the international hierarchy. The first approach is to invest heavily on a limited number of public comprehensive universities that have a very competitive research performance. Following this approach, two Japanese universities, namely, the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University have distinguished research achievements, mainly in science fields. Even including them, however, there is no significant difference in the research performance among the top universities in respective higher education systems in East Asia. The research performance indicator is not able to differentiate which country is strong in which subjects or fields in East Asia.

A more critical point would be to observe the amount of academic work represented by a university. In general, East Asian top universities produce a large amount of research output. For example, the University of Tokyo, which produces the largest amount of publications in East Asia, is ranked fifth in the world by Leiden Ranking 2015 in total number of publications. The quality of most of the research in these universities is modest. For example, Nanyang Technological University which achieves the highest proportion of top 10 percent publications in East Asia is ranked 85th by Leiden Ranking 2015 in the world using this criterion. Only universities that can attract global talents, such as the two top universities in Singapore (National University of Singapore and Nanyang Technological University) as well as the top science and technology-oriented universities with a massive domestic talent pool (Tsinghua University, China) can attain high research performance in terms of both quality and quantity.

The second approach is to develop strong international profiles for top universities, or, to be more precise, to develop a university with research and education activities using the English language. Among the East Asian universities, their international profiles show very interesting contrasts across higher education systems and even within systems. Hong Kong and Singapore are now functioning as international knowledge hubs (Knight 2011), and universities there, and also in Macau, have very high international profiles in both staffing and student recruitment. The universities of South Korea and Taiwan have relatively high international profiles. In South Korea, we can observe different types of universities with high international profiles, namely: (1) universities that focus on science and technology, such as KAIST and Postech; (2) private comprehensive universities, such as Yonsei, Korea, Ihhwa, Kyonhee, and Sonkyunquan; and (3) Seoul National University which is a flagship national comprehensive university. Universities in Taiwan and Hong Kong have the advantage of attracting talent from the Greater China region because of common Chinese language and culture. As for Japan, the international profiles of representative comprehensive universities, in both the national and private sectors, are not impressive when compared to other East Asian top universities.

THE IDEA OF THE EAST ASIAN UNIVERSITY: CHALLENGE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

Salmi (2009) has provided a recipe for developing world-class universities. Adding to a concentration of talent and abundant resources, he stresses the importance of favorable governance, including autonomy and academic freedom. In East Asia, or even in Europe before the establishment of the Humboldtian idea of universities, the idea of academic autonomy was not considered indispensable in seeking excellence in science and technology.

As seen in the strong Confucian tradition in East Asia, the ideas of higher learning and research are not identical with Western ones. Even within the East Asian region, interpretations of Confucius's ideas are varied. Therefore, for

some East Asian countries with relatively established modern academic cultures such as Japan, strong academic autonomy and freedom are taken for granted as a part of a university culture. However, other systems in this region are now almost achieving the status of world-class universities, without any clear definition of academic freedom, institutional autonomy, and collegiality.

The age of catching up is almost ending in East Asian higher education. For example, Japanese universities are becoming more mature, while facing another challenge, namely, how to fit themselves within the new demands of high international profiles. Hong Kong and Singapore have distinctively international higher education systems, and they are seeking international profiles by making linkages with global top universities. South Korea is seeking to create a high-performance university system by simultaneously achieving high-level research, and establishing many international connections, as well as pursuing high-level participation in higher education. The Taiwanese higher education system has a similar structure to those of Japan and South Korea with respect to its hierarchical structure, large private sector, and also a relatively strong tradition of academic collegiality. However, the interpretation of internationality and global strategy is quite different with other East Asian higher education systems in various aspects.

Considering increasing capacity to enroll international students being achieved by East Asian higher education systems, it is more likely that the student and faculty exchanges between East Asia and other regions will be accelerated. The choice of language of education and research will be crucial in the determination of the profiles of higher education systems and institutions in this region. Student exchanges within East Asia have relied significantly on the linguistic linkage between Chinese, Korean, and Japanese. Wider usage of the lingua franca (English at this moment) means that there will be greater involvement of non-native speakers with more diversified language and cultural identities.

International collaboration among the top universities either in research or education will continue to increase and in this regard, English-based higher education systems such as those in Hong Kong and Singapore will lead the trend. However, in the non-elite universities which enroll the majority of students in this region, there could be an increase of more casual student exchanges, that is, a more horizontal, shorter term, culturally oriented exchange. Automation and commodification of cyber-based translation and interpretation in reading, writing, and speaking may change the landscape of academic languages. Although the role of translation will become more invisible, the translation of texts and other educational contents will continue to be significant in academic activities for the majority of university faculties and students in East Asia.

The challenge of defining the ideas of universities in the East Asian context continues. While past challenges have been overcome in the very long history of universities, we now need more dialogues among university-associated people with different cultural backgrounds. These dialogues can be geopolitical or geocultural in nature. The changing power balance in the economy and

diplomacy has significantly influenced the ideas and models of universities as seen even in the relatively short history of East Asian higher education.

East Asian universities will break the spell of “catching up” in the hierarchy of higher education systems as a whole because the directions and approaches in the development of East Asian universities are becoming more diverse, and one model cannot fit all. On the other hand, at least among top universities, the spell of hierarchy will continue, or become even harsher, because there appears to still be room for catch up under the current world ranking system, which is based on the ideal model of top universities in the West. At this point in time, we cannot observe any clear features that are uniquely the profiles of East Asian universities. However, it is also true that we now can find different types of universities and higher education systems in the region.

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Reforms of University Governance and Management in Asia: Effects on Campus Culture

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INTRODUCTION

The university can shape society and in turn, it is shaped by society. The contribution of the university to society is complex and multidimensional and may take different forms in different countries. Conversely, universities seldom rise above the socio-economic and political context in which they are embedded and the current and future trends in university education are related to their historical development. In the era of globalization, it is important to note that the development of universities is also influenced by global trends, as well as how various countries interact with these global influences. The main argument in this chapter is that much of the university reforms that are taking place or have occurred in Asia in the recent past are the results of interactions between global influences and national responses. As Archer (1991) points out, global processes are now partly constitutive of local realities, so that the local context cannot be completely understood in local terms. But this does not mean these global trends offer a sufficient explanation of local university reforms either. Global trends provide a source of policy borrowing and a backdrop of policy choices. However, they are adapted to and blended with local conditions and options in a fluid contingent policy process (Lee 2014).

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Globalization and Education

The use of global or “extra-national” frames to analyze university reforms has gained much popularity in recent years as educators have examined how global processes are affecting the development of higher education systems directly or indirectly in various countries. Globalization is often viewed as a multi-dimensional process which unfolds in the realms of global economy, global politics, and global culture (Pieterse 1995). What have made the globalization process feasible have been the development of new information and communication technologies and the increased mobility of people, capital, ideas, and knowledge (Appaduria 1990). Innovative ideas about university reforms and practices also flow from country to country. Nation-states tend to follow global trends in education through “institutional isomorphism” (DiMaggio and Powell 1983) and “educational borrowing” (Halpin and Troyna 1995). Many of the university reforms in Asian countries are very much the outcomes of the interplay between the external influences and internal forces that exist in a particular country.

According to Davies and Guppy (1997), two sets of arguments employ globalization as a conceptual framework to analyze educational reforms in a particular country. One is “economic globalization” and the other is “global rationalization.” The economic globalization perspective focuses on the ascendancy of the global marketplace in shaping university reforms, whereas global rationalization maintains that global trends in higher education are being adopted and adapted by countries throughout the region as they restructure and adjust to the impinging global forces in various realms. The global economy is fast becoming a knowledge-based economy and in this respect, higher education is increasingly being viewed as central to national strategies for securing shares of the global market. The role and value of higher education hinge on its contribution to the development of social and economic arrangements, which will give a competitive edge to countries in the global market. Universities are the repositories of much of the scarce and valuable human resources that nations possess for competing successfully in the global economy (Slaughter and Leslie 1997). The global market creates a worldwide demand for certain kinds of skills, which are associated with high levels of education. With compelling logic, it follows that to create national wealth, it is essential to develop high technology and technoscience which can lead to the discovery of new products and processes that can help to increase the number of high-paying, high-technology jobs.

On the other hand, global rationalization stresses the notion of a system of world culture. According to Meyer (1980), the world system is not simply a collection of nation-states engaged in economic exchange, but also an overarching social system of institutional rules and structural properties. These rules define the parameters within which nations operate and strongly influence the behavior of nations. At the same time, the behavior of nations helps shape institutional structures and pushes their evolution in new directions. The

emphasis is on evolving world cultural imperatives, as compliance with them is an important source of legitimacy and resources. Examples of how world cultural norms have evolved over time can be seen in the practice of schooling, environmentalism, human rights, women's rights, and other transnational social movements. According to this line of argument, the institutionalization of schools into rationalized bureaucratic forms is very much part of the world culture.

Many empirical studies have shown that national education systems have become more porous, and educational reforms across nations bear remarkable similarities because there has been much policy borrowing and transfer of innovative practices (Stromquist and Monkman 2014). The restructuring of higher education is a worldwide phenomenon and it is possible to identify some common trends in ways in which restructuring has proceeded in the Asian region. This chapter focuses on reforms in university governance and management that have taken place in various Asian countries, highlighting the trade-off between institutional autonomy and public accountability, the policy mechanisms used by different governments in granting autonomy to universities. The chapter also analyzes some common features of these reforms, in particular their impact on the academic culture.

CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN UNIVERSITIES AND THE STATE

The relationship between universities and the state revolves around the issues of autonomy and accountability. The state and universities are constantly engaged in redefining their mutual relationship, with the state demanding more accountability on the one hand and universities insisting on more autonomy on the other (Neave and van Vught 1991). An emerging trend in the reforms of university governance in the region is an increase in institutional autonomy in return for more public accountability.

The driving forces behind these reforms stem from a variety of factors including the role that neoliberal ideology has played in encouraging many governments to cut back on their public and social expenditures, which in turn has resulted in drastic cuts in public funding to universities. To overcome these budgetary constraints, universities need to seek alternative sources of funding and they have been given the freedom to generate their own revenues through engaging in different kinds of market-related activities. As universities find themselves operating increasingly in a competitive and market-oriented environment, they need to be flexible and to respond quickly to market demands. Therefore, many academic leaders recognize the nature and force of these pressures and have started searching for ways to make their universities more entrepreneurial and autonomous. As many universities continue to grow and expand within this climate of limited resources, their stakeholders, including the state, become concerned with the quality of education they are able to provide. This

leads in turn to universities being increasingly subjected to external pressures to achieve greater accountability for their performances.

In examining the autonomy and accountability of universities, we need to be clear in the meanings of these terms. A brief literature review reveals an important distinction between academic freedom and institutional autonomy. The term “autonomy” means “the power to govern without outside controls” and the term “accountability” means “the requirement to demonstrate responsible actions to some external constituenc(y)ies” (Berdahl 1990, 171). The balance between “autonomy” and “accountability” is very important because too much autonomy might lead to universities being unresponsive to society, and too much accountability might destroy the necessary academic ethos in the universities. It is also important to note that academic freedom and institutional autonomy are not synonymous, for an increase in institutional autonomy may not necessarily mean more academic freedom (sometimes the reverse can happen). “Academic freedom” is “that freedom of the individual scholar in his/her teaching and research to pursue the truth ... without fear of punishment or termination of employment” (Berdahl 1990, 171–172).

To further clarify the autonomy concept, Berdahl has identified two aspects of institutional autonomy, namely, (1) *substantive autonomy* and (2) *procedural autonomy*. “Substantive autonomy” is the power of the university to determine its own goals and programs, that is, the “what of academe,” whereas the “procedural autonomy” is the power of the university to determine the means by which its goals and programs will be pursued, that is, the “how of academe” (Berdahl 1990, 172). It is important to ask when and if the state intervenes in university affairs, are the government actions affecting the substantive goals of the institution, or are they just intervening in procedural matters? Similarly, if a university is given institutional autonomy, is it substantive autonomy or procedural autonomy or both?

It is interesting to observe that different policy initiatives may allow different kinds of autonomy to universities. Broadly speaking, there are three approaches to guarantee more autonomy to universities (Lee 2012):

1. *Deregulation*, which means that the regulation and requirements concerning higher education have either been cut back or abolished altogether, for example, in areas such as requirements concerning university admission, university facilities, university budget, and other areas.
2. *Corporatization*, which means that universities are operating like business organizations wherein they are allowed to engage in market-related activities and to generate and retain their own revenues, and to be governed by a Board of Directors or Trustees who are seemingly independent from the government.
3. *Privatization* is an approach where public enterprises are being privatized and run like private companies such that both the control and ownership lie outside the purview of the government.

As expected, the level of autonomy is highest in private universities. An autonomous university is one that is free to select its student intakes, design its study programs, develop its research programs, hire its staff, appoint its leaders, and be administratively autonomous. There are a number of aspects of university affairs where autonomy can be granted. One way is through changes in the university governance structure. Whether a university is governed by a ministry of education or by an independent Board of Trustees or Directors can determine its degree of autonomy. The amount of institutional autonomy is also reflected by how the university's chief executive officer (CEO) is appointed and how much power he/she has. Another area is how decisions are made on academic matters. How much autonomy does a university have to chart its mission, to offer academic programs compatible with its mission, to control standards for admission and degree requirements, and so on (Volkwein 1987)? A third area is financial flexibility, indicating how much control a university has in the preparation and allocation of its budget, how free it is to be able to generate revenues and manage its expenditure with few external restrictions, and the degree to which it is able to retain revenues so gained. A fourth area is appointive powers, which govern such activities as the hiring and promotion of personnel and the conditions of employment. A fifth area is university management, which can produce a collegial academic culture, a bureaucratic culture, or even a corporate culture. The amount of autonomy an academic has varies according to the position he/she holds in the organizational structure and the type of culture the campus has.

CHANGING UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT

One of the most often cited works on national governance arrangements in higher education is Burton Clark's *triangle* of state, market, and academia (Clark 1983). According to Clark, developed countries have developed different forms of "co-ordination" of higher education, namely: (1) a more market-like co-ordination such as the USA, (2) a more state-induced co-ordination such as the USSR and Sweden, and (3) a form of co-ordination based on the rule of an academic oligarchy such as in the UK and Italy. Often countries show a mix of these three different models.

A more recent work by van Vught (1994) differentiates between a *state control model* and a *state-supervising model*. The state control model is found in many European countries. It is characterized by a strong authority of state bureaucracy on the one hand and a relatively strong position of the academic oligarchy within the university on the other hand. In this model, the state is seen as intervening in matters such as access and equity in higher education, approval of educational programs, degree requirements, examination systems, the remuneration of academic staff, and others. However, the academic community maintains a considerable authority in the management of the internal university affairs in particular concerning the contents of the courses and research. The weakest chain in this governance model is the internal university

administration. The state-supervising model is found in countries that have an Anglo-Saxon tradition. It is characterized by a weaker range of authority for the state bureaucracy. In this model, authority is divided between a strong academic community and the internal administration of universities. The state influence remains remote. The state's role is primarily to supervise the higher education system so as to assure academic quality and to maintain a certain level of accountability.

With the massification of higher education, universities usually enroll large numbers of students and become more complex organizations. In the current climate of cuts in levels of governmental support, universities are under pressure to do more with less, to find ways to be less wasteful, and to develop better management in order to replace the missing resources. What is now commonly termed as academic capitalism (Slaughter and Leslie 1997) means that academics are required to seek out new sources of funds. In response to the changing context of higher education, a shift has occurred from academic governance to the "new managerialism" in many of the universities, in particular, in the corporatized and autonomous universities.

In the literature, the notion of academic governance refers to the collegiality of academics of equal status working together with minimal hierarchy and maximum trust (Deem 1998). Academic staff are viewed as self-governing, sharing power, and with common commitments and aspirations. They share decision-making, have collective responsibilities, and participate in collective administration. They uphold the ideals of collaboration, debate, consensus, and democracy. In recent years, this kind of university governance has been criticized for its slow decision-making processes, for being inefficient and resistant to change. It has been pointed out that academic governance of this order may only be appropriate in times where there is stability, where there is budgetary certainty, and where the absence of competition prevailed (Monaghan 2007). The shortcomings of academic governance become increasingly obvious when the external environment for universities becomes progressively more hostile and competitive. Ramsden (1998) has declared that the weaknesses of the traditional collegial approach are too great for a time when rapid decisions have to be made and where quick responses to external stimuli are required.

For many of the reasons mentioned above, the academic governance model is being replaced by various varieties of "new managerialism" in many universities, where the term tends to refer to the adoption by public sector organizations of organizational forms, technologies, management practices, and values more commonly found in the private sector (Deem 1998). The managerial approaches arising in university administration place emphasis on efficiency, effectiveness, and market behavior. These approaches are sometimes known as New Public Management (NPM) which describes the introduction into public service of the "three Ms," namely, markets, managers, and measurement (Ferlie et al. 1996). The collegial system of management is replaced by a centralization of power and the development of academic managers with executive powers, thus often alienating members of the academic staff. As a

generalization, one can argue that the control and regulation of academic labor seem to have replaced collegiality, trust, and professional discretion. A central feature of new managerialism is “performativity” in the management of academic labor (Cowen 1996). Performance indicators for core activities such as research, quality of teaching, and student learning outcomes are becoming increasingly center stage in universities with the result that academics are subjected to tighter monitoring and auditing. Managerial techniques such as target setting, performance management, strategic planning, internal cost centers, benchmarking, quality management, and others are being institutionalized as parts of this process.

Studies of the practice of new managerialism in universities show that the intermediary bodies in universities such as deans and other mid-level administrators are usually strengthened (Deem 1998; Braun 1999). They tend to be the university administrators engaged in priority setting for the allocation of resources and in management by objectives. Performance indicators and resource allocation are closely linked to strategic objectives. The need for universities to respond to external pressures reinforces the powers of executive authorities in universities. Universities overall are subjected to market pressures and managerial rationales forces that move them toward being both service and client oriented. This kind of orientation is particularly strong in corporatized and autonomous universities which view students as customers and practice consumer-based approaches to course offerings. The pressure to secure outside funding leads overall to the commodification of knowledge, the marketing of educational services, and the commercialization of research and innovation. The new organizational structure in corporatized and autonomous universities links universities with the corporate world, especially industry.

REFORMS IN UNIVERSITY GOVERNANCE IN ASIA

A recent study by Lee (2012) analyzes recent university reforms in a number of Asian countries with the aim of ascertaining those aspects of university education in which autonomy has increased. The findings of the study are summarized in the following sections.

Corporatization of Public Universities

The corporatization of public universities has occurred in some Asian countries, specifically Malaysia, Singapore, and Japan. In Malaysia, university corporatization started with five public universities in 1998 and later spread to all public universities in the country. In 1995, the Universities and University Colleges Act of 1971 was amended to lay the framework for all public universities to change. Through corporatization, public universities are freed from the shackles of government bureaucratic regulations and are meant to be run like business corporations. Corporatized universities are empowered to engage in market-related activities and generate revenue as a portion of their operating

costs. Under the amended Act, the university governance structure is changed with the University Council being replaced by a Board of Directors, the size of the senate is reduced, and the Vice-Chancellor is given strong executive power equivalent to that of a CEO.

The Singapore government carried out a review of public university governance and funding in 2000. Based on this review, universities in Singapore, which are mostly public, have been encouraged to become entrepreneurial so as to diversify their financial resources. The government also established a University Endowment Fund to encourage the National University Singapore (NUS) and Nanyang Technological University (NTU) to attract philanthropic donations as an alternative source of income apart from government grants and tuition fees. With an emphasis on the principle of public and financial accountability, the Singapore government announced in 2000 that NUS and NTU would be given greater operational autonomy especially in financial management within a more general accountability framework. The allocation of public funds would be made according to the outcomes of universities' internal and external quality reviews. At the same time, faculty members were delinked from civil service salary structures and they no longer enjoy automatic annual increments, being instead subjected to performance-based increments. In 2005, NUS and NTU followed the footsteps of Singapore Management University and were corporatized into not-for-profit companies, whereby the governing councils and management are to take on greater responsibilities for key decisions.

In April 2004, the national universities in Japan were also corporatized and became independent administrative corporations in the country's move to revitalize the university system and in its attempt to create dynamic, internationally competitive universities (Yamamoto 2012). Corporatization is meant to encourage national universities to develop independently and autonomously in the hope of opening pathways to a diverse range of national universities instead of just one dominant prototype. National university corporations are to clarify their management responsibilities so as to strengthen management frameworks within the universities by establishing top-down decision-making mechanisms centering on presidents and deans. Instead of being elected by peers, university presidents are to be appointed by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science, and Technology. With the expansion of independence and the autonomy of university administration, internal audits would be established to produce self-discipline and self-responsibility, including financial administration of each university. In 2004, the National Accreditation System was established to carry out external assessment and evaluation. At the same time, national university corporations are able to invest in other corporations by outsourcing their operations, developing business plans, and gaining financing from multiple sources through revenue-associated businesses. The employees of the national university corporations adopted a non-public servant status and are subjected to impartial performance evaluation and rewarded with an incentive system built into the salary schemes.

Autonomous Universities

Autonomous universities are found in Indonesia and Thailand. In 1999, the Indonesian government passed two laws in the higher education sector (PP60 and PP61) that aimed at giving Indonesian universities more institutional autonomy. As of January 2000, four public universities, namely, Universitas Indonesia, Institute of Agriculture Bogor, Institute of Technology Bandung, and Universitas Gadjah Mada, were selected to function as “guides” in Indonesia’s move toward greater academic and financial autonomy (Beerrens 2002). These four universities became separate legal entities, with each being accountable to a Board of Trustees instead of reporting directly to the Ministry of Education as they had in the past. The university rector is no longer appointed by the Ministry, but by the Board of Trustees. Changes were also made to university funding as block grants and formula-based funding replaced itemized line budgeting. In addition, the universities were allowed to collect tuition fees directly from students and to set tuition levels. The autonomous universities can appoint their own rectors, develop new study programs, and mobilize resources.

In the case of Thailand, various higher education reforms have been initiated since 1990 based on The Higher Education Long Range Plan (1990–2004). The Long Range Plan addressed four major issues of Thai higher education: equity, efficiency, excellence, and internationalization. A key policy recommendation was to change existing public universities into autonomous universities and all new public universities would be given autonomous status from their beginning (Kritikara 2004). In 2008, the Thai government conducted a comprehensive retrospective of higher education performance and laid out a new vision of the Second 15-year Long Term Plan for Higher Education (2008–2022). Part of this plan deals specifically with issues related to the higher education system, including changing university governance and administration, financing higher education, staff and personnel development, strengthening university networks, and higher education infrastructure development. One main feature of Thai autonomous universities is delinking the faculty from the civil service and subjecting them to competitive compensation. Autonomous universities are freed from government’s bureaucratic restrictions on their financial and administrative autonomy. However, under the reform, public universities are required to be assessed by an external agency, the Office of the National Education Standards and Quality Assurance, which was established in 2000 to ensure that high academic standards are maintained.

Common Features of University Governance Reforms

These higher education reforms have resulted, perhaps paradoxically given the role of neoliberal ideology in framing them, in expanding the role of the state vis-à-vis higher education. Within these new governance structures, the state can play different roles such as provider, protector, regulator, or advisor, in

different contexts and at different points in time (Lee 2000). As a provider, the state allocates resources to universities. As a protector, it takes on the function of consumer advocacy by improving access to higher education, by formulating policies to promote social equality, and by monitoring the quality of academic programs. As regulator, the state ensures oversight of new and emerging institutions through institutional accreditation and program licensing. It also steers the development of higher education by structuring the market for higher education services to produce outcomes consistent with government priorities. Most governments are interested in influencing the behavior of universities to achieve certain objectives such as quality, efficiency, accountability, and productivity. In some Asian countries, the state has moved from being the sole provider of higher education to take on new roles such as regulator and protector, and in other countries, it is performing the supervisory role instead of the regulatory role by letting public universities become autonomous and encouraging the private sector to play a more active role in providing higher education.

It is possible to draw some other generalizations from the above study that suggest the overall commonalities operating within the Asian context. First, corporatized and autonomous universities have increased institutional autonomy in which university heads act like CEOs, making quick decisions without being restricted by bureaucratic regulations or extensive consultation with academics if they choose not to seek such. Second, restructured universities are under pressure to seek diversified sources of funding and they are allowed to engage in market-related activities so as to generate avenues for their operating costs. Most governments still continue to fund their public universities, but the funding mechanisms have changed from rigid line budgeting to block grants or formula-based or competitive funding. Public universities in many of these countries are subjected to greater internal and external quality control and in all the cases, some forms of quality assurance agencies or accreditation bodies have been established to perform these tasks. Thailand, Singapore, and Japan are examples of countries that have delinked the faculty from the civil service.

Much of the discussion above has been focused on the systemic level. It would be interesting to examine what actually happens at the institutional level as a result of the changes made in the governance and management of universities. The following section is a review of the literature on how changes in university governance and management can affect campus cultures.

CHANGING UNIVERSITY CULTURE

The organizational culture in contemporary universities has been well researched and various models have been identified. Ian McNay (1995) has identified four types of university culture and labeled them as (1) collegium, (2) bureaucracy, (3) corporation, and (4) enterprise. He maintains that all these four cultures exist in most universities, but in different balances. These differences depend on a range of factors including traditions, mission, leadership, and external

pressures. He also argues that the changing role of administration has created a shift in relative balances, particularly toward the emergent enterprise culture.

The key word for the *collegial culture* is “freedom.” It implies institutional freedom from external controls. The collegial culture is one in which the individual academic makes choices about the way courses are taught and the kinds of research both selected and accomplished. The academic governance model underscores academic freedom in teaching and research, and collegiality is a value greatly treasured within the academic community. The university is a place where intellectuals share their wisdom in a collective attempt to develop their fields of research and deliver quality educational programs. The community of scholars makes progress following decisions that are reached by consensus. The behavioral norm is collegiality in which individuals work respectfully with others toward common goals, including social and intellectual engagement with colleagues.

In the *bureaucratic culture*, the keyword is “regulation.” Rules and regulations are needed to ensure consistency of treatment in areas such as equal opportunities or resource allocation. Standard operation procedures are put in place to ensure efficiency. Universities hire more administrators to handle specific tasks and administrators create committees to formulate and implement various policies. Thus, academics are required to spend more time on auditing, reporting, administering, regulating, and codifying than the core functions of university, which are teaching and research. With the growth of administrative personnel, authority that was previously held and exercised by academics is systematically taken away by new managerial regimes. Increasingly, organizational power lies with the university centralized administration. Bureaucratic centralization sometimes threatens academic freedom.

In the new *corporate culture*, the executive asserts authority. The key word is “power” where the Vice-Chancellor is the CEO. Corporate culture promotes a political atmosphere in which bargaining and negotiation among senior staff for preferred outcomes take place. Working parties with members appointed, not elected, set agendas and condition outcomes. In this culture, administrators dominate while the academics decline in relative influence. The corporate culture also exerts pressure to secure outside funding and to commercialize knowledge production. Disciplines that can patent, brand, and produce marketable products are privileged over those that cannot. The movement is toward an outcome-oriented, performance-based research culture. Emphasis is placed on measurable performances and the achievement of university rankings. University leaders are more concerned with the overt management of site, finance, staff, students, teaching, and research. Effective performances such as teaching more students, graduating students in a more timely fashion, incorporating a consumer-friendly orientation in the student marketplace, and using online instruction to maximize the student–teacher ratios are some of the practices that follow from these organizational imperatives (Cox 2013). The proliferation of “strategic plans” for universities becomes a frequent product

of university leaders as each seeks to create one when they come to power with the result that typically, such plans tend to last until they are replaced by those developed by a successor executive.

In the *entrepreneurial culture*, the key word is “client” which carries the connotations of market and consumers. Universities are places where clients can seek out the services of professionals who have the knowledge, skills, and expertise that they need. It implies that the university should offer educational programs and research that can serve diverse communities. These educational programs and research products should not only be relevant but also affordable. The entrepreneurial university should search for new, more effective, and efficient ways of doing things and the setting up of new organizational forms to manage research so as to work closely with industry (Clark 1998). Enterprising universities should develop a work culture that embraces change in which individuals are willing to take risks and to experiment with new things. A “strengthening steering core” would be able to exploit commercially the opportunities presented by responding quickly to external stimuli. In brief, the enterprise university should be self-steering, self-reliant, and progressive.

Case Study

A case study is used to investigate how the campus culture has been affected by changes in the university governance and management at the institutional level in an Asian university. The case is a public university in Malaysia that was corporatized in 1998 (Lee 2004). Since corporatization, the governance structure of the university was changed from a University Council to a Board of Directors comprised of representatives from the university, the government, the local community, and the private sector. At the same time, the size of the University Senate was greatly reduced, thus resulting in the reduction of academic representation in the University Senate which in turn reduced the influence of academic staff in the decision-making process. In addition, the Vice-Chancellor is no longer appointed by the university but instead by the Ministry of Education. As a corporatized entity, it has to raise a portion of the operating costs. Although the corporatized university is required to raise revenue from market-related activities, it is not allowed to raise tuition fees unilaterally. Any increase in tuition fees has to be approved by the Ministry of Education. Therefore, the corporatized university has to adopt strategic plans that seek revenue from other sources such as full-fee-paying foreign students, research grants and consultancies, franchising educational programs, fees from rental of university facilities, and interest or dividends from investments. As a corporatized university, it has developed new organizational forms to exploit business opportunities with the private sector. A holding company was formed to function as the corporate arm of the university to generate revenue for the university.

Besides diversifying its sources of revenue, the corporatized university has also taken steps to improve its internal institutional management. Following

the global trend, it has adopted new managerialism in its attempts to improve accountability, efficiency, and productivity. Management techniques from the private sector such as mission statements, strategic planning, total quality management, International Organization for Standardization certification, right sizing, and benchmarking were institutionalized in the university. Every school of studies and research institute/center was required to carry out strategic planning and prepare medium-term and long-term business plans. Cost centers that were considered not viable have been either closed down or merged.

To improve management at the institutional level, the university established a corporate development division to help the Vice-Chancellor and the Chancellery to formulate policies and carry out long-term planning. The division was responsible for the self-evaluation of all internal operational procedures such as registration, course development, vetting examinations, and others that are already in place in the university administration. Its functions include carrying out academic audits, maintaining quality, and managing an information system on student and staff ratios, staff profiles, research projects, and other performance indicators for strategic planning purposes.

As part of the corporatization process, the use of performance indicators was introduced. The university identified performance measures, set performance targets for schools, research institutes/centers/units and individual staff. Resource allocation was based on performances at the institutional level which include the administrative staff, academics, and students. All these changes in management practices can be seen as promoting a more powerful role for the central university authorities in resource management and in controlling departmental activities. The Vice-Chancellor acts more like a CEO who is often called upon to make top-down decisions in response to changes in the external environment. Decision-making tends to be restricted to a smaller body at the apex (which also includes external stakeholders) as reflected in the composition of the Board of Directors.

The case study shows that the corporatization of a public university brings about changes in the governance structure, decision-making process, and institutional culture. Not only does the state have a tighter control of the university through its appointment of the members of the Board of Directors and the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor, the central administration of the university has also assumed greater power over the academic community through the executive power of the Vice-Chancellor and the reduction of the size of the University Senate. The collegial and democratic forms of decision-making are replaced with forms of strong executive control.

In this model, the institution has shifted from a collegial culture to a hybrid of bureaucratic and corporate cultures. The corporatized university has become very bureaucratic and hierarchical in its day-to-day administration and this bureaucratic culture permeates the daily lives of the academics. To enhance their chances of being promoted, academics are induced to follow every rule and regulation laid down by the administration and carry out their academic work in a bureaucratic manner. Some of them even work strictly according to

office hours. Many of them acquire bureaucratic attitudes by being not critical and displaying blind loyalty to their administrative superiors. This kind of academic bureaucratic culture, which has emerged from too much direct government control on the universities, has overall degraded Malaysian academia. The development of such a culture has also tightened the government's grip on the universities because many of the academic bureaucrats are induced to turn to government and political leadership for recognition and rewards which have nothing to do with academic achievements. Academics are no longer promoted on the basis of their academic performances but rather rewards are based on non-academic criteria such as favoritism, political patronage, administrative experience, and other kinds of cronyism (Lee 2004). As a consequence, many academics that have been promoted to leadership positions lack intellectual maturity and academic leadership.

The corporatized university operates like a business corporation and a profit-making center. Schools, research institutes/centers have to compete for resources based on their performances on indicators laid down by the university central administration. Working in this corporate culture, academics are under increased pressure to source funding and revenue from external sources so as to generate revenue for the university. Among other things, they have to seek consultancies, pursue research grants, enroll full-fee-paying students, franchise their programs, and produce commercial products from their research. The emergence of this kind of university corporate culture is beginning to cause a cleavage between academics in the natural and applied sciences who are constantly subjected to the pressure of being engaged in entrepreneurial activities on the one hand, and those in the social sciences and humanities who perceive the social value of their research being undermined by the university authority (Lee 2004). Many Malaysian academics fear that too much attention would be given to entrepreneurial activities to the extent of impairing the "core business" of the university which is teaching and research.

The corporatization of the public university has also brought about more accountability on the part of the academics. Academics are professionals, but they also have to work in this intensified bureaucratic environment. The academic freedom and institutional autonomy of individuals are increasingly challenged by norms of narrow accountability, that is, "the requirement to demonstrate responsible actions to some external constituencies" (Berdahl 1990, 171). This corporate culture places primary emphasis on performativity. The academic staff has to work out "personal performance contracts" with their heads. They have to submit very detailed statements to their immediate superiors about the work they had completed for the previous year and establish a set of objectives and targets for the following year.

In sum, the case study shows that with the corporatization of public universities in Malaysia, previous academic culture has been swept aside by bureaucratic and corporate cultures at the campus level. The idea of collegial self-governance has been suppressed and replaced by the shift toward new managerialism directed at market objectives. The structural changes in

the corporatized university show that collegial forms of governance have been side-lined, entrepreneurial activities have increased, and corporate managerial practices have been institutionalized.

Conclusions

The main argument of this chapter is that higher education reforms in the Asian region are the results of interactions between global influences and national responses. In examining the relationship between governments and universities, an emerging trend in the region is an increase in institutional autonomy given to universities in return for more public accountability. In studying specifically the reforms of university governance and management occurring in the region, some countries have corporatized their public universities while others have converted their existing universities into autonomous institutions. These restructured universities not only have more institutional autonomy but are also compelled to seek alternative sources of funding other than government. In addition, many of these restructured universities have also changed their management style by incorporating NPM approaches, which emphasize on efficiency, effectiveness, and market behavior. The reforms of university governance and management have impacted the institutional culture, shifting it from a collegial culture to a hybrid of bureaucratic and corporate culture. However, this is the finding of only a particular case in Malaysia. Therefore, while it is possible to find convergence in higher education reforms in the region, their impacts at the institutional level may vary among universities within a country or across countries.

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The Driving Forces of Higher Education: Westernization, Confucianism, Economization, and Globalization

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INTRODUCTION

Higher education is an established sector of society that produces knowledge, facilitates the transfer of knowledge between education and industry as well as professors and students, and confers credentials upon students so that they may exchange human capital for other forms of capital (e.g., social, cultural, physical, and monetary). Western epistemology has dominated the landscape of higher education through early establishment and subsequent expansion, via colonization. The Confucian model of education is also a driving force of higher education throughout Asia, even though they are largely considered post-Confucian societies (Marginson 2014). Confucian thought was at one time a core component of state ideology and now has a latent influence on education. The guiding principles that drove the growth of Western and Confucian education have generated a robust system of global postsecondary education. Although these are two guiding models, a great deal of variety exists within and similarities between the two models. The role of economics as a driving force of higher education has generated an increasingly global-

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ized and integrated activity among universities. For example, universities are increasingly using quality assurance and mobility efforts to ensure that student credentials will be valued in a global economic setting—not just the country in which it was issued. These four driving forces (Western, Confucian, Economic, and Globalization) will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters, with this chapter providing an overview of each force. These dominant forces shape the degree to which a higher education is attainable and the extent to which it is considered useful for the society.

The foundation to understand these four driving forces will be set in multiple ways. First, the Hawkins et al. (2013a) frame of four hypotheses is used to outline the competing and overlapping role of Western and Asian values. Each hypothesis explains and presents a justification for understanding one driving force as being the most dominant. After briefly explaining each hypothesis, each driving force will be explored further as a means to establish an understanding for the related chapters in this book.

The first hypothesis, the Western dominance model, is the notion that there is no contemporary university in Asia that significantly resembles Asian origins. Although there were many social, religious, and educational institutions of higher learning that pre-dated the contemporary Western university, none of them are currently in existence. As a result, the foundation of this hypothesis is that although the Western university can be adapted to various indigenous environments, it is still a fundamentally Western structure. The second hypothesis is a direct counter argument. The Asian values hypothesis is based on the idea that traditional Chinese values, for example, can frame and redirect the trajectory of higher education in a way that reflects the cultural values of the region. Values like virtue, relational harmony, distributive justice, sustainability, and self-cultivation may influence the Western model to result in a hybrid higher education model (Hawkins et al. 2013a). The economic determinism hypothesis uses a basic notion of resource dependency where in institutions develop structures that will garner resources. It follows the logical reductionist path that (1) governments promote economic development, (2) widespread higher education is necessary for that development, and (3) the degree to which higher education can demonstrate that development and desirable by-products such as employment will determine its levels of government support and even survival. In the work by Hawkins et al. (2013a), this hypothesis is considered the most dominant. The fourth hypothesis is the globalization frame, which shows an increasingly global interdependence and emphasizes convergence around the pursuit of the globally competitive university, which is in turn driven by the quest to be elite among the world rankings.

While exploring each force more deeply, the notion of the Asian hybrid university should be considered. Hawkins et al. (2013b) have proposed six elements that are conceptual yet complex complementarities embedded in the four hypotheses:

1. Cartesian framing versus Yin and Yang,
2. Western “muddling through” versus Asian pragmatic approach to modernity,

3. Western hierarchy versus more fluid organizational structures,
4. Merit-based structures versus relational (network–friendship) structures,
5. Freedom of expression versus politically and culturally contained expression,
6. Notion of democracy as a global currency versus university as a set of linkages of restraint (Hawkins et al. 2013b, 199).

These six elements are useful for examining each force for their benefits, challenges, and potential for mutual influence. The notion of a hybrid university is a conceptual acceptance of the complex complementarities that place a great deal of value on culture while acknowledging the global influences that cause societies to constantly evolve.

WESTERNIZATION

Westernization as a force within Asian higher education is inextricability linked with each country's colonial past. The British colonial academic model was imposed in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Myanmar, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Nepal, and remains an influential cornerstone in these countries' higher education systems today (Altbach 1989; Altbach and Umakoshi 2004). Other European colonial powers leaving their mark on higher education were the French in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos; the Dutch in Indonesia; Spain and the USA (post 1898) in the Philippines; and Russia in central Asian republics (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004). Japan, Thailand, and China did not have direct European colonizers; however, these countries actively adopted Western academic models. Japan, after exploring various Western higher education models took up the German research university model in the late 1880s and subsequently imposed it on its colonies of Korea, Taiwan, and coastal areas of Mainland China (Nakayama 1989). After World War II, Japan adopted an American higher education model. China's higher education history had a multitude of influencers—British, French, German, American, and Japanese—vying for power within Imperial China (Hayhoe 1989). In the early 1950s, after the founding of the People's Republic of China, all higher education institutions (HEIs) came under the control of the national centralized government and were restructured using the Soviet higher education model. Under the Soviet model, Chinese higher education became more departmentalized and segmented according to the perspectives and influence of the approximately 60 branches of ministries under the national government. For example, Beijing Agricultural University came under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture, and the Beijing Chemical Engineering College under that of the Ministry of Chemical Industry, and so forth (Min 2004). Compared to Japan and China, Thailand's higher education trajectory reflected greater independence in selecting the academic models that best fit the needs of its people. During the monarchy of King Rama

V (1868–1910), modern higher education began to take shape in tandem with economic development, such as moving toward a capitalist and trading system, and with greater development of the country’s infrastructure. Various representatives from France, Britain, Germany, and later the USA advised Thai university councils. However, Thai higher education morphed and adapted based on Thai society needs, and as Sinlarat (2004, 211) has explained, “the development of Thai universities was in line with the Thai approach, which favors the middle path and not one marked by extreme changes.” In sum, a common thread that the majority of Asian countries shares is their various extents of adopting a Western higher education model despite each locality having their own typologies of HEIs.

A major colonial mark left on a several Asian (HEIs) is the use of English language as the medium of instruction—from colonial to postcolonial periods, the English language persists. In India under the mid-nineteenth-century British regime, higher education was modeled after the University of London, and accordingly, English became the exclusive language of higher education (Jayaram 1993). India’s Education Commission in postindependence times (1964–1966) espoused the importance of recognizing its regional linguistic diversity and wanted to move toward adopting more regional languages as mediums of instruction at the university level. However, in Jayaram’s (1993, 112) review of mediums of instruction, trends in HEIs relate that “a complete switchover to the regional languages as mediums of instruction at all levels and in all courses is not a possibility in the foreseeable future.” Similarly, hegemonic English language dominance in HEIs is prevalent in Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong as well.

In East Asia, the use of English for both teaching and research stems from pressures to compete with elite Western Universities or internationalization. Higher education sectors in Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan strongly encourage English-taught courses (Chan 2013). South Korean and Taiwanese governments and their HEIs view English-taught courses as a way for their local students to become more competitive in both the domestic and international labor markets. Some universities have gone to the extent of establishing a required percentage of courses to be taught in English (Palmer and Cho 2011). For example, Japan’s Global 30 Scheme markets 13 universities as having an English-friendly curriculum. This is just one aspect of an internationalization strategy to attract non-Japanese speaking students (Jon and Kim 2011). English also extends into research and knowledge dissemination. English is the dominant language of top-tiered journal publications. Chan (2013) has further indicated the depth of the reliance on publications in English, particularly in China, South Korea, and Taiwan, where an obsession for publishing with certain journal index databases such as Engineering Index, Science Citation Index, and Social Science Citation Index is viewed and justified by scholars as activity of a higher quality and also more prestigious. Such databases are produced and owned by US companies. Thus, the knowledge being produced by many East Asian HEIs is vetted and results as a prescribed value based on an *Americanized* system and norms.

Starting in the 1990s, East Asian countries began to view their national economic competitiveness as linked to their universities, thus began initiatives to internationalize their higher education sectors. Singapore and Hong Kong are recognized for their HE internationalization efforts, particularly because the two countries have universities that rank high in major international rankings. Furthermore, these countries have worked to build transnational regional HE hubs. Altbach (2010) has argued that the successes of Singapore and Hong Kong HEIs have resulted from merely copying and mimicking Western academic norms, organization, and management, such as hiring large numbers of non-local resident academic staff and faculty. However, other scholars (Chan 2013) provide a critique that suggests that university successes are not solely due to Westernizing forces, but rather include Asian cultural values, which contribute to the status of institutions as well. Both Chan (2013) and Mok (2007) have posed the critical question of whether East Asian countries' internationalization efforts are proliferating Western practices and in so doing ushering in a new era of Westernization.

CONFUCIANISM

Confucianism, as it relates to higher education, refers to a distinct system that developed in East Asian countries due to the established Confucian tradition, philosophies, and ethical and moral value system (Hawkins 2013; Marginson 2011, 2013; Shin 2012; Starr 2012). Tu (2000, 215) refers to the Confucian designation of East Asia as “a new way of conceptualizing the form of life, the habits of the heart, or the social praxis of those societies that have been under the influence of Confucian education for centuries.” However, Marginson (2013) has cautioned that the use of the term Confucian model to describe HEIs in East Asia is not intended to convey an essentialist attitude that defines all East Asian phenomena as Confucian and ignores the cultural distinctions unique to each country. Rather, the term “was designed to emphasize ... the continued salience in the family of Confucian practices of education as self-cultivation and social advancement” (Marginson 2013, 88). This conceptualization of the Confucian model recognizes that the interaction of Confucian thought with country-specific traditions and economic systems produced a syncretism that contains variations within each country (Shin 2012). However, for the purpose of this broad overview, Confucianism is viewed as a single force that influenced higher education systems in East Asian countries.

Confucius lived from 551 to 479 BCE and set the foundation for moral and ethical thinking as well as social, cultural, and political practices that profoundly influenced China and spread to other countries, such as Japan, Korea, Singapore, and Vietnam (Starr 2012). His teachings emphasized humanism, harmony, and hierarchy (Starr 2012). Humanism involved developing virtuous conduct by practicing the five Confucian virtues. Harmony promoted the avoidance of extremism and conflict through compromise. Hierarchy emphasized social roles and obligations in relationships in which people were expected to know their place and behave accordingly (Starr 2012).

In addition, there is an overarching notion of interconnectedness as characterized in the five great relationships: father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, elder and younger, and ruler and subject. Interconnectedness extends beyond one's family to that of one's ancestors and community. Confucius also believed that people are innately good (Hawkins 2013; Heidt 2010). However, this capacity must be nurtured and shaped in order for true goodness to be fully realized. This can be accomplished in part through education, which is viewed as one of the five Confucian virtues (Hawkins 2013; Heidt 2010).

Confucian teachings spread from China to other countries and became systematized through government, culture, and higher education, manifested in the high value and commitment placed on education. Marginson (2011, 587) has identified several distinct characteristics in the Confucian model in higher education: (1) state involvement in shaping structures, funding, and priorities; (2) the desire for mass tertiary education as evidenced through a commitment in household funding of tuition, "sustained by a private duty, grounded in Confucian values, to invest in education"; (3) a national examination-based system; and (4) public investment in research and globally competitive universities.

These elements are interrelated and stem from the Confucian notion that education is a social virtue rather than an individual one that promotes social harmony (Hawkins 2013; Marginson 2011). In addition, education is an act of filial piety,

an aspect of the child's duty to his/her parents and the duty of parents to the ancestral lineage of the family ... [that] brings honor to the family and better protects continuity with the ancestors, thereby locating the family both in and beyond time. (Marginson 2011, 598)

In the Confucian world, education is therefore viewed as a serious business, an obligation rather than an option, affecting one's lineage, both past and future (Starr 2012).

The emphasis placed on education and its role in creating a just society also leads to strong government investment and commitment to education, resulting in its oversight in higher education structures as well as the promotion of government agendas and priorities (Marginson 2011, 600). Most notably, research and the formation of internationally competitive institutions have arisen as national priorities and led to increased funding in these areas and rapid growth and mass participation in education (Marginson 2011).

Another notable feature of the Confucian model is advancement through an examination-based system that was originally designed to reinforce hierarchy and maintain social order (Hawkins 2013). Successfully advancing through ladder-based examinations promotes the ideal of advancement through merit and presents an opportunity for social mobility (Hawkins 2013).

While the collectively high value and emphasis placed on education yields certain challenges, it also results in extreme pressure placed on individuals and skews state investment in higher education toward elite institutions, which

cater to those who are better prepared and whose families have the capacity to invest in education (Marginson 2011). This reinforces inequities in education and “filter[s] out high ability people ... limit[s] educational opportunity for others” (Chan 2011, 66). Marginson (2011, 606) also noted that potential conflicts between governmental agendas and peer-based research inquiry may pose additional limitations. Such government interference and high level of “social conformity” can potentially stifle creativity and innovation.

Confucian thought has profoundly shaped higher education in East Asian countries. The ideology of education as a social virtue and as an act of filial piety has resulted in distinct characteristics of Asian HEIs such as strong state and family investment in education and a national examination-based system for advancement. Viewed as a national priority, this emphasis on education has accelerated mass tertiary education and increased commitment to research and developing internationally competitive institutions. However, emphasis on education also places undue pressure on individuals to succeed academically and reinforces systemic inequities by funneling state funding to more elite institutions and academically bright students. Regardless, Confucianism permeates Asian higher education through its values, philosophies, and tradition, thereby creating a distinct system that has become known as the Confucian model.

ECONOMICS AND DETERMINISM

In this context economics is a broad driving force that covers the intersections between higher education and financing from governments and individuals as well as the impact of HEIs on individuals and society. The economic determinism hypothesis uses a basic notion of resource dependency in which institutions engage in behaviors necessary to financially support their operations. As noted in the introduction, the deterministic path creates an imperative for (1) governments to promote economic development, (2) in which widespread higher education is necessary for that development, and (3) the degree to which higher education can demonstrate that development and desirable by-products like employment determines its levels of government support and even survival.

One nuance to the driving force of economics is that of neoliberal globalization. As noted variously throughout this volume, the term applies to an economic perspective that promotes a progressive reduction of trade barriers in order to increase the flow of goods and services between countries. An example of this school of thought is Friedman who at the turn of the century opined that free markets could turn enemies into trade competitors. In the “Golden Arches Theory of Conflict Prevention,” he pointed out that countries with a McDonald’s have never engaged in war (Friedman 2000). Unfortunately, the observation is no longer true, but the point remains a cornerstone for proponents: free-market economies are the key to the future. There is significant “pressure for the increased commodification of education as one consequence of a globalizing competitive economy where states can no longer act as national economies” (Robertson et al. 2002, 478). There are reports that the expenditures on education throughout the world have exceeded \$2 trillion dol-

lars, doubling the world market for automobiles (Santos 2006, 68). Financial analysts have called education “one of the hottest markets of the twenty-first century,” and Merrill Lynch analysts have argued that the educational sector possesses similar characteristics to the health field in the 1970s: a gigantic, yet un-capitalized market (Santos 2006, 68).

Altbach et al. (2004, 9) emphasizes that “any discussion of globalization cannot avoid the deep inequalities that are a part of the world system of higher education.” If global momentum and neoliberal aspirations push higher education into a status where its existence is measured by profitability, the institution will undoubtedly go through a radical change. It is unlikely that higher education’s public not-for-profit institutions will disappear, but the profit motive can be inscribed on these entities in order to meet the performance-based standards required of them (Marginson and Rhoades 2002, 287).

To further articulate the economic determinism hypothesis, Slaughter and Rhoades (2004, 11) have defined academic capitalism as higher education’s “pursuit of market and market-like activities to generate external revenues,” which also is “blurring the boundaries among markets, states and higher education.” Academic capitalism embodies an emerging view of knowledge and education as marketable goods, to be traded among individuals, institutions, and nations in the same manner as any other economic good. Academic capitalism, as an institutional habit or behavior, treats knowledge as a private good over which privileged faculty and corporations have claims before the public.

Perhaps the most descriptive report on the economics of higher education in the Asia Pacific is from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2014), which highlights the dramatic rise of higher education, including the number institutions, graduates, research outputs, and citations. Each component is deeply connected to the idea of economic expansion. The report states:

The expansion of higher education across most countries of Asia over the last 20 years is a success story, but with its own set of new challenges. Graduate education was expanded, in large part, to prepare instructional staff to serve the growing undergraduate population but also to further research and innovation in ways that would accelerate national economic development. This expansion placed new demands on government funds, potentially competing with the very sub-sector that it was trying to serve (undergraduate education). (UNESCO 2014, 34)

International rankings will continue to drive a significant proportion of higher education spending, in the conflicted but well-funded pursuit of creating world-class universities. Perhaps the deepest struggle in the role of economics as a driver of higher education is the degree to which the sector is seen as a producer of private or public goods, and as a producer of knowledge or skilled labor. Clearly, higher education can contribute to the production of multiple goods, but the dominant perspective tends to shape public perception, government funding, and the shifting character of colleges and universities.

GLOBALIZATION

Globalization, as defined by Knight (2008, 290), is the flow of “people, culture, ideas, values, knowledge, technology, and economy across borders resulting in a more interconnected and interdependent world.” In relation to higher education, globalization can be characterized as the broad economic, political, and societal forces that push academic institutions to operate from a global perspective, thereby resulting in greater international involvement (Altbach and Knight 2007).

Although dynamically linked to internationalization, globalization is a distinct concept and may be viewed as the “catalyst” (Knight 1996, 6), the driving force by which “broad parts of the world are drawn more closely together, a result of the ubiquity of contemporary systems of communications, transportation, interactions, and engagement” (Neubauer 2013, 133). Internationalization is the *response* to the forces of globalization that is unique to each country and reflects the specific national identity, indigenous culture, resources, and priorities of that nation (Knight 1996). Internationalization therefore encompasses the *policies* and *practices* instituted by academic systems to “cope” with the global realities and environments (Altbach and Knight 2007, 290).

The various elements of globalization are intertwined; however, there are several dominant factors. First, economic issues, or “economic globalization,” have played a key role in globalizing higher education (Lee 2013, 162). Market, trade, and other economic factors have become primary drivers in viewing knowledge as a commodity and the production of knowledge as a “wealth creator for nations” (Knight 2008, 6). This “economycentric, market conscious” environment has, in turn, influenced government policies on a national level as well as within higher education, another factor in globalization (Yamada 2013, 180). Governmental deregulation has resulted in the emergence and expansion of the private sector and proprietary education (Neubauer 2013). In addition, new international and regional frameworks to complement national and regional systems have emerged accompanied by policies and regulations to govern and standardize emerging systems (Knight 2008).

Additionally, continuing developments in technology and communication systems have literally and metaphorically compressed time and space (Harvey 1990), “typified by the volume of exchanges occurring within the system (its ‘amplitude’) and the rapidity with which they occur (its ‘frequency’)” (Neubauer 2013, 138). Hence, due to technological advancements, “distance and time are no longer barriers” thereby resulting in greater use of technology in international contexts (Knight 2008).

Finally, “global rationalization” emphasizes a “system of world culture” and “maintains that global trends in [higher education] are being adopted and adapted by countries throughout the region as they restructure and adjust to the impinging global forces in various realms” (Lee 2013, 162). Consequently, the transfer and sharing of best practices and policies have produced similarities in methods, systems, and approaches across borders (Lee 2013).

The previously listed global influences have stimulated various national responses, and the interactions between the two have resulted in educational reforms in the Asia Pacific region (Lee 2013). These responses are reinforced by other factors, such as Confucian values, as mentioned above. This illustrates the interrelated nature of the various forces that have shaped and continue to influence Asian HEIs.

One impact of globalization in Asian Pacific countries has been the vastly increased access to higher education (Lee 2013; Marginson 2011). Again, already bolstered by the high value placed on education and the strong culture of nation-state involvement in higher education that characterize the Confucian model of education, access to education in general is increasing throughout Asian countries even though there is great variation among the countries (Lee 2013; Marginson 2011). Even countries such as Vietnam, Indonesia, and Malaysia that have gross enrollment ratios below 20 percent are showing an overall increase in enrollments (Lee 2013). Widening access also entails efforts to improve educational opportunities among disadvantaged groups (Lee 2013). Policies include establishing regional universities in rural areas, implementing quotas for rural students, and financial aid for low-income students and distance education (Lee 2013).

Increased competition as a result of globalization has also generated national interest in developing world-class universities and promoting research as an educational priority (Deem et al. 2008; Mok 2007; Marginson 2011; Yamada 2013). World rankings have become a primary concern, and state resources are being poured into research and top universities in the pursuit of attaining global research capacity, evidenced by a growing presence in world science and the quantity of research output in the form of published papers (Marginson 2011). However, Mok (2007) also recognizes the further extension of Western influences as Asian universities align methods and practices dominated by Western paradigms in the fervor to gain world-class status. He cautions against abandoning unique cultural traditions and instead advocates the importance of mutual understanding, noting, “we must respect our own cultures and traditions and develop, reinvent, and promote our systems to enable others to understand, master, and appreciate diversities of cultures and traditions; and we can then have a genuine knowledge reproduction” (Mok 2007, 449). In this instance, Mok urges Asian countries to work toward true internationalization by creating alternate frameworks that maintain national identity and cultural traditions unique to Asian countries while accomplishing the goal of becoming world-class institutions.

Globalization, or the flow of political, societal, and economic trends, has pushed higher educational institutions to adjust to an international framework in order to maintain a competitive edge. Economic globalization, governmental deregulation, technological developments, and a global rationalization framework are among the key elements of globalization. For higher educational institutions in the Asian Pacific region, the response to global influences is reinforced on the one hand by the cultural value placed on education

and complicated by Western influences and dominance in research on the other. In the case of Asian higher education, global influences have resulted in increased access to education and a strengthened governmental resolve to develop world-class institutions focused on research. In this context, world rankings and accelerated research output are primary concerns as Asian higher educational institutions seek to remain competitive in an increasingly global environment.

CONCLUSION

Each of the driving forces contains an entire nomenclature within its own category, but the broad descriptions offered in this chapter are intended to provide a frame for the following chapters in this section. The driving forces are useful core concepts that can be applied in multiple ways to understanding the purpose, growth, and development of higher education in the Asian Pacific region.

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Introduction to Part III: Access, Equity, Capacity, and Quality in the Overall Context of the Massification of Asia Higher Education

As indicated in the general introduction to this *Handbook* the four elements focused on in this section tend to occur as a “related bundle” of attributes in all higher education systems that are given to expansion. This is *not* to argue that such elements were absent from higher education systems during their smaller, more constrained elite stage, but it *is* to argue that once a higher education system seeks to expand, or begins to expand, that these elements occur within the various and complex “logics” of how higher education is pursued.

Preeminently, the desire and/or need to provide access are at the core of rationales for expanding such systems, which in turn links them to issues of capacity. The issue is always capacity for what? For initial exposure to higher education for an additional segment of the population? And if so how much? And for how many new participants? Is it to create new graduate institutions, or those of technology, or those that can compete for global rankings? Or those that exist in the electronic form of massive open online courses and other alternatives. Or all four? The complex and varied answers to such questions bring forth with them a host of related implications, involving cost, location, recruitment and training of personnel, administrative procedures and on—across the entire range of higher education experience. Thus, the entailment of increased access is always a related set of policy issues implicating capacity. These in turn, whether intended or not, involve issues of equity because higher education has historically been a valued and measured resource in society, which in the overwhelming number of cases has contributed a social benefit to those who have been able to pursue and consume it. By its nature, the higher education process creates a set of outcomes that *evoke* questions of equity. It follows that within the whole of the discourse on higher education, any effort involving significant expansion, which is precisely what the process of massification does involve, creates distinctions that impinge on equity. Some in society will have the benefit and some will not

and this leads inevitably to what becomes the *prior* question: who *should* have access and under what conditions with what resources made available? While it is clear that questions of equity within a society are intimately related to the history and structures of each society, it has become equally clear that the dynamics of globalization and the many consequences that they entail, not the least of which are the creation and expansion of the knowledge society, increasingly influence how questions of equity are framed and pursued.

Such processes touch on issues of quality at almost every level, if only for the basic but compelling reason that if a *system* of higher education (public or private, or more importantly public *and* private) is developed in which significant differences in quality exist, that fact—in and of itself—constitutes a situation of manifest inequity. In fact, even though such terms rarely appear in the literature on higher education quality assurance, which seeks to develop standards of approval and aspiration for quality, a failure to reach that standard can be viewed as a manifest demonstration of *inequality*.

As the chapters in this section fully demonstrate, the effort to satisfactorily define quality within higher education contexts and to employ it with disciplined and useful consequences embraces all of higher education. While all countries in the region engage in some defined and purposeful quality measurement activity, widespread agreement on the definitions to employ, the standards to impose, the measures to be taken, and the implications and value to be given to them remain elusive. One aspect of this enterprise can be viewed as operational and managerial, namely developing a set of values and procedures within a national higher education setting and placing them within an effective administrative structure. This much is do-able, if difficult, and we know this because some nations have in fact created workable and reliable systems of quality assurance that garner sufficient support within the relevant policy systems to be sustainable. However, it has proved far more difficult to do so across the conceptual, value, and administrative differences and complexities of cross-national comparison. It is in this context that the current importance and significance of international rankings have emerged, because insufficient and unsatisfactory though they may be in practice, they have created a form of comparative international “currency” by which the achieved “status” of a higher education institution can be known and engaged within the levels of global exchange (of students, faculty, degrees, research output, etc.) that have become such a part of contemporary globalization.

The chapters in this section seek to take one or more portion of this complex fabric of access, equity, capacity, and quality and elucidate it within a particular and delineated context, usually that of a given national system of higher education. We also stepped out of the Asia-specific framework in this instance to add a chapter on quality assurance in the USA, expressed primarily as higher education accreditation, in recognition that much of what has become quality assurance in Asia over the past few decades reflects in many respects that

experience. As editors, our hope for the reader's experience in this regard is that the complex inter-relationship between these fundamental concepts of quality can be clarified and lead us collectively forward toward more focused conceptual clarity and empirically based research in this critical area of comparative higher education research.

Higher Education Inequality in East and Southeast Asia

Promptilai Buasuwan and Wanwisa Suebnusorn

INTRODUCTION: POPULARIZING HIGHER EDUCATION DOES NOT EQUATE TO EQUALITY

Human rights, the rise of a knowledge society, the explosion of population, and globalization have created the worldwide massification of higher education (Brenda 2010). However, the three mantras of *equality of educational opportunity—equality of access, equality of treatment, and equality of results*—have not yet been achieved. Some scholars even hold that “equality” in society is a “myth” as some human beings will always seek to be superior to others (Lauder et al. 2006). The “Literature Review on Equity and Access to Tertiary Education in the East Asia Region” of the World Bank (2009) demonstrated that varying degrees of inequality still exist in the region, even though the issue of inequity in tertiary education has long been a major policy issue and some progress has been made to achieve it. In a review of global revolutions in higher education, Altbach et al. (2010) similarly emphasize that social injustices still remain throughout higher education.

There continue to be debates as to whether higher education should be reserved for the “top-notch” as determined by some specified selection process or offered to all. In China, for example, the “two-line struggle” between the radical and the moderate factions of the Communist Party of China during the post-1949 period has led to an enduring policy dilemma regarding education

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for “the masses” versus education for preparing “well-trained elites” (Tsang 2000). The *consensus approaches to education* are based on the belief that the education system should take responsibility for selection of the most able individuals, regardless of social class or economic background, to ensure social justice and economic efficiency.

Useful reviews of educational ideas have been given by Lauder et al. (2006) and Davies and Guppy (2014). They have pointed out that although many Durkheimian fundamentalists have criticized education for being too “aristocratic” and for not being sufficiently concerned with reducing educational inequalities, the fundamentalists have also recognized that equal education for all may not be achievable or even desirable. They have argued that *stratification* is fundamental to the survival of society and that some positions in society are needed more than others for societal survival. That is, that societies need to ensure that skillful and talented people are induced to take on “functionally important” jobs. As pointed out also by Lauder et al. (2006) and Davies and Guppy (2014), social “reproduction,” not social “change” is a focus of both the Durkheimian belief in the roles of education in *socialization* and the Weberian focus on the *legitimation* roles of education. Max Weber has highlighted the manner in which educational certificates are often used as a rationale to monopolize access to some types of jobs. This has prompted proponents of various *conflict approaches to education* to warn that it is extremely difficult for students from different social backgrounds to overcome systemic differences in their educational opportunities and to achieve highly rewarded professional and managerial jobs. From a Marxist perspective, powerful business owners control society and ensure that their children obtain the best badges of ability. As a result, top academic honors go to the top social class while less privileged youths have access to poorly resourced educational opportunities that qualify them for the least attractive positions in the labor market. To complicate the problem further, inequalities are structured not only by social classes but also by age, gender, race, and sexual orientation, to name a few.

Since the 1980s, many countries have been in favor of highly expanded higher education with the widespread hope that it would reduce social inequalities (Teichler 2008). This expansion has been based on a *social demand approach* to educational planning and is based on the idea that higher education should be provided to all who are qualified and wish to pursue it. However, from a *market demand approach* perspective, the demand for knowledge workers has failed to keep pace with the rapid increase in the supply of university graduates that resulted from this expansion. Consequently, university graduates have found it necessary to struggle to distinguish themselves from other job seekers with similar credentials. Wealthy or socially powerful individuals may then use their privileged status to gain advantages for them and their family and the nation state may not be able to control the rules of the credential competition in the interests of social justice (Bereday et al. 2006; Lauder et al. 2006). Recent research constitutes an example

that confirms this argument. Rapid higher education massification has indeed maintained the social class system even though there was equality of access to higher education between different social groups. One reason is that massification has resulted in a hierarchical rank of higher education institutions (HEIs) in the absence of equality of access to the higher-ranked institutions (Chen-Dorothy 2012; Chou and Wang 2012; Liu and Cheng 2012; Wang 2012).

It is interesting to observe further why the popularizing of higher education, which was originally viewed as a means to combat social inequalities, has actually played a role in reproducing those inequalities. This result supports the argument of prominent scholars in the field of *systems thinking* that improvement in the performance of the parts does not necessarily improve the performance of the whole (Zemke 2001). In other words, increasing access to higher education does not guarantee that individuals will have access to a similar quality of higher education and finally enjoy equal benefits from their investment in higher education.

Inequality of educational opportunity can be seen from three aspects: access, treatment, and results. In the previous literature, there has been less focus on the results aspect than on the access and treatment aspects. In this chapter, we critically examine the literature on inequality of education in all three of these aspects in East and Southeast Asian countries through the lens of a Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats (SWOT) analysis. Our aim is to develop a simple system archetype for the higher education systems in East and Southeast Asia for the interactions between the feedback loops (Forrester 1961) between the equality of access, equality of treatment, and equality of results. We hope by this means to find a leverage point in the system where “small” changes can produce “big” results.

EQUALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

In the remainder of this chapter, we will use the term *East Asia* to refer to East and Southeast Asian countries, which include Japan, the Korean Republic, Korea Democratic People's Republic (DPR), China, Hong Kong-China, Macao-China, Philippines, Vietnam, Lao People's Democratic Republic (PDR), Cambodia, Thailand, Myanmar, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, Timor-Leste, and Brunei Darussalam. These 17 countries/territories are at different stages of development and have different educational traditions. However, they have some shared strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats with respect to equality for higher educational opportunities. In a SWOT analysis, the strengths and weaknesses are usually treated as internal factors within the higher education system of a country, while the opportunities and threats are usually treated as external positive and negative circumstances influencing a country's higher education system.

THE EQUALITY OF “ACCESS”

Enrollment opportunities (access) were the first aspects of educational inequality to which scholars paid attention. This notion of access can be affected by factors such as wealth or social class of parents or location in a city or rural area. Huge income inequalities with a large percentage of the population in poverty will occur if a large part of the revenue and wealth is owned by a well-educated minority (Glomm and Ravikumar 1992, cited in Ibourk and Amaghous 2013). Access will also be limited to students in rural areas if all universities are located in large cities. In one example, the first long-term Higher Education Development Plan (1990–2004) of the government of Thailand viewed higher education as a key tool to enhance equity in Thai society. Regional universities were then established to lessen inequality between Bangkok and other provinces (Nakornthap 2001). In China, the massification of higher education over the last ten years has increased equity in Chinese society and narrowed the gap among provinces (Loyalka 2009; Gu 2012).

The enrollment rate and the Education Gini Coefficient (EGC) are commonly used to measure inequality of access. Martin Trow (1973) developed an oft-cited model for higher education development in a country that identifies three phases of development, which has come to be the most widely referenced model of the development phases in higher education. The ratio of students in HEIs in a designated age group was used to identify these three phases as the “elite” stage, the “mass” stage, and the “universal” stage. In the elite stage, the participation ratio in the population of enrollment age was less than 15 percent, in the mass stage in the range 15–50 percent, and in the universal stage greater than 50 percent. However, one problem of the enrollment ratio is that it measures participation but not attainment, that is, it does not measure the ratio of graduating students to enrollments. The EGC has been developed to measure relative inequality using enrollment, financing, and attainment data. An EGC ranges from 0, which represents perfect equality, to 1, which represents perfect inequality. The EGC is a measure of the difference in years of schooling between all possible pairs of people (Thomas et al. 2000).

The data in Table 20.1 (Korea DPR and Singapore data were not available) show that most countries in the region have now reached the “mass” or “universal” stages of the Trow model. The exceptions are Cambodia and Myanmar, but these are now close to the minimum mass participation rate of 15 percent. Hong Kong-China, Macao-China, Japan, the Korean Republic, and Thailand are now in the universal stage with a greater than 50 percent enrollment ratio. For the Korean Republic, the gross enrollment ratio for tertiary education has already reached 100 percent. Table 20.1 shows that rapid expansion of enrollment has occurred in China, Vietnam, Cambodia, Macao-China, and Lao PDR where the ratio has doubled in less than five years. However, the ratios for different social and economic groups in a country vary greatly from the aggregate country ratio. For example, despite rapid growth in gross enrollment since the

Table 20.1 Gross enrollment ratio to tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), both sexes (%)

<i>Country/year</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2013</i>
Brunei Darussalam	12.69	14.53	17.19	17.77	18.32	17.60	24.34	–
Cambodia	2.49	2.45	2.76	5.59	9.08	14.07	–	–
China	7.76	12.42	17.02	19.52	20.19	23.32	26.70	–
China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	–	–	31.16	32.98	53.86	57.84	60.13	66.84
China, Macao Special Administrative Region	26.15	62.35	69.02	62.42	58.08	61.79	–	62.61
Indonesia	15.06	15.01	16.98	17.91	21.34	24.89	31.51	–
Japan	48.74	50.71	53.58	57.11	57.64	58.08	61.46	–
Lao People's Democratic Republic	2.68	4.15	5.74	8.96	13.09	16.09	16.73	17.70
Malaysia	25.74	27.41	29.97	28.58	33.71	37.13	37.20	–
Myanmar	–	–	–	–	–	–	13.38	–
Philippines	–	30.20	28.37	27.85	28.84	–	–	–
Republic of Korea	78.83	85.75	90.26	97.51	101.76	100.96	98.38	–
Thailand	35.14	40.04	41.87	44.16	47.73	50.03	51.40	51.23
Timor-Leste	–	8.57	–	–	–	17.74	–	–
Vietnam	9.33	9.63	–	16.49	18.74	22.39	24.60	24.58

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2015a)

1990s, less than 10 percent of students from the lower social and economic status group in Indonesia have access to higher education (Fahmi 2007).

Data on the EGC (not shown in this chapter) also support a declining trend of educational inequality among East Asian countries. In China, the EGC decreased from 0.57 in 1978 to 0.26 in 2004 (Zhang et al. 2007). A declining trend of EGC was also found in the Korean Republic and Thailand between 1960 and 2000 with the trend in Korea being faster than the Thai trend (Thomas et al. 2000).

The data in Table 20.2 indicate a disparity in most countries in the region in favor of girls (GPI greater than 1). China is one of these countries because in 2001, the Chinese government enacted the Outline of the Development of Chinese Women (2001–2010) with the aim of improving the gross enrollment rate of girls in high schools, colleges, and universities (Hu 2013). The data show a disparity in favor of boys (GPI less than 1) in Cambodia, Japan, Lao PDR, Korean Republic, Timor-Leste, and Vietnam and parity among males and females in GPI Indonesia (GPI equal to 1). However, Wahyuni and Ethicawati (2003) have reported that the GPI in Indonesia is more equal in rural than in urban areas.

Table 20.2 Gross enrollment ratio to tertiary education (ISCED 5 and 6), Gender Parity Index (GPI)

<i>Country/year</i>	<i>2000</i>	<i>2002</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2006</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2013</i>
Brunei Darussalam	1.69	1.57	1.89	2.00	2.02	1.85	1.74	–
Cambodia	0.32	0.40	0.45	0.47	0.51	0.59	–	–
China	–	–	0.89	0.95	1.03	1.08	1.13	–
China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	–	–	1.00	0.95	0.96	0.99	1.07	1.13
China, Macao Special Administrative Region	0.91	0.50	0.58	0.73	0.92	0.97	–	1.28
Indonesia	0.88	0.87	0.79	0.90	0.91	0.87	1.03	–
Japan	0.85	0.86	0.89	0.88	0.89	0.89	0.90	–
Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.52	0.56	0.62	0.67	0.77	0.77	0.82	0.88
Malaysia	1.06	1.23	1.22	1.17	1.20	1.23	1.21	–
Myanmar	–	–	–	–	–	–	1.23	–
Philippines	–	1.30	1.28	1.25	1.24	–	–	–
Republic of Korea	0.61	0.62	0.64	0.66	0.70	0.74	0.75	–
Thailand	1.19	1.10	1.18	1.07	1.20	1.28	1.31	1.34
Timor-Leste	–	1.23	–	–	–	0.73	–	–
Vietnam	0.73	0.76	–	0.96	0.98	1.00	–	0.90

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2015a)

The World Bank (2009) has found that varying degrees of ethnicity-based inequity exist in countries of the region. However, the East Asia region has made substantial progress in combating inequity between the majority population and ethnic minorities. It was found that different ethnic minorities could have quite different enrollment ratios in HEIs compared to other minorities and with the majority population. For example, the Lao Lung in Lao PDR could access the oldest and largest public university in Lao PDR at a higher ratio than the Lao Sung and Lao Theung. The Malaysian case is also very interesting as non-Malay minorities are economically and educationally better off than the majority Malays. Although segregation based on race has not been much reported in recent literature on education in East Asia, it is likely that, as with the case of ethnic minorities, different rules might be applied to different racial groups.

In terms of supporting factors for equality of access, one of the *strengths* of higher education systems in East Asia is state intervention and support for socially and economically disadvantaged groups. For example, the government of Taiwan has expanded educational opportunities for the mass in order to maintain power with support from the poor. In other words, it is a pro-poor policy (Kosack 2014).

East Asian HEIs have been diversified in order to accommodate demands of different groups in the population. For example, during the transition from the elite stage to the mass stage in the middle of the 1990s, the Chinese

government diversified the higher education system by developing a wide range of public and private HEIs including regular institutions, adult institutions, television and radio institutions, and examination-based self-study (Yang 2005). A rapid increase in enrollment occurred in the regular HEIs, the local HEIs, two-year programs, the Minban colleges, and second-tier independent colleges (Wang and Liu 2011). In Thailand, between 2003 and 2008, 46 new HEIs were inaugurated in all areas of the country. These HEIs included 19 community colleges that have been set up since 2001 in provinces where other opportunities for higher education were not available. These colleges offer two-year associate degree programs suitable for professional development in areas relevant to the needs of the local community (World Bank 2010).

In addition, government relaxation of the admission quota system for HEIs has been a key to increasing equality of access. In the Republic of Korea, the “sequential bottom-up approach” of the 1950s resulted in the country reaching the “universal” Trow stage of enrollment ratio of greater than 50 percent. The country further expanded higher education opportunities during the 1980s and 1990s through the July 30 Education Reform Policy of 1980. In this reform, universities were allowed to accept 30 percent more students than their graduation quota. As a result, the enrollment quota for four-year universities rose from 116,700 in 1980 to 187,062 in 1981, and to more than 200,000 in 1984 (Lee et al. 2012). In Thailand, a proportion of university places is now being reserved for students in the regions where universities are located (Suwanwela 2006). The Vietnamese quota system, based on ethnic nationality, social class, an individual’s life history, loyalty to the party, gender, place of residence, and other equity-related factors, has been argued to be probably much more equitable than objective examinations based on the current meritocratic system (Fry 2009). Following the practice in China, the quota system in Vietnam was replaced by a system based on adjusted admission scores. In this system, a student’s score in the national university entrance examination is adjusted according to the student’s regional category and ethnic minority status. This policy annually increased the access of students from disadvantaged backgrounds by approximately 70 percent (Ngo 2006).

Special financial assistance has been introduced in many countries in order to alleviate inequities due to the expense of higher education. In Thailand, since 1996, a student’s share of higher education expenditure has been adjusted through the student loan scheme or income-contingent loan scheme. The loan system has been continuously refined since its introduction in order to ensure that it effectively reaches the poor (Office of the Education Council 2004). China also introduced the Government Subsidized Student Loans Scheme in 1999 and a subsidized student loan program was created in Vietnam in 1997 (Ngo 2006). In addition to the loan scheme, a national program of scholarships was initiated in Cambodia to help girls, ethnic minorities, and economically challenged students to receive post-secondary education (Velasco 2004).

However, it is still important to ensure that these initiatives effectively and sufficiently help the students who need financial assistance to meet educational expenses.

Although many supportive policies have been put into practice, the growing marketization of higher education has been a *weakness* in providing equality of access to higher education. Despite concerns regarding the potential negative impact on quality of the higher education system, the State Council of China authorized a large increase of new entrants into regular higher education in 1999. It has been argued that this large increase will later affect the equality of treatment and equality of results of higher education system. It has also been argued that the increase was made in order to induce additional private consumption of higher education with the hidden agenda of boosting China's Gross Domestic Product during the financial crisis of 1999 (Tsang 2000). In Confucian countries (China, Korea, Taiwan, Singapore) and in Vietnam and Japan, this type of policy effectively accelerated mass tertiary education participation by the household funding of tuition because in these countries, higher education is considered as a noble endeavor (Marginson 2011). However, when HEIs introduced high tuition fees and came to regard higher education as a cash cow, the high fees became a critical deterrent for low-income students seeking access to higher education (Ding 2004; Shi and Wang 2004; Jacob 2006; Wan 2006; Ngok and Lee 2009).

Another weakness in the higher education system in many countries in East and Southeast Asia is a very competitive university entrance examination. In many countries in the region, university entrance examinations create severe competition among high school students. In the Korean Republic, there are "cram schools" (*hagwon*) in most neighborhoods and every neighborhood has a store selling guides to the entrance examination (Seth 2002). In Thailand, the role of "shadow education" has also been strong. As a result, nearly 70 percent of higher education students in prestigious universities are from high-income families because of the need for students to invest heavily on special tutoring classes in order to obtain a place in these universities. Since the prestigious universities in Thailand are mostly public universities which charge more affordable tuition fees than the private and less prestigious ones, this means that the government has been supporting the rich to obtain a better education at a lower price than the poor (Kirtikara 2001). A similar situation has been reported in Vietnam by Nguyen (2007).

Consistent with evidence in other regions, family background and income can be two of the most important factors undermining equality of access to higher education. For example, significant segmentation in the market for skilled labor based on more remunerative employment in government and state firms has affected human capital investment at the household level in Vietnam. A longer time in schools and increased investment in education are more likely to occur among children from households whose heads hold state jobs (Coxhead and Phan 2013).

In Indonesia, only 3.3 percent of students from the lowest 20 percent of income groups enrolled in universities compared to 30.9 percent from the highest income group (Nizam 2006). However, mixed roles of family background on access to higher education have been reported in the literature. For example, Agadjanian and Liew (2005) reported that they found no significant effect of parental education on the transition to tertiary education in Malaysia.

The urban–rural disparity has been reported as an important inequality factor in many countries. For example, less than 20 percent of rural students can access Tsinghua University and Peking University, the two most prestigious universities in China (Zhang and Liu 2006). In addition, gender stereotypes are commonly noticed in East Asian countries. Some Asian parents still fear that attaining a high-level of education will prevent their daughters from achieving a suitable marriage (Mak 2007). At the postgraduate stage, some university professors in China are more inclined to recruit male students, although in the entrance examinations for master and PhD degrees, girls tend to obtain higher scores than boys (Hu 2013).

In addition to the factors mentioned above which are mainly internal to each country, *threats* arise from factors outside national boundaries. Replacing what was a near monopoly of the state in education in the East Asian region, higher education is becoming increasingly globalized. In the context of globalization, higher education has become a market-determined process with a growth of cross-border higher education in all three forms: the mobility of institutions, of students, and of academic staff. Many individuals are willing to pay a higher price for education in a foreign country as foreign degree holders can enjoy a premium in the labor market of their home countries and the foreign country might also be preferred for its own sake. It is clear from an analysis of the preferred destination of students studying abroad and the global ranking of foreign universities that a degree from a good foreign university is an attractive proposition to many students (Varghese 2009, 2011). This means that the access dimension of equality needs to be viewed from an international as well as a national perspective.

Fortunately, global situations have also created some *opportunities* in terms of the equality of access. Currently, the world is suffering from the pains of unequal distribution of economic outcomes. The activities of the “Occupy the Wall Street” movement in the USA and antigovernment demonstrations in the UK, France, Japan, Thailand, Egypt, Libya, and China reflect that inequality has become an international phenomenon that happens in countries regardless of whether they are rich or poor, socialist or capitalist, authoritarian or democratic. Several studies have proved that educational disparity is one of the most important factors that result in income disparity (Xue 2012). This situation might in turn raise awareness in countries around the world that equality and equity of their educational systems is required. Last but not least, Postiglione (2011) has argued that the global economic recession of 2007–2008 was an opportune time for higher education in Asia—China, Mongolia, and Vietnam, for example—to continue reforming access and equity in their higher educa-

tion since this will finally serve to improve the global shift in economies and the situation of human capital.

EQUALITY OF “TREATMENT”

According to Articles 4 and 6 of the Convention against Discrimination in Education adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in Paris on December 14, 1960, UNESCO participant nations should pay the greatest attention to equality of opportunity and treatment in education. It is important that standards of education are equivalent in all public educational institutions of the same level. Any differences of treatment by public authorities between nationals in terms of fees and the grant of scholarships or other forms of assistance to students are, given the terms of the Convention, not allowed. Scholars usually have termed this dimension as the “equality of treatment.” The key question to be raised in this context about educational expansion is “whether it reduces inequality by providing more opportunities for persons from disadvantaged strata, or magnifies inequality by expanding opportunities disproportionately for those who are already privileged” (Arum et al. 2007, 1). Unfortunately, the hierarchical stratification of HEIs has been a *weakness* undermining equal access to public HEIs in the region. Recently, a review by the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2014) cites data that make the case that while access to higher education in Asia has expanded dramatically, inequalities in how inputs to higher education are allocated and how benefits are distributed continue to occur.

In China, current higher education reform needs to overcome the negative impacts of the overall higher education restructuring in the 1990s. Continuing issues include insufficient funding, which is common among lower-ranked HEIs and which undermines their ability to perform essential functions (Zhao and Guo 2002). Unequal internal status and resource allocation among disciplines in universities is also an issue of concern (Chen 2012). Under its “planned economy,” the Chinese government was fully responsible for the funding of all HEIs. However, after the advent of economic reforms, the largest and disproportionate amount of government funding was allocated to the elite universities in “Project 211,” initiated in 1995. Since then, non-elite universities, especially vocational institutions and private colleges, have struggled to gain financial viability through their own means. Subsequently and necessarily given this situation, tuition has been increased even as overall teaching quality has diminished which, in turn, has impacted on the employability of the graduates from these institutions (Tan 2013).

The policy of granting autonomy to universities can be a questionable strategy when viewed in terms of the goal of achieving equality among HEIs. In Japan, as universities gain institutional autonomy, they are trying to gain greater respect in the global community in order to maintain the attractiveness of their institutions while also maintaining financially robust operations

(Murasawa et al. 2014). However, this means that the more prestigious universities will have more chance to win in the competition for highly qualified students. Not all countries can then manage equality issues with this kind of policy. The “Thai educational paradox” of its educational reform confirmed the persistence of strong regional disparities and a lack of fiscal neutrality associated with a neoliberal model of capitalistic development (Fry and Bi 2013).

Fry and Bi (2013) have also argued that a system of fiscal neutrality can occur only if the quality of education received by citizens is not influenced by their place of residence or their socio-economic status. However, as evidenced by the Gini Coefficient, Thailand is the second most unequal country in the world after Brazil. These data demonstrate that existing income inequality is a *threat* to quality education for all, especially when there are too many poorer-quality HEIs in a country and especially if they are accompanied by the proliferation of local doctoral programs.

The drive toward “world-class” universities, as represented by the ranking phenomenon, may also be a worldwide trend that can constitute a threat to the quality of East Asian universities. In Taiwan, for example, Yang and Huang (2012) found the effects of establishing world-class universities resulted in a differentiation of universities accompanied by a diminution in the quality of teaching. The government of Taiwan is now initiating the “Program for Promoting Teaching Excellence of Universities (PPTEU).” This policy is considered and intended as an efficient and equitable way to distribute funding to different types of HEIs. However, when viewed through an equality perspective, both technical and specialized HEIs are still neglected and a large university with more faculty members will receive higher funding than a smaller one.

Another threat factor is the manner in which cultural variables can play out across the higher education landscape. In Chinese society, for example, the combination of close family bonds and strong commitment to education has bolstered policies of concentrating resources in selected universities favored by those bonds. Also, the Confucian philosophy of how bureaucracy and hierarchy should and do operate has in many instances created a strong state and top-down policy that combines collectivism and elitism in the higher education system (Liu 2012).

Fortunately, there are important *strengths* supporting the growth of higher education in East Asia. For example, as can be seen from the Scheme to Revitalize Higher Education in the Central and Western Regions in 2010 (Bickenbach and Liu 2011), the Chinese government provides preferential treatment and specific support to poor regions in order to bridge the divide of quality of HEIs between the rich and poor regions. As for *opportunities*, the idea of the *minben* in Chinese tradition (people are the essence of a nation) has served as a counter force to balance the pursuit of excellence of HEIs and to support equality. Chinese leaders have now realized that the emphasis on “efficiency” without “equality” in the past three decades has not led to sustainable growth as inequality has threatened social cohesion. The Chinese government

has accordingly introduced a new goal of “building a harmonious society.” The recent trend in government policies emphasizes *balanced development* instead of the single-minded pursuit of economic growth. Unfortunately, it is still hard for China to reach equality of treatment and equality of outcome in education because *meritocratic elitism* will continue to be a major theme of the Chinese educational policy agenda (Liu 2012).

EQUALITY OF “RESULTS”

Determining the relative equality of results can be viewed from the perspectives of relative completion rates, learning performances, and demonstrated benefits of schooling. As Dore (1976) pointed out in his well-known book on the “Diploma Disease,” the position in achievement tests for diplomas correlates with positions in the hierarchy of jobs ranked by power, income, and prestige. Leaning toward the Marxist and Weberian perspective, Dore has argued that the bureaucratic use of educational certificates for job allocation leads to intense demand for the most prestigious higher education certificates as a means to occupy the most rewarding jobs in the society, while the unsuccessful majority suffers from the unintended consequences of qualification inflation resulting from over-supply of higher education graduates.

In terms of completion rate, as can be seen from Table 20.3, the gross graduation ratio from first degree programs in East Asia (data of Timor-Leste and Mainland China are unavailable) are usually high in the high-income countries, such as Japan, Korea Republic, and Macao-China, but quite low in the less-developed countries. However, it is interesting to note that the gross graduation ratio of Brunei Darussalam and Vietnam are similar and that the gross graduation ratio in a rich country like Brunei Darussalam is lower than in a poor country like Myanmar. In Lao PDR, the gross graduation ratio increased rapidly from 5.31 percent in 2012 to 11.57 percent in 2013. There is not much literature explaining the reasons behind the figures in Table 20.3, but we believe that the gross graduation rate is closely correlated with equality of access and equality of treatment. However, having said that, while student dropout could be due to financial, intellectual, and social disadvantages, it might also be possible that high rates of graduation are achieved by lowering standards for graduation.

Some literature has attempted to judge equity of access of individuals to higher education on the basis of equality of results. However, the *weaknesses* of HEIs to provide desirable returns to their clients might be a result of internal factors particular to each university rather than being associated with equity of access. In the Republic of Korea, for example, while the Korea National Open University (KNOU) plays roles in providing higher education opportunities for those with unmet educational needs, the value of the KNOU degree has not been well acknowledged in Korean society because of the university’s easy recruitment process. This has led to student resistance to entering KNOU because they recognize that a KNOU degree will only give low social posi-

Table 20.3 Gross graduation ratio from first degree programs (ISCED 6 and 7) in tertiary education, both sexes (%)

<i>Country/year</i>	2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2013
Brunei Darussalam	6.09	–	12.30	12.28	11.13	11.50	14.43	–
Cambodia	2.07	1.47	2.71	–	5.27	–	–	–
China, Hong Kong Special Administrative Region	–	–	18.08	19.17	–	–	–	–
China, Macao Special Administrative Region	11.77	13.66	20.32	30.25	30.58	38.99	–	44.42
Indonesia	6.39	8.38	8.93	–	–	14.64	15.60	–
Japan	32.81	34.89	36.31	38.92	40.81	40.77	44.11	–
Lao People's Democratic Republic	0.98	–	1.73	2.70	–	–	5.31	11.57
Malaysia	–	13.12	14.41	16.67	16.33	17.77	21.86	–
Myanmar	–	–	–	–	–	–	28.34	–
Philippines	–	19.05	20.33	19.42	–	–	–	–
Republic of Korea	28.10	32.68	35.34	37.26	47.89	–	50.02	–
Thailand	14.93	15.90	24.34	28.28	30.83	–	–	–
Vietnam	–	–	–	–	–	–	14.07	–

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2015b)

tion and social status (Joo 2013). This demonstrates that the main *threat* to the equality of results might be the social value associated with a university's reputation.

In Japanese society, where *credentialism* is endemic, parents are investing up to 30 percent of their income or more in the education of their children. However, the built-in status system that involves ranking and stratification of various levels and types of HEIs in Japan has resulted in the existence of great diversity in the quality and social perception of quality of HEIs depending on where they are in the resulting status order. Both academic staff and students at the *tandai* or the junior college or the two-year university are widely considered to be at the bottom of the league tables and experience poor status as a result in society and the marketplace (Walker 2007).

Another instance of how preexisting social inequalities can be causally linked to the inequalities of higher education results can be extracted from Chinese data. For example, research by Lai et al. (2012) in Macao-China, Guangzhou, Shanghai, and Taipei implied equality of results in these Chinese higher education systems. Using responses from 316 students, the research found no significant difference between the mean scores in perceived value of higher education based on gender and other demographic and social variables. Goodman (2014) added that in Chinese society, university and college graduate status is the

entry point to the middle class. The expansion of college enrollment has therefore enabled millions of students, especially women, rural residents, and minority nationalities to have opportunities for social mobility. Unfortunately, there is also evidence that higher education expansion has only benefited the already privileged. Higher education can provide the path to good jobs, but good jobs are not guaranteed.

However, there are also some *strengths* promoting the equality of results in the region. For Asian countries, higher education is seen as a means of improving the well-being of individuals and society. Therefore, the goal of governments is not just to accommodate more students but also to regard the outcomes of their higher education as equally important (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2014).

CONCLUSION: HIGHER EDUCATION INEQUALITY IN EAST AND SOUTHEAST ASIA

In this chapter, we have critically examined the literature on inequality of education in the aspects of equality of access, equality of treatment, and equality of results in East and Southeast Asian countries through the lens of SWOT analysis. While equality of access in higher education has been popularized in these regions, equality of treatment and equality of results are found to be diverse. Countries in these regions are at different stages of development in higher education and have different socio-economic and cultural contexts. Yet these countries have promoted equality of access in higher education on the premise that to do so will result in a corresponding decrease of inequality. This chapter has demonstrated that equality of access does not equate to equality of treatment and that, further, the two do not guarantee to produce equality of results. Equality of access and equality of treatment can be necessary conditions for equality of results, but they are not sufficient. It may even be a myth to believe that equality of results can ever be achieved because everyone is different. With the ranking system of HEIs and the massification of higher education, we can foresee that social injustice will still remain.

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Higher Education in China: Massification, Accessibility, and Quality Issues

Yuchen Yang

INTRODUCTION

The rapid expansion of higher education in China over the past three decades has provided an increasingly large number of opportunities for people to gain access to higher education. In 2014, the enrollment rate in China's higher education institutions (HEIs) reached 37.5 percent, with on campus 25.48 million undergraduates, 1.85 million postgraduates, and 18.03 million students in vocational schools, in accordance with National Bureau of Statistics of People's Republic of China (2015). Thus, China has become one of the world's leading nations for tertiary education. In this chapter, I wish to explore how this happened so quickly and the strategies that the government, as well as the teaching institutions, employ to align the capacity with expansion of higher education. Further I will explore how these strategies ensured and continue to ensure the quality of education. This chapter will present a general picture of the development of massification of China's higher education system, especially with respect to policy changes and ideological reformation, the measures taken to deal with the equity and accessibility issues, the general strategies adopted to ensure the quality of education, as well as the challenges and efforts made to guarantee the education quality.

MASSIFICATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CHINA: CHANGES AND FEATURES

Starting from the Qing Dynasty a hundred years ago, higher education in China was regarded as a component of society's superstructure, and the goal of education was to serve political stability rather than to contribute more directly

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to society and economic development (Yang 2011). Although a steady growth in China's higher education took place in the 20 years after *the Great Cultural Revolution* (1978–1998),¹ the gross enrollment rate of higher education never rose above 10 percent (1.55 percent in 1978, 3.7 percent in 1988, and 9.76 percent in 1998). From this perspective, higher education in China could be regarded as elite education, strictly restricted to the privileged few until 1999, when rapid expansion was initiated.

Redefining Education Roles

This expansion, however, has in actuality constituted a very complicated process, extending from ideology and policy changes to the alignment and construction of infrastructure in colleges and universities and significant increases in college enrollment in private as well as vocational teaching institutions. Changes in ideology have accompanied rapid economic development in China, particularly with the advent of the open-door policy of the early 1980s, which brought about the questioning of the role of education in China, especially its role in the realization of the four modernizations (the modernizations of industry, agriculture, national defense, and science and technology). Actually as early as in 1983, Former Premier Deng Xiaoping² pointed out that education in China should be reoriented to meet the needs of the modernizations, and the needs of the world and the future. In 1995, *the Education Law of the People's Republic of China* was issued, redefining education as the basis for socialist modernization, and stipulating that the State shall give priority to the development of educational undertakings and that the whole society shall give support to the development of education. Following this came the Ministry of Education (MOE) Higher Education Law of the People's Republic of China, passed in 1998 and put into force in 1999, stating that higher education in China should meet the needs of the social and economic development of the country and that the State should encourage all sectors of society, including enterprises, public organizations, or groups and individual citizens, to run HEIs in accordance with the law, and to participate in the reform movement toward the overall development of higher education. These documents express the policy changes of the government, especially in the transition from control to guidance in governance and from government funding as the sole input to plural sources of funding.

Student Financing

Actually until 1994, all students in China were government funded and colleges were state owned. With an increasingly large number of people attending tertiary education, the government found it hard to support free education for all.

The government has covered too much for universities for too long, which has always affected state input into basic education in general and compulsory education in particular. We cannot afford to make all education compulsory all the way from primary and secondary school right through to college free of charge. Not in China, neither in a developed country who can afford to put a student through college free of charge. (Li 2004, 106)

A reform plan for students' tuition was endorsed by the State Council and carried out first on a trial basis among 50 universities, then expanded to 240 universities, and finally nationwide. At present, the average annual tuition of a regular college student is about a quarter of the total yearly cost of his or her education (Yang 2011).

Development of Private Education

Private education (also called non-government support education) in China originated in the early 1980s from the so-called Self Study and Adult Education programs,³ which were established to meet the social needs of those who were unable to obtain a place in regular HEIs because of college capacity limitations. In addition, the faculty and management staffs of such institutions were usually retired or part-time teachers from universities. These programs have followed more or less the same pattern of education in regular universities, with students living on campus and attending classes five days a week, and so on. In the past 20 years, over three million students have graduated from "Self Study" programs, occupying about 29 percent of the student population, according to Liu Yueping, Head of the Self Study Management Office, MOE.

By 2000, most "Self-Study" organizations and "Adult Education" programs had matured into and registered with the MOE as regular teaching institutions, such as the Humanities and Social Sciences College of Northeast Normal University (NENU), which expanded from a "Self Study" English program affiliated with the Foreign Languages School of NENU into an activity of over 20,000 students of higher learning. In another example, Huaqiao Foreign Languages College in Changchun City was formerly also a "Self Study" organization and has transitioned into a private teaching institution with over 10,000 students on campus. Ningbo University, to cite yet another example, established by an overseas Chinese by the name of Sir Yue-kong Pao, has grown into a comprehensive university with 23,000 full-time undergraduate students and 700 postgraduates pursuing a wide range of disciplines.

In the development of private HEIs, the Chinese government has played a supportive role. The *Education Law* Article 14 stipulates that the State Council and local governments shall participate in the administration of HEIs at different levels.

Education at the secondary school or lower levels shall be administered by the local government under the leadership of the state council. Higher education shall be administered either by the State Council or by the government of the province, the autonomous region, or municipalities, which are in turn under the guidance of the Central Government. (The Ministry of Education 1995)

Management Systems

Although Chinese higher education can be categorized as public and private in terms of the financial resources for management, universities can also be classified into two levels according to their management systems or leadership. These are MOE-headed universities, and municipality- or province-based universities (or local universities as we often call them), which are more or less similar to what exists in the USA as state universities versus community colleges. Also HEIs can be grouped as research-oriented and teaching-focused (often vocational training) institutions. As such, there are overlaps in terms of financial resources, ownership, and orientation; that is, a private teaching institution is supposed to be run by a private person or an organization. Nonetheless such an institution has to be under the leadership of the province where it is located, which in turn places it under the control of the MOE. Table 21.1 provides a general picture of the management systems of Chinese higher education.

As shown in Table 21.1, universities headed by MOE are generally financed by the government, supplemented by student tuition fees at about a quarter of their total expenses (Yang 2011). Colleges at the municipality or provincial levels (local universities) can be private or government supported, which means they can either receive financial support from the government or rely solely on student tuition fees. However, no matter whether a college is private or government-supported, it has to be under the leadership of the local government, which in turn has to be under the control of the MOE.

As previously indicated, most private colleges in China developed from the category of so-called Self Study or Adult Education institutions in the 1990s. Those once affiliated with large universities are now termed independent col-

Table 21.1 Management systems of China's higher education

	<i>Financial resources</i>		<i>Leadership</i>		<i>Orientation</i>		
	<i>Government</i>	<i>Private</i>	<i>MOE</i>	<i>Local gov.</i>	<i>Research</i>	<i>Teaching</i>	<i>Vocation</i>
MU	√		√		√	√	√
LU	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
VC	√	√	√	√			√
PC		√	√	√	√	√	√

Source: Created by the author. *MU* MOE-headed universities, *LU* local universities, *VS* vocational colleges

leges, and those that started as and still stand alone are termed private colleges (both often referred to as non-government HEIs), though both independent and private teaching institutions rely mostly on student tuition fees and are run by a board of trustees. At present, there are 718 non-government HEIs, including 292 independent colleges, with around 5.58 million students on campuses in accordance with *China's Education Annual Report 2013* (The Ministry of Education 2013).

Massification Scales

The massification of higher education in China has undergone two stages. The first occurred during the period 1998 to 2002, during which the gross enrollment rate of higher education rose from 9.76 percent to 15 percent, ending the era of elite education. The second stage in massification extends from 2003 to the present. The gross enrollment rate has continued to grow to 34.5 percent in 2013 and is expected to grow to 40 percent by 2020. Figure 21.1 indicates the rapid increase in the gross enrollment rate of China HEIs from 1998 to 2013.

Overall, by 2013, there were around 2490 colleges and teaching institutions in China, housing about 32.8 million college students on campus, providing the largest capacity in the world for tertiary education, according to MOE statistics.

ACCESSIBILITY AND EQUITY ISSUES IN HIGHER EDUCATION OF CHINA

Although the expansion of higher education has enabled more people to enter college, it has also generated a large amount of discussion over issues of accessibility, equity, and quality. Where are the students? How do universities cope with the challenges of aligning their capacities with the student population increase? Can universities provide teaching that meets acceptable standards?

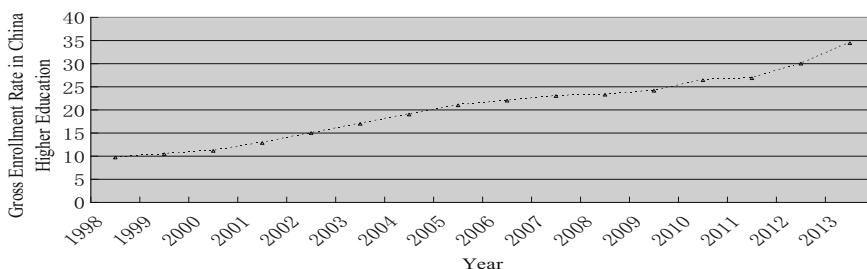


Fig. 21.1 Gross enrollment rate in China higher education 1998–2013 (*Source:* Created by the author based on the MOE Education Statistics and MOE Annual reports on Education, Ministry of Education, 1998, 2012, 2013)

To address some of these issues, I first examine the distribution of students in different types of colleges, and second the issue of university infrastructure construction (taking NENU as an example) as data for how China is coping with the massification of higher education.

Distribution of Students in Different Colleges

In 2003, according to *China Education Annual Reports and MOE Education Statistics*, private colleges accounted for only 4.3 percent of the total student enrollment rate; by 2010, that number had more than tripled to 15.45 percent. In vocational schools, the enrollment rate of 10.04 percent in 2003 had more than doubled by 2010 to 21.76 percent. However, the pattern for local government-funded colleges has been quite different, as they accounted for 25.46 percent in 2003 but by 2010, had increased to a much more modest 29.28 percent. Yet an even more contrary pattern has been displayed by HEIs headed by MOE, which accounted for 8.17 percent in 2003 but actually decreased to 6.73 percent in 2010 (see Figs. 21.2 and 21.3 for reference).

The changes demonstrated in these illustrations indicate the vital role played by vocational and private teaching organizations in the process of massification. In 2003, the total enrollment rate in regular teaching institutions accounted for only 47.97 percent (the remainder of students attended “Self Study” and “Adult Education” programs), but in 2010, the enrollment rate in regular teaching institutions increased to 73.23 percent, a 25.26 percent increase compared with that in 2003. This increased rate, however, coincides in some way with the increased rate in private institutions: 11.72 percent in vocational schools and 11.15 percent in private schools, totaling 22.87 percent. Therefore, it seems fair to say that private and vocational schools have contributed most to the development of massification in Chinese higher education.

The following data further illustrate this point. In 2003, there were 554 vocational colleges, but by 2010, the number had increased to 1113, accounting for almost half of China’s total HEIs (which was 2358 at the time). In 2003, nineteen million students were enrolled in vocational schools, but in

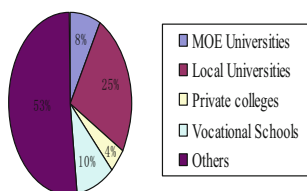


Fig. 21.2 Student distributions 2003

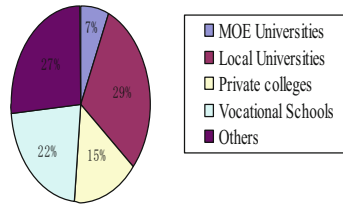


Fig. 21.3 Student distributions 2010 (*Source:* Created by the author based on China's Education Annual Reports and MOE Education Statistics)

2010, there were 65.7 million almost 3.5 times more. In 2003, private colleges recruited 8.1 million students but in 2010, 46.6 million, 5.75 times more (Ren 2011).

The MOE universities, though having been greatly expanded during this period, were mostly involved in education at graduate levels. The graduate and undergraduate population ratio in these universities was 1:3.09 in 2003, but became 1:1.94 by 2010. That is to say that almost half of the on-campus students in MOE universities were engaged in master or PhD degree programs. Graduate education programs also developed steadily in local government-supported universities, where the graduate and undergraduate population ratio was 1:23.16 in 2003, but in 2010, increased to 1:11.98 (Ren 2011).

To sum up, HEIs of various types are playing different roles in the process of massification. MOE colleges contribute significantly to education at graduate levels, while other teaching institutions such as private and vocational schools contribute primarily to undergraduate level education, and local government universities or colleges stand in the middle. Various forms of education feature this massification process. In theory, the massification and distribution of tertiary students in all types of universities have reflected the demand–supply principle of a market economy in China and have served the goals of promoting life-long learning; preparing qualified people to enhance the labor force, cultivating expertise, and creative talents; and providing knowledge for technological innovations, economic construction, and cultural prosperity.

University Infrastructure Construction

Along with the changes in educational policy and higher education management systems, the rapid economic development of China has provided the basis and capacity for higher education expansion. New campuses have been built all over the country, doubling the capacity of virtually every regular teaching institution. Private teaching institutions of almost the same size can now be found

everywhere, forming clearly complementary education systems and providing varied choices for those—essentially young people—to seek higher education.

Policy changes and the economic growth of the country have brought increasingly large amounts of financial input into education, resulting in large campuses being built throughout China and old campuses being renewed. By 2010, over 63 percent of important large laboratories were located in universities and 36 percent of national engineering research centers on HEI campuses. Between 2005 and 2010, China's HEIs obtained financial support of 13,000 billion yuan, resulting in an annual increase of 18.5 percent (Yang 2011). The example of NENU, one of the six MOE-headed teacher-training institutions, is instructive. In alignment with policies of economic growth and social development, the university initiated significant growth in 1999, doubling in size over the next ten years. Currently, the university consists of 23 colleges, offering 68 undergraduate programs and 34 graduate programs, with over 25,218 full-time students (among whom 15,000 are undergraduates and 10,000 graduates) and 7000 students of continuing education.

NENU initiated a new campus in 2000, which was completed within three years. It occupies 700,000 m² with a floor area of 260,000 m², housing over 10,000 full-time students, equal to half of the student population. Along with the construction of the new campus, a renovation project was also undertaken and completed within three years. As a result, the teaching and learning environments, as well as accommodations, have been greatly improved. Actually, NENU was the first university in mainland China to provide an individual office for each professor and the overall teaching and learning facilities in the university have exceeded the standards set by the MOE (Yang 2011).

The rapid time frame for this considerable building and renovation was made possible in part because, NENU, as has been the case with other universities, was able to gain support for infrastructure construction from its local government. Most older Chinese universities have been located in inner cities. When deciding to enlarge their capacity, the first problem encountered had been a shortage of buildings and available land. Municipal governments have given special consideration to universities in the building of new campuses. Among the nearly 100 universities of the "211 Project,"⁴ about 50 of them have built new campuses in suburban areas. NENU has epitomized this approach to expansion. In 2000, NENU purchased 70 acres of land to build the new campus with the municipal government allowing a relatively low price in accordance with an agreement with the MOE to collaboratively construct NENU as a key university (Yang 2011).

An additional pathway toward extended development was for the university to establish a win-win partnership with non-government sectors. In the spirit of increased marketization, some entrepreneurs were willing to explore the logistics of universities as opportunities of their own expansion. Again, in the NENU example, to build the new campus, the university formed a partnership with a local company, which agreed to build the student living areas. The university on its part was responsible for constructing classrooms, offices, and

other teaching facilities. With the joint effort, the first phase of the project was completed within six months. The campus was put to use within the same year, housing over 4000 freshmen in the fall semester.

The third vehicle for expansion has been through bank loans. As there is increasing demand for opportunities to attend higher education, and given that students pay for part of the cost of their education through tuition, bank managers soon realized that providing loans to universities involved limited risk. Consequently, the majority of universities that have expanded in the past decade have employed bank loans to build new campuses or to upgrade facilities.

QUALITY ASSURANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION OF CHINA

As has been the case everywhere, the massification of higher education in China has raised attendant questions of the quality being produced by new and expanded institutions. As early as 2005, the MOE issued a general guideline for the development of higher education, determining the pace of expansion, giving priority to needed programs, adjusting the structure of disciplines and encouraging experimental innovations. In 2006, the State Council suggested that universities focus on raising teaching standards, which was set as a goal for the 11th five-year plan (2006–2010). In 2012, a document on quality assurance of higher education (*China Ministry of Education Recommendation on Quality Assurance in Higher Education*, hereafter as *Recommendation*) was formally issued with the result that quality has become the center of attention in Chinese higher education.

According to Yuan (2012), quality assurance has focused mostly on the quality improvement of undergraduate education by means of encouraging innovative experimental projects, collaboration between universities or with enterprises, or through international cooperation programs. In this framework, particular attention is paid to faculty development, and private and vocational sectors, which are to be given priority for development through continued efforts to gain effective decentralization of higher education.

Innovation and Reformation

In the *Recommendation*, innovation and reformation emerge as two central concepts for the realization of the goal of assuring quality in China's higher education, particularly in regard to the establishment of a multilayered university accreditation system, in which the government plays a guiding role and universities set up their own evaluation regularities. Through various collaborative initiatives, universities are to establish dynamics for "coming in and walking out," seeking new models and inspirations for education and teaching reform, particularly in regard to enhancing student participation, the cultivation of students' hand-on capabilities, and the integration of academic research with economic and technological development.

Experimental universities are to be established to explore mechanisms and models of cultivating creative talents, and these teaching institutions will be given special policies and incentives in terms of faculty recruitment, evaluation and assessment, university management and control, and so on. Collaborations are viewed as important strategies to realize the goals of educational innovation, especially in terms of the termination of the separation that exists between education and other social engagements, that between educational institutions from other innovative capacities, and research organizations from production enterprises. The *Recommendation* proposes that China's higher education should be conducted within a framework of rational planning, based on the principles of the country's needs and its goal of striving to be the world's best. HEIs should also try to establish collegiate relations, college and institution collaborations, the integration of colleges and enterprises, and cooperation between HEIs and local communities, as well as through international cooperation—overall establishing an open, integrative, and efficient model of higher education.

In these views, an ideal university in modern China should be one which abides by the law but also enjoys a great deal of freedom and democratic control, while also participating in relevant social activities. The *Recommendation* strongly emphasizes the element of social support in managing higher education, especially in regard to system establishment, leadership mechanisms, and academic engagement.

In addition, the *Recommendation* clearly points out that the national entrance examination system should be taken as the breaking point for ensuring quality education, as it is an important way to select talents for the development of the nation. Generally speaking, the national entrance examination reform is to be guided by the principle of “examination separation, integrative evaluation, and multi-enrollments.” Those who would apply to enter research-oriented universities will sit different examinations from those who would like to enter vocational colleges. Achievement test results, together with those from the national entrance examinations, will be the final assessment for university selections. Test takers are to be given flexible testing opportunities with some school subjects, such as English, so that they have the freedom to choose to take the test at any time during their senior year. In so doing, students will have more choices, equity in education will be strengthened, and universities will enjoy more freedom. The event of the national entrance examination system reform, the largest and most systematic reform in China's national testing systems since the *Great Cultural Revolution*, has been underway since September 2014. New practices and results will be seen very soon.

Internationalization

Internationalization is adopted as one of the strategies to realize innovation in higher education, a decision that is motivated by the mission of contemporary education to serve the modernizations and to face the challenges of the world's future. To have extensive and substantial international cooperation is also in line with the national open-door policy of “coming in and going out.”

In terms of “coming in,” the purpose is to import excellent educational resources to China, such as to invite well-established experts to teach a course, or to lead a team, or to be the head of a department, or even to be the academic president of the university. The government will provide substantial support to those acknowledged innovative cooperative programs. On the part of “going out,” China will continue to support the Chinese Government Overseas Programs and explore possibilities to send students overseas for voluntary services (cf. Yuan 2015). The expectation is that universities are to design well-planned programs for students going out, and solve related problems such as credit transfer and dual degree conferring. In addition, HEIs are strongly encouraged to have overseas campuses and to do well in leadership and faculty training. At the same time, the expectation is that China will continue to put effort into improving education quality for those engaged in the Studying in China Programs. The number of international students provided with admission will be significantly increased with the intended outcome that China will become the largest recipient in Asia for overseas education.

As a strategy to improve quality education, internationalization has become a key concept in many Chinese university missions. The expectation is that through internationalization, China’s HEIs will learn how developed countries manage their systems, teaching content, and teaching methodologies so as to bring Chinese education in line with international standards. In the past few years, studying overseas has become a trend with Chinese college students. According to the MOE “Annual Reports on College Graduates’ Employment” (2014), about 10 percent to one-third of BA graduates choose to seek admission to master degree programs overseas, (e.g., in 2014, 32.65 percent in Beijing University, 24.90 percent in Qinghua University, 32.45 percent in Fudan University, 22.9 percent in Tongji University, 26.3 percent in Shanghai Communications University, etc.), not including the students who have joined long- or short-term international programs. To my knowledge, about 10 percent of students from NENU have joined international cooperation and exchange programs annually in recent years. Based on the statistics provided by the Department of the MOE International Cooperation and Exchanges (2010), around 229,300 students initiated study overseas in 2009 alone, an increased rate of 27.5 percent compared with that in 2008. It is estimated that there are currently about 1.12 million Chinese students studying in about 107 countries throughout the world.

CHALLENGES AND EFFORTS TAKEN TO GUARANTEE HIGHER EDUCATION QUALITY

As mentioned above, the issue of higher education quality was raised in 2005. Both the government and HEIs have been undertaking measures to achieve and guarantee the quality of higher education, such as the control of student enrollment quota, the establishment of the university accreditation system, maintaining government funding of teacher training programs, and also gain-

ing this outcome through continuing international cooperation. The results are generally effective.

The Control of Enrollment Quotas

In terms of the control of enrollment quotas, the Chinese government points out that the increase of the gross enrollment rate should be in line with the increasing rate of the gross domestic product and therefore universities have to apply annually to establish student admission quotas. Universities under the direct leadership of the MOE apply to the MOE directly and local institutions to their provincial governments, which then seek approval from the central government. This has effectively checked the pace of growth.

University Accreditation

University accreditation started in 2000. A specialist group was appointed by the MOE to work out a program of evaluation, especially concerning the capacity of undergraduate education and the quality of teaching. The program consists of detailing seven first-rank items, 19 second-rank items, and making 44 points of observation, covering all aspects of education, such as infrastructure, facilities, teaching staff, administration, teacher performance, student discipline, and student abilities (Yang 2011). The first round of accreditation was completed in June of 2008.

A new university accreditation system was initiated by the MOE in 2011 with many amendments to the previous evaluation system, such that different standards will be applied to different types of HEIs (e.g., universities of sciences and engineering will be evaluated differently from those engaged in social sciences and humanities). Institutional self-evaluation will be combined with local government and ministry evaluations. International accreditation systems (e.g., AACSB, AMBA, EQUIS) will also be taken into account, plus the online screening of university management and teaching.

Teacher Training Programs

In an important attempt to improve teaching quality, especially to narrow the gap between schools in urban and rural areas, the government decided to provide free teacher training programs in six key teachers' universities in 2007. NENU has been one of the six universities, offering 15 free teacher training programs in various disciplines in natural science and humanities, such as chemistry, physics, Chinese, English, education, music, and art. Over 34,000 students were enrolled in the first three years (Song 2010). Currently, the number is more than twice that. These students are provided with free tuition, free accommodation, and a certain living allowance. Upon graduation, they should in principle return to their original location. However, they are allowed to work elsewhere, provided that they find a position in primary or secondary schools.

The teaching contract agreed to by such students is for ten years, with at least a two-year working experience period in rural areas. These students are provided with opportunities for continuing graduate education while in service. Three groups of in-service graduate students have been enrolled in NENU. They are on campus for some courses during summer and winter vacations and study other courses and complete assignments online. Those who violate the contract must repay their education expenses. Moreover, their credibility will be seriously undermined. Innovative teacher training programs have been established, exploring new mechanisms for training teachers, such as the “U-G-S” model (or three-partnership model, the University + Local Government + Middle & Primary Schools) established in NENU.

Apprentice training bases have been established with local junior and senior schools, where the students who are on teacher training programs can have a four-month internship. Four batches of government-funding students have graduated so far. Around 1500 government-funded students graduate from NENU each year, and the employment rate is 100 percent. In 2011, the Foreign Languages School enrolled 149 students, among whom 106 were English majors, 24 Japanese majors, and 9 Russian majors. Ninety-three percent work in junior or senior schools, 7 percent in HEIs, government offices, or enter into graduate programs. Ninety percent work in country key junior or senior schools, 3 percent in private schools, while 95 percent return to their home location and 5 percent go to other areas, according to the statistics provided by the Student Employment Office at NENU.

Job Market and Employment Problems

The rapid growth of higher education has resulted in competitive job markets. In 2014, for example, 7.27 million graduated from all universities in China, plus 0.36 million returned as graduates from overseas universities (according to Human Resources and Social Security of People’s Republic of China 2015), forming an unprecedented grand army of college degree holders hunting for employment opportunities. Actually, however, even with so many graduates each year, within the overall population those with college education experiences make up only a small percent of the total population. In accordance with the Report on China’s Education and Human Resources by the MOE (2003), young people 25 years old or over had an average level of schooling of 7.42 years in 2003, much lower than that in developed countries. The situation has surely been much improved with the massification of higher education in the past decade, but the average schooling for people over 15 years old was still only 9 years by 2010, in accordance to *China News*, compared with 12.4 years in the USA and 11.6 in Japan.

The 2014 MOE *Annual Reports of University Graduates’ Employment*, cites various reasons for the current employment problems in China. First, the economic disparity in China pushes most young people into seeking jobs in well-developed areas: 66.67 percent of graduates would like to work in big cities on

the east coast, 6.37 percent in central cities, and only 2.59 percent in small or medium-sized towns. Few would like to work in the less developed Western provinces or remote places such as the countryside or villages. Second, because of the relatively small proportion of the population with higher education degrees, many people are “still in the shadow” of elite education, believing that all college graduates are elites who should be given decent jobs. Some parents and graduates have higher expectations than can be satisfied in the current job markets. In addition, though massification has become a reality in China, the changes of education ideology in HEIs are still slow, especially in regard to the treatment of the relation between academic training and professional preparation, which leads to extensive discussions over such issues as knowledge and skills, learning and doing, textbook reading, and practical engagement.

CONCLUSION

Massification in higher education has ended the period of elite education in China, leading to many changes, such as a departure from the traditionally held idea of teaching knowledge to that of cultivating techniques, from a classroom-centric orientation to the integration of classroom teaching and practice, and from the dominant teacher role as “masters” to those as guides and facilitators in motivating students to learn independently. The focus on content learning has also changed from focusing on a single discipline to an engagement of a wider scope of disciplines with common core courses for all students.

However, elite education is deeply rooted in China’s higher education traditions and pathways, especially in the way that people experience difficulties finding a balance between academic learning and professional training. It seems that developmental change in education as an activity proceeds more rapidly than ideological changes, though both the government and HEIs have been trying to keep abreast with the impacts of massification. A vast majority of people still seem to believe that colleges are places for elites and that universities have a primary responsibility for cultivating talents, rather than to train laborers for existing and potential job markets. Therefore, similarities in university syllabi and programs lead to redundant and surplus labor supplies to job markets and high expectations for jobs that lead to subsequent disappointments for both parents and graduates.

Economic disparities between city and countryside lives also lead to inequity in higher education and push young graduates into more prosperous places in their search for jobs. Massification in higher education may yet have led to a percentage increase in the proportion of educated people in China, but further progress in gender distribution, social distribution, and area distribution is still needed.

In general, the strategies and measures taken by the Chinese government and HEIs (e.g., the control of enrollment quota, the focus on teacher development programs, and internationalization activities) have led to better practices in teaching institutions. And these changes (e.g., the improvement in the

capacity of college education and government input in ensuring better education quality) have resulted in significant progress in higher education, which provides a wider and better service for the society and the educated citizenry. The widening of access is a historic achievement in China. The rapid increase of gross enrollment has resulted in an upgrade in the quality of the labor force and helps promote equity in education. However, it seems also true that higher education in China is still in the process of developing and needs time to rid itself of the long-cherished ideas of elite education to enhance its operation, expectation, and evaluation.

The world is changing and developing rapidly at a speed we have never seen before. It seems natural that old problems are dying out and new problems are arising. Both the government and teaching institutions are trying hard to work out new solutions and methods to help those involved in higher education receive a better quality of service.

NOTES

1. *The Great Cultural Revolution* was a political movement launched by the late Chairman Mao Zedong and utilized by Linbao and Jiangqing, bringing forth serious disasters to Chinese people's lives.
2. By Deng Xiaoping on October 1, 1983, when he paid a visit to Jingshan School.
3. The Self-Study programs are actually classes run by non-government HEIs for students' preparing for self-directed and state administered examinations.
4. One-hundred universities are chosen to give priority to develop in the twenty-first century. The project was named 211 Project.

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Equity and Higher Education in the Asia-Pacific

Peter D. Hershock

Higher education (HE) is conducted at a distinctive nexus of social, economic, political, cultural, and technological forces operating at local, national, regional, and global scales. Given this, it is not surprising that the dramatic reconfiguration of geopolitical and economic landscapes and dynamics over especially the last half-century have precipitated comparable changes in the landscape and dynamics of HE. This has been particularly evident in the Asia-Pacific region.

Half a century ago, the contribution of Asian economies to global gross domestic productivity (GDP) was well under 20 percent; today, it is roughly 40 percent. Three of the world's largest economies are now in Asia—China (2), Japan (3), and India (10)—and the region as a whole is responsible for nearly half of global GDP growth. Changes in the HE landscape have been even more dramatic. At mid-century, Asia was home to just a few dozen elite-serving higher education institutions (HEIs); today, there are more than 5000 HEIs in Asia, 10 of which were deemed to be among the top 60 universities in the world by the Times Higher Education World Universities Rankings for 2013–2014. Even more remarkably, HE enrollments in the Asia-Pacific region now account for over 40 percent of the world total and it is projected that this will rise to 66 percent by 2035.

These are impressive records of growth, but the geographies of economic and educational expansion and benefit distribution have been far from uniform. Income disparities in Asia are now some of the highest in the world, and while the massification of HE has greatly enlarged the horizons of access, it has

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also occasioned widening gaps in educational quality, returns on investment, and postgraduation opportunity pathways. At the same time, the dismantling of colonial regimes across Asia, the spread of democratic governance, and the increasing scope and depth of human rights commitments have served to magnify the salience of differences in historical experience, national and ethnic identity, religion, and gender. The result has been a striking multiplication of equity and social justice concerns.

Here I want to map some of the major features on the multidimensional terrain of equity concerns in HE and to reflect critically on the adequacy of identifying equity with comparative equality of opportunity. One of the peculiarities of the networked interplay of globalization processes and the economic logic of market expansion and consumption density is that intensifying interdependence has become structurally entrained with accelerating interaction and amplifying differentiation (Hershock 2015). Under these conditions, equity is arguably less effectively indexed to the difference-leveling effects of minimizing exclusion than to the difference-appreciating effects of enhancing qualities of inclusion. If greater inclusiveness is both structurally and functionally necessary for continued growth, the burden of equity assessment shifts from *quantitative measures* of the *status* of individuals and groups toward *qualitative evaluations* of *relational dynamics*.

CARDINAL DIMENSIONS OF EQUITY CONCERNS

Concerns about equity are, broadly speaking, concerns about fairness. Today, these concerns tend to focus on the degree to which individuals enjoy equality of opportunity, whether the individuals in question are specific persons or such readily identified aggregations of persons as specific ethnic and religious groups, genders, or age groups. The historical roots of this understanding of equity can be traced to Platonic and Aristotelian insights that, while there are great benefits to be derived from organizing a society around generically formulated and universally applied systems of rules and precedents, this will not always ensure fair outcomes for everyone living in that society. As defined by Aristotle, equity consists in giving positive and corrective attention to particularity and difference in the pursuit of justice. This compensatory conception of equity played key roles in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century development of welfare, social choice, and social justice theories, and in practical efforts to correct for disparities in the distribution of such core public goods as health and education.

The terrain of equity concerns in contemporary HE is complex and multidimensional. Although the extraordinarily rapid expansion of HE over the last century has been characterized by considerable global convergence in relation to the purposes and provision of HE, the emergence of equity concerns has been—and continues to be—conditioned by local historical differences in the nature and interplay of social, cultural, economic, political, and technological forces. At the same time, HE is being dramatically reshaped by globalization

processes that are resulting in increasingly deep and extensive patterns of interdependence, raising questions about the adequacy of the compensatory logic and individual focus of the now dominant conception of equity—questions to which we will return in the final section of this chapter.

Broadly speaking, it is possible to identify four major dimensions or registers of concern about equity in HE. *Access equity* is implicated in concerns about who can enroll in HE, who does in fact enroll, and how long they stay enrolled. *Operational equity* is implicated in concerns about inclusiveness, mobility, and fairness within a given HEI, as well as about relations among students, staff, faculty, and administration. *Structural equity* is implicated in concerns about resource distribution within a given HE system, about compliance with equity-affecting policies, and about formal or informal limits on the mobility of, for example, students and course credits within the system. Finally, *contributory equity* is implicated in concerns about how the benefits of HE are distributed and about the degree to which HE furthers social justice pursuits and ideals beyond its own institutional boundaries.

While these different dimensions of equity are deeply interrelated, tensions among them are nevertheless possible. It is possible, for example, to achieve gender-neutral universal access to HE without fully dismantling barriers to the advancement of women within the HE system as faculty and administrators. It is also possible to achieve universal access in an institutionally diversified but highly stratified system that reproduces rather than helps to redress prevailing social inequalities. A multidimensional conception of equity facilitates insight into such tensions and encourages consideration of the practical limits of identifying equity with comparative equality of opportunity.

Access Equity

European antecedents for the modern university can be traced at least as far back as the founding of Oxford University and Cambridge University, respectively, in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. In Asia, similar reference might be made to the university at Nalanda monastery in northern India, which was founded in the fifth century and which the seventh-century Chinese visitors reported as having a multicultural student body of 10,000 drawn from across all of Asia and a 2000-member teaching faculty.

These antecedent institutions seem to have admitted students on the variously defined basis of “merit” and to have opened at least some modestly navigable pathways of social mobility. But worldwide, the university was predominantly an elite-serving institution until the nineteenth century when mass public education began to be promoted as a means to nation-state building and economic development. It is at this point that significant institutional diversification begins to take place in HE, in ways shaped by culture and historical experience at both local and national scales, but also by what we can comfortably identify as equity concerns (Guri-Rosenblit 2010).

Broadly speaking, the evolutionary arc of these concerns about equity has tracked from a focus on *inherited merit* (which encompasses both social and genetic lines of transmission) to *formal equality* (access rights) to the now standard concern for realizing history-, context-, and identity-sensitive *equality of opportunity* (Clancy and Goastellec 2007). Although there is considerable variability in how far different national HE systems have advanced along this equity arc, the conceptual trajectory is now well established globally.

Granted that concepts are distillations of lived experience, it would be expected that this conceptual trajectory from inherited merit, to universal access rights, and to condition-adaptive equality of opportunity would correlate with the advent of new kinds of HEIs. Expanding HE access from elite to mass and universal levels (Trow 1974) requires comparable institutional build-out since “universal” access connotes enrollment rates of greater than 40 percent. In association with the broadening expression of this developmental arc, HE enrollments globally rose from 500,000 in 1900 (the vast majority males from elite socioeconomic strata) to over 100 million in 2000. By 2035, global HE enrollments are projected to surpass 500 million (Calderon 2012). Granting access to this many students unavoidably brings about expanding inventories of needs and thus imperatives for building both more and new kinds of HEIs.

Associated with the institutional build-out required to move from elite to mass and universal access, there has been broad movement away from unitary to binary and diversified HE systems suited to not only accommodating vastly increasing numbers of students but also addressing the needs of significantly differing clienteles. This trend can be seen as one of migrating away from HE systems comprised solely of institutions aimed at shaping the minds and characters of ruling elites, of systems that include institutions focused on transmitting knowledge and skills suitable for building new technical and economic elites, and finally of systems that include highly flexible institutions suited for preparing citizens for productive roles in new and still-emerging social and economic realities (Brennan 2004).

Educational expansion would seem to be a force for greater equity insofar as it helps to eliminate entry barriers to HE. However, questions have been raised about inequalities involved in the dynamics and structures of HE expansion itself. For example, there is empirical support for the thesis of “maximally maintained inequality” (MMI) or the tendency for social stratification to be unaffected and thus inequalities maintained, in spite of increasing access to education. According to the MMI thesis, only when saturation is achieved at a given educational level by the more advantaged strata of society does expansion begin significantly broadening opportunity pathways for those from less advantaged social strata (Raftery and Hout 1993; Shavit and Blossfeld 1993). A contrasting concern is that in differentiated HE systems, students may be tracked in ways that replicate existing patterns of social stratification. According to the “diversion” thesis (see Hadjar and Becker 2009), inequalities in HE increase proportionately with decreases of inequality in secondary education enrollments and attainment, projecting inequalities upward, and thus producing no

net reduction of advantage and achievement disparities. In effect, the build out of non-elite HEIs enables the reproduction of social inequalities through what amounts to a process of student sequestration.

Finally, although the relationship between HE expansion and lessening inequality is clearly non-linear, there nevertheless is evidence of a general correlation over the long run of HE expansion with lessening social stratification (Shavit et al. 2010). With the transit from elite to universal education and from unitary to diversified HE systems, for example, significant increases have occurred worldwide in the proportional representation in HE of women, minorities, and those with physical disabilities. Yet, the persistence of equity concerns even in the context of universal HE delivered through highly diversified HE systems—as in the USA—suggests that full-fledged equality of opportunity remains a yet-to-be-attained ideal and the disproportionate structuring of opportunity a persisting reality.

Operational Equity

One effect of the expansion and institutional build out of HE has been movement toward increasingly varied student bodies. But having been granted access to HE, it is not a given that all students will be treated equally within the institutions to which they have matriculated. Neither is it a given that students from very different class, cultural, ethnic, or religious backgrounds will grant one another equality of opportunity, for example, for joining study groups or extracurricular activities. Although the value of diversity is now widely embraced in HE as part of an overall commitment to equity, and although many college and university campuses now have much more multicultural student bodies, faculties, and staffs than they did a generation ago, the social and educational dividends of diversity often remain elusive.

In the USA, for example, where commitments to access rights and to achieving equality of opportunity through affirmative action have resulted in some of the most diverse campuses in the world, significant concerns persist about self-segregation or campus “balkanization” (Duster 1991; Hawkins 2012). In addition to having a multicultural student body, realizing the dividends of diversity requires an appropriately supportive behavioral and psychological climate that is shaped by institutional responses to diversity issues, perceptions of racial/ethnic/religious conflict and other intergroup interactions, and more general attitudes toward racial/ethnic/religious “others” (Hurtado et al. 1998). Even in instances where many students enjoy close personal friendships across group boundaries, the overall relational climate on campus may be conducive to continued stereotyping and misunderstanding of the kinds and degrees that have historically been prevalent off-campus (Antonio 2001).

A significant factor in the psychological climate on diversity is the complexion of employees on campus—the staff, faculty, and administration who are responsible for a school’s day-to-day operations. Unlike students, who cycle regularly onto and off campus and affect its relational “weather,” the staff, fac-

ulty, and administrators on campus have ongoing roles related to establishing and maintaining (or changing) the relational “climate” on campus: the infrastructure of engagement through which HE needs and aims are articulated, evaluated, and met institutionally. Who fills these roles matters—especially for students, alumni, donors, and the surrounding community? While policies are important factors in setting campus equity and diversity climate goals, implementing these policies entails visibly and consistently personifying their informing values and commitments.

Operational equity thus also includes workplace equity. At a fundamental level, this involves issues of access rights and equal opportunity for women and minorities in the academy. But in addition, concerns about workplace equity extend to operational considerations of structural and cultural barriers to academic career placement and advancement. Although HE is undergoing rapid globalization and the academy is an increasingly cosmopolitan space, local- and national-level factors continue to have powerful effects on the prospects of women and minorities. Local constructions of femininity, for example, can be deeply at odds with meritocratic equality (Luke 2002).

Moreover, to the extent that academics serve as “relay points or cultural conduits through which global and local discourses and practice flow” (Luke 2001, xx), they are particularly and differentially vulnerable to such structural phenomena as globalization or corporatization. In some local and national contexts, such phenomena can have the relatively restricted impact of affecting prospects for gender equity in the academic workplace (Blackmore 2002). In others, they can have broader negative impacts on specific classes—like graduate student assistants and part-time or adjunct faculty—in the hierarchy of the academic labor market (Bousquet 2008; DeSantis 2011). The forces of managerialism and marketization also can be seen as creating a progressively acute schism between the aims of administrators and faculty that—from the perspective of faculty—can negatively affect the overall quality of the educational process even as they seek to address the needs of increasingly varied student clienteles (Ginsberg 2011). This can lead to conflicting views on the equity of growing disparities of investment in faculty and administrative and support roles on campus (Bess and Dee 2014).

Yet another, less studied aspect of operational equity has to do with the bridges, within the academy, between the roles of student and teacher/scholar. This aspect of equity, also connected with financial issues, centers on questions of who is granted access to graduate school, with what level of fiscal support, and with what kind of status within the academy. For instance, practices differ dramatically in terms of how graduate assistants are rewarded for their participation in scholarly research, including whether they figure (and how prominently) in publications built on research under a faculty mentor.

Structural Equity

The globalization and corporatization of HE have ubiquitous, but also locally, nationally, and regionally variable impacts. In part, this variability is due to differences in how HE is organized at each of these scales. There is no universally

actualized definition of a “higher education system.” Nevertheless, it is clear that many of the campus-specific concerns about operational equity have structural or systemic origins and implications. Academic hiring and advancement practices and norms, for example, can be institution specific in some degree, but only in the larger contexts of academic mobility, national quality assessment policies, and both national and international rankings.

The pursuit of access equity is, likewise, able to be conducted at a single-campus level in only an initial and very limited fashion. As HE transitions from elite to mass and finally universal access—most typically at the national scale—equity-relevant decisions are made about how to both structure and finance the required institutional expansion. In diversified systems built around a hierarchy of institutional types, for example, concerns arise about student mobility through the system, credit transfer, and quality assurance. How these mobility and articulation issues are resolved can disparately affect different parts of the student population, either erecting or eradicating barriers to “upward” movement through institutional types.

A major area of structural concern, then, is the efficiency and equity effects of HE finance, at the level of both institutional funding and student tuition. In most HE systems, some form of public subsidies is provided to help ensure that access rights are not just theoretical, but can be acted upon, especially by those worst off in society. Yet, there are different approaches to generating funds for the subsidies that are used to address inequalities of access, and these raise meta-level, structural questions about the relative equity implications of generating subsidy revenues through general taxes, loan schemes, or graduate taxes (Garcia-Penalosa and Walde 2000).

At the institutional level, questions about how funds are distributed seem to be path dependent in the sense that, early in the massification process, the primary objective is to add capacity by simply increasing the total number of institutions and student seats. Access equity thus initially implies access to equivalent institutions throughout a system. Beyond a certain threshold, however, the advantages of institutional diversification become apparent and a discursive shift takes place from equality among institutions to equity—a shift, that is, from providing every institution with equal funding to considering how to fairly distribute funding in a system comprising institutions with different needs and missions (Neubauer and Tanaka 2011). Institutions specializing in scientific and medical research, for example, require much higher per student investments (i.e., for procuring laboratory space, equipment, and supplies) than do liberal arts institutions. Decisions about how to distribute resources within a system, however, also have implications for who is benefited by the resources invested. If institutions specializing in science, engineering, and technology have dramatically uneven enrollments of women and men, or disproportionately small numbers of minority enrollments, diverting greater resources to these institutions has system-wide equity impacts.

The system-level structuring of resource distribution also has wider equity implications. HE achievement is both a determinant and a result of higher income. And while HE does serve to bolster gains from primary and secondary

education, these gains may themselves be quite unevenly distributed. This has significant implications for who benefits most from investment in HE (Guri-Rosenblit et al. 2007). In the context of hierarchically ordered, multi-tiered HE systems, applicants with the best primary and secondary education are at a clear advantage, as are those who come from families capable of providing afterschool tutoring. Truly equal opportunity for entry to elite schools and highly competitive (and eventually remunerative) programs may require structural investments beyond the boundaries of individual HEIs.

Finally, there are structural factors involved in the degree to which equity-enhancing policies and legislation are actually put into practice. It is often the case that there is a significant lag between policy-making and full policy-implementation and compliance. This can be due to cultural dynamics that are conducive to continued inaction in addressing institutional and structural exclusion. But even when that is not the case, the day-to-day reality in many institutions is that addressing issues of operational equity is subordinated to more immediate challenges. This is especially true under conditions of tightening budget and time constraints. Enhancing access and operational equity, for example, seems to require connecting the ideals of inclusiveness and diversity to core institutional values and practices, and this is a process of ongoing institutional change in which intermediary or catalyst institutions can play critical roles. Rather than taking on a policing function, however, these institutional intermediaries and catalysts are arguably most effective when they foster competition among and pool information from a number of institutions, building both support and aspiration networks (Strum 2006).

Contributory Equity

Access to and participation in HE has both direct and indirect benefits, for both individual students and society as a whole. It is well accepted that investment in HE is central to the labor pool development needed to spur and sustain business development and innovation, which in turn spurs and sustains higher levels of employment and higher wages.

Structural equity discussions about how HE is financed—especially what portion of the costs are covered through student tuition—have tended to focus on the benefits that accrue to individuals who participate in HE. But in addition to these more or less direct benefits of HE participation, HE investments also indirectly contribute to raising tax revenues, increasing savings and consumption, improving national health, rationalizing population growth, and mainstreaming both entrepreneurialism and civil society gains (Bloom et al. 2006). These social benefits extend well beyond the portion of the population that has participated personally in HE.

Contributory equity concerns about what constitutes a fair return on public investment in HE for society as a whole can also be extended to include raising questions, for example, about how the benefits of the knowledge generated by HE are distributed, especially the benefits that accrue from university-run

research and development activities. Today, an increasing percentage of university research in the fields of science, technology, engineering, medicine, and math is conducted under contract for government agencies and major corporations. This empirical expansion of HE stakeholders to include governments and corporations can be seen neutrally as one that generates opportunity for faculty and students involved in sponsored research, as well as indirect or overhead costs that provide significant and much-needed fiscal support for broader institutional use. And, it is change often invoked in support of the thesis that how “innovation” drives economic growth. Yet, the process of stakeholder expansion also involves risks of “mission overload” (Jongbloed et al. 2008). The highly lucrative nature of contract research can have distorting effects on the flow and concentration of both human and budgetary capital within the academy, reconfiguring disciplinary architectures to privilege the fields of sciences and technology in ways that raise questions about epistemic inclusion and exclusion.

Moreover, this empirical expansion of stakeholders is not easily separated out from the possibility of ideological expansion. As the language and neoliberal values of corporate culture are infused into HE practices, the possibility must be entertained that one result may be an erosion of the public good mission of HE. Strongly stated, to the extent that the rational choice model of individual benefit and unbridled competition is infused operationally into HE, the normativity of market liberties may displace that of civic freedoms exercised in pursuit of greater social justice (Giroux 2002).

There is perhaps still too little empirical evidence to assess ultimately political concerns about the corporate colonization of the campus and its potential impacts on contributory equity. And it could be argued that these concerns are currently relevant only in the USA and Europe where university budgets for both basic and applied research continue to be the highest in the world and the most closely linked to corporate interests. What is much more widely salient in the present context are concerns about the social distribution of benefits of HE and the extent to which equity enhancement within HE serves as an engine for equity advancement in society as a whole. Somewhat ironically stated, does HE serve as a net importer or exporter of equity and social justice agendas (Brennan and Naidoo 2008)?

There is a long history of HE being a fount of thought and practice related to social justice, not only in Europe and the Americas but also in Asia (Altbach 1970). But these social justice movements have tended to be both occasional—that is, triggered by specific events, as was the iconic May 4th Movement in China in 1919—and more a function of individual conscience than of core institutional or systemic commitments. This is perhaps understandable in light of the historical focus of HE on training social, cultural, and political elites. But the tidal shift toward mass and universal HE has facilitated the importation of social justice concerns into the academy, the effects of which are evident in the growing commitments in HE to equity as a core value.

At the same time, there has been an evolution in the scope of equity—an expansion beyond concerns about access to concerns about the degree to which the internal dynamics and structures of HE are themselves equitable. If a central purpose of HE is to be at the leading edge of generating knowledge (including know-how) that is useful to society, one aspect of that is generating knowledge that contributes to realizing a sustainably vibrant economy. But many of the key challenges of the twenty-first century are not problems that are amenable to technical solution, they are predicaments—like climate change—that make manifest conflicts among our values, aims, and interests, and that can only be resolved through clarifying the nature and historical dynamics of these challenges and developing new and more apt constellations of values and commitments (Hershock 2010). Precisely because HE is conducted at the nexus of social, economic, political, cultural, and technological forces, it is in position to play a unique and critical role in developing understanding about the dynamics of global interdependence. But it is also situated to play powerful contributory roles in fostering the shared articulation of commitments that is required to orient those dynamics more justly and equitably. That is, HE is in a position to play “a key role in advancing the values of justice, democratic life, and their wider dissemination in society,” not as “a separate, free-standing, theoretically disposable role, but [as] a central or core value” (Skillbeck 2000, i).

FROM COMPARATIVE TO RELATIONAL EQUITY

The four dimensions of HE equity—access, operations, structures, and contributions—are dynamically interdependent. Each involves the interplay of people, processes, and policies. And, together, they invite seeing equity as an evolving concept that is both spreading into new parts of the HE terrain and reflexively redefining the scope of its own earlier iterations. Thus, the emergence of operational equity expands the scope of access from students to encompass workplace concerns, while the emergence of structural equity stimulates operational concerns about the impacts of financing on campus dynamics and about stratifications of access and future opportunity. In sum, equity is not a fixed goal or measure of fairness. Equity manifests (or fails to do so) in the context of ongoing evaluations of recursively dynamic relationships among people, processes, and policies, where the processes in question can be socioeconomic, cultural, political, and technological, as well as educational, and where the policies involved may be formulated at any scale from the personal to the intergovernmental.

Seeing equity in this way signals a shift of practical focus from reducing degrees or *quantities of exclusion* to enhancing *qualities of inclusion*. This in turn signals a need to rethink the ontology of equity. The now globally dominant conception of equity as a function of equality of opportunity is grounded in historically and culturally conditioned assumptions that the individual is the natural and proper unit of comparative analysis. The unit of concern can be a specific person, or it can be an aggregation of persons—for example, a specific

ethnic or religious group, a gender, a class, or a nation. But in each case, equity concerns focus on how the status of one individual (either actual or putative) compares with that of others. In effect, each individual is treated as an independent entity.

As previously noted, the conceptual roots of an individual-focused conception of equity can be traced to Plato, and more specifically to his claim in the “Statesman” that the complexity and non-uniformity of actual human circumstances forces recognition of the limits of universal and standardized law codes. Living in accordance with generically formulated systems of rules and precedents will not always ensure fair outcomes. In keeping with this insight, Aristotle identifies equity in his “Ethics” with giving positive and corrective attention to particularity and difference in the pursuit of justice.

This conception of equity was institutionalized in Roman and later Western European legal systems in the form of separate courts of appeal in which one could argue for being exempted from prosecution according to the letter of statutory law. Institutions of this kind remained functional in Europe and the Americas into the eighteenth century when Enlightenment valorizations of equality, universality, individual subjectivity, and volition began undercutting the force of appeals to circumstances or heredity in the hope of special consideration.

At roughly the same time, the term “equity” began to be used in reference to the exploitable, capital-generating difference between the fluctuating market value of a good or property and enduring claims against it. This fundamentally quantitative concept of equity was deployed first in determining the fair distribution of returns on business investments, but its scope was gradually expanded to encompass the aims of much broader deliberations about distributing or allocating benefits and burdens in society as a whole. Here, concern shifted away from specific persons to aggregations of types of persons as functional units of concern. As a central factor in newly developing theories of welfare, social choice, and social justice, equity concerns at this point began to “revolve around the question of how *differences* in claims—due to disparities in merit, desert, contribution, need, and so forth—should be taken into account” (Young 1994, 12).

The most recent major shift in the conception of equity took place over the final third of the twentieth century, stimulated at least in part by the publication of John Rawls’ (1971) *Theory of Justice*. Instead of seeing fairness and equity as resulting either from individual exceptions to prevailing rules or from calculations aimed at allocating existing benefits and burdens to insure the greatest collective welfare for society as a whole, Rawls placed equity considerations behind a “veil of ignorance” regarding who one would be in society, shifting attention from actual or putative individuals and their circumstances to possible identities. Equity results from adopting principles and policies that ensure that all positions in society are open to all and that any inequalities allowed among them will benefit those who are least well off in society.

This a priori approach to realizing a just and equitable society continues to have considerable theoretical appeal. But as activist, feminist, and postcolonial proponents of the politics of recognition and respect were quick to point out, the methodological fiction of deliberation without identity—deliberations in which we only know what kinds of people we might become, not who we are—is incompatible with achieving actual as opposed to merely abstract equality of opportunity. Charting practically viable courses to more just and equitable societies cannot be done in blindness to identity and history.

Emphasizing the importance of both recognizing and respecting individual differences in any actual effort to realize equity reaffirms the Aristotelian insight that there are circumstances in which particularity has precedence over universality in the pursuit of justice. But in addition, it qualifies this attention to particularity as respectful, insisting, for example, that the opportunities enjoyed by women will not be “equivalent” to those of men, but rather opportunities of the kind valued by women as women. This marks a shift away from seeing the pursuit of equity as a project of compensation, where the measure of what is fair is not determined by those who are presently disadvantaged, but rather by those currently in norm-setting positions of advantage. The pursuit of greater equity thus entails going beyond simply ensuring rights of participation to include heightening the participatory value of those previously either excluded or granted only limited and externally prescribed participatory opportunities.

This shift from away from appeals to universality (common principles and ideals) toward identity (uncommon practices and realities) has to date been undertaken in ways that express continued allegiance to the modern conviction that the individual (human being, ethnic group, gender group, nation, etc.) is the natural and proper unit of ethical, legal, economic, and political analysis. Individual autonomy and agency have remained central concerns. But the shift from reducing exclusion to enhancing inclusion arguably also entails recognizing the ontological primacy of relationality—a refocusing of attention, consistent with the complex nature of contemporary globalization processes, from the relative status of individual existents to the quality and dynamic orientation of both abiding and emerging patterns of interdependence. Equity then becomes a *relational function* of enhanced capacities-for and commitments-to furthering our own self-interests in ways deemed valuable by others. That is, enhancing equity implies deepening diversity, where diversity consists not in the mere coexistence of people with different values, ethnicities, genders, and cultural identities—the presence of variety—but rather in the qualitative, relational achievement of differing in the ways needed to engage in mutual contribution to sustainably shared flourishing.

Enhancing relational equity, like the achievement of equality of opportunity, does entail ending all forms of social, economic, political, and cultural exclusion. But commitments to achieving relational equity go beyond liberal oppositions to exclusion to appreciating—both valuing and adding value to—mutual inclusion. Concerns about equity in HE are, in this sense, inseparable

from concerns about the responsiveness and public responsibilities of HE—concerns, ultimately, about qualities of interdependence.

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Higher Education Capacity for What? Balancing Issues of Equity, Efficiency, Choice, and Excellence

W. James Jacob and Weiyang Xiong

Higher education capacity in the Asia Pacific region varies extensively. On one end of the spectrum, the region includes higher education country juggernauts China and India. On the other end, there are many smaller nations, including the microstate higher education systems that exist within many of the Pacific Island nations. Capacity can be examined from several angles, including from a human resource, economic, and policy perspectives. In this chapter, we examine higher education capacity within six case countries from a policy perspective using the Education Policy Analysis Model (EPAM) as outlined by Cheng and Jacob (2005). The six countries include Bangladesh, China, Fiji, India, Indonesia, and South Korea. In addition to size, higher education quality varies extensively between each country (see Tables 23.1–23.3).

As an integral part of the education policy as a whole, higher education policy has attracted particular attention from policy makers because of its close relationship to the economic and cultural development of one country. The expansion of higher education has created a dramatic transformation at local and national levels in most Asia Pacific countries, and it has helped elevate higher education policy initiatives to center stage. EPAM can serve as a useful model to analyze higher education policies because equity, efficiency, choice,

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Table 23.1 Descriptive statistics of six case countries

	Number of HEIs	Student enrollments		Faculty members
		Undergraduate	Graduate	
Bangladesh	3,120 ^{*,a}	2,397,318 [‡]	329,143 [‡]	77,000 [*]
China	2,845 [§]	37,879,300 [‡]	1,848,108 [‡]	1,565,800 [‡]
Fiji	89 [§]	N/A	N/A	N/A
India	48,828 [‡]	26,136,000 [‡]	3,493,000 [‡]	1,209,211 ^{‡,b}
Indonesia	3,834 [†]	5,040,000 [*]	324,000 [*]	239,000 [*]
South Korea	433 [‡]	3,337,875 [‡]	330,872 [‡]	88,163 [‡]

Sources: Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information & Statistics (2014, 27); Ministry of Human Resource Development (2014, 3); Korean Educational Development Institute (2014); UNESCO Institute for Statistics (2014, 152–153); China Ministry of Education (2015); Fiji Higher Education Commission (2015a); OECD (2015, 187)

Notes:

*2011 data

‡2013 data

†2014 data

§2015 data

^aHEIs in Bangladesh refers to tertiary-level colleges, tertiary-level Madrasah schools, and universities, and don't include the professional and teacher schools that offer tertiary-level education

^bThe number of the faculty members doesn't include those from stand-alone institutions

Table 23.2 Comparison of ranked HEIs in six case countries, 2015

	AWRU		THE		QS	
	Top 100	Top 500	Top 100	Top 400	Top 100	Top 500
Bangladesh	0	0	0	0	0	0
China	0	32	2	11	3	18
Fiji	0	0	0	0	0	0
India	0	1	0	4	0	7
Indonesia	0	0	0	0	0	2
South Korea	0	12	3	9	3	13

Sources: Times Higher Education (2015); Quacquarelli Symonds (2015)

Table 23.3 Citable documents by country, 1999–2014

	1999	2004	2009	2014
Bangladesh	551	781	1,796	3,214
China	39,037	107,509	296,050	438,601
Fiji	46	93	132	196
India	22,776	32,948	62,976	106,078
Indonesia	550	854	1,803	5,341
South Korea	15,657	31,088	52,262	68,140

Source: SCImago Lab (2015)

and excellence have been traditional foci of higher education for a long time. Also, after entering the twenty-first century, globalization has become a newly emerging concern for world higher education.

The Asia Pacific region plays a significant role in world higher education. China and India have the first and second largest higher education systems in terms of enrolled student numbers, and India has the most higher education institutions (HEIs). Pacific Island countries have provided good examples of higher education development in small countries, as well as in regional higher education cooperation. Driven by the demand for higher education access of growing populations, many countries in this region have gained significant achievements in higher education expansion. They have also met various issues caused by the lack of synchrony between rapid expansion and the improvement of overall quality (Carnoy et al. 2013). In this sense, EPAM can be applied to analyze the theories and practices of different countries' higher education policies to center on critical issues and provide suggestions.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

For the purposes of this chapter, we modify the EPAM approach by focusing only on higher education (see Fig. 23.1).

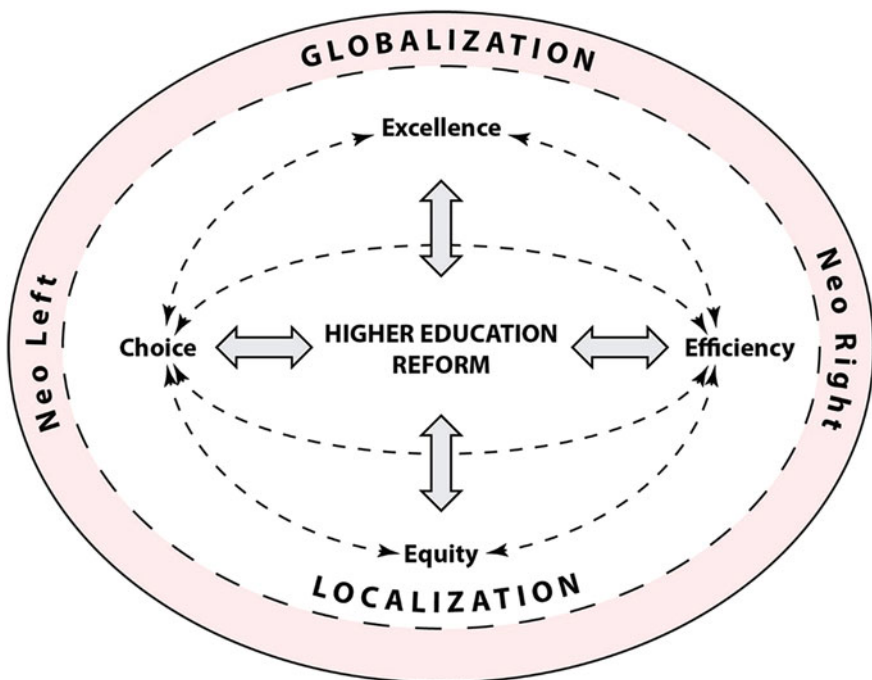


Fig. 23.1 Higher Education Policy Analysis Model (HEPAM)

In the HEPAM, we examine national higher education systems in relation to four key criteria: equity, efficiency, choice, and excellence. Our analytical approach begins with an overview of key higher education policies from each country. Then, using HEPAM, we analyze the key policies from a (1) theoretical and (2) an actual implementation perspective, with a focus on how these four issues interact with each respective country's higher education capacity-building efforts.

CASE STUDIES OF SELECTED COUNTRIES

Bangladesh

Abject poverty, unequal opportunities for higher education access for all, government instability, and low levels of available financial support are among the greatest persistent challenges facing higher education stakeholders at all levels in Bangladesh. Capacity challenges are equally prevalent, with the general absence of a sufficiently qualified workforce, and low-level information, communications, and technology infrastructure when compared with G20 countries (Khan et al. 2012).

Bangladesh ranks among the most impoverished countries of Asian countries. Despite having its national education index rise¹ from 0.292 in 2003 to 0.447 in 2013, adult literacy rates rose to 57.7 percent in 2013, compared to 34.2 percent in 1990 and 41.1 percent in 2002 (UNDP 2004, 178; 2014, 193). With only 13 percent of the eligible cohort being able to access higher education opportunities nationwide, the lack of higher education opportunities remains one of the primary equity issues in comparison with the other countries discussed in this chapter. In this context, citizenry choice is extremely limited and simply nonexistent for those who are illiterate or who have failed to complete foundational primary and/or secondary schooling.

Despite tremendous human development achievements in recent decades, there remains a consistent need in Bangladesh for greater priority to be given toward strengthening the education sector at all levels. This is the only way that sustained capacity development can be achieved and where Bangladesh can build upon and maximize its greatest natural resource—a huge population base. This capacity-building initiative poses a traumatic challenge for the government of Bangladesh. It will require tremendous financial resources, including investing in higher education. Technical and other means of capacity-building assistance are needed from an already debt-laden government. The World Bank recently funded the Higher Education Quality Enhancement Project (HEQEP)^{2,3,4,5,6} and the European Union's Knowledge Management, Capacity Building, and Coordination for the SHARE Project are examples of the international community projects helping to meet these national needs. One of the higher education capacity-building initiatives of HEQEP is the Bangladesh Research and Education Network (BdREN) to provide the necessary IT infrastructure for key HEIs throughout the country. Among the networking goals BdREN will

achieve include an independent, high-speed data-communications network, databases, laboratories, and sharing of libraries (Bangladesh University Grants Commission 2015).

Educational reform efforts and sustained financial inputs are necessary to improve economic outputs and efficiencies in agriculture, business, and information and computer technology (ICT) (Monem and Baniamin 2010). Twenty-first-century work skills generally require tertiary-level education. With only 13 percent of the tertiary age population receiving higher education opportunities, it is insufficient to meet national demands. From an HEPAM standpoint, it will take time for Bangladesh to reach its full education potential and to become competitive on an international level in higher education offerings. Government policies need to better address a holistic approach to education, through continued expansion of access and opportunities at all levels, K-20.

China

In China, higher education is under the administration of the Ministry of Education, and public HEIs dominate the higher education system. Since May 21, 2015, China has a total of 2845 HEIs, of which there are 1824 public HEIs with 287 affiliated colleges, 447 private HEIs, and seven Chinese-foreign-cooperatively-run HEIs (China Ministry of Education [CMOE] 2015a). Even though some top universities have begun to establish education foundations to raise funds, most Chinese HEIs rely on financial allocations from the central or local governments. Since the higher education expansion in 1998, Chinese higher education has witnessed several significant reforms. In 2010, the Ministry of Education released the *National Medium and Long Term Education Reform and Development Plan (2010–2020)*, in which the quality of higher education became the priority (CMOE 2010).

The College Entrance Examination System has played a significant role in alleviating the issue of higher education equity in China. This system has provided Chinese students from different regions and social classes with equal opportunity to receive higher education, even though there always exist controversial ideas about it. The biggest criticisms are the test orientation and the unbalanced distribution of educational resources between urban and rural, eastern and western areas of China (Li 2015). Benefiting from this system and with the expansion of HEIs, China has the largest student enrollment numbers in the world. As of 2014, there are a total of 39.73 million students enrolled in various types of universities and colleges, and the gross enrollment rate has reached 38.4 percent (CMOE 2015). The next step for Chinese higher education is to provide the process for and the outcome of equity to students through leveling higher education quality in different regions of China.

Efficiency is one of the primary foci of Chinese higher education, and this is often portrayed by a strong and even an over-emphasis on administrative bureaucracies (Chen 2010). In Chinese HEIs, many excellent professors and

scholars have to play administrative roles in their institutions, and spend much time on administrative duties, which necessarily decreases their time and effort on academic contributions. The reason for this phenomenon is that administrative positions bring professors additional academic and non-academic resources. HEI leaders and scholars have discussed and promoted actions to reduce this administrative trend and burden for many years. However, their efforts have not met expectations because of the solidly centralized political and higher education systems (Bie and Tang 2011). A major issue confronting the future of Chinese higher education will be how to reform the management structure within HEIs and efficiently apply resources.

Regarding choice within Chinese higher education, the College Admission System has provided students and their parents the chance to choose their preferred HEIs and major fields of study. After receiving the report of their exam scores and ranking among all examinees for a given year, students will fill in the college application form with their first to third choices of majors and institutions. In some Chinese provinces, however, students need to complete the application form before actually knowing their scores, which constitutes a risk. An additional risk imposed by this process is that some popular majors and institutions will attract a surplus number of applicants, leading to the result that students with relatively high scores will fail to be admitted to the institution or major of their choice. Additionally, given the organization of pre-tertiary education Chinese students determine the academic track of arts or sciences in high school thereby, constraining their subsequent choices of majors and institutions in tertiary education (Li 2015). Another pressing issue is the reality that vocational and technical colleges have not achieved the same status as academic universities. Students are left to attend vocational colleges mainly because of their poor performance in schools, and they have no hope of entering a university. In this sense, Chinese students' choice of higher education has been limited. Foreign HEIs have also been an option for Chinese students. The number of Chinese secondary school graduates choosing foreign HEIs has increased significantly since 2006, and these students now represent 22.6 percent of the total students studying abroad (Ernst and Young 2014).

Quality has been the focus of current Chinese higher education policy (CMOE 2010), and the Chinese government has put much effort into promoting the excellence of higher education. First, through "Project 211" and "Project 985," the Chinese government selected several top universities to provide additional financial and policy assistance to support their development and lead the whole of the Chinese higher education system. Currently, there are a total of 122 institutions designated as "211 universities," and 39 as "985 universities" (Cheng 2013). Second, since 2007, the Chinese government has implemented the "Thousand-Person Plan" to attract overseas senior and young Chinese potential scholars to Chinese HEIs (Organization Department of the CPC Central Committee 2011). The Chinese government and HEIs have provided returning scholars with a free academic environment and sufficient financial support to help them achieve their academic goals (Ma

et al. 2013). Finally, China has promoted the further higher education reform, “2011 Plan,” to encourage coordinated innovation among HEIs. This plan has become an integral part of the efforts to build world-class universities (Chen et al. 2012). Since then, several innovative cooperation projects have been put into practice among top universities, such as the Center for Life Sciences established in 2011 at Peking and Tsinghua universities.

In conclusion, Chinese higher education has achieved splendid outcomes such as the increased number of enrolled higher education students since the expansion. Also, China’s world-class flagship universities—such as Peking University and Tsinghua University—have already established their influence on the global higher education stage. However, in an integrated view of HEPAM, Chinese higher education could perform substantially better in terms of efficiency and excellence. On the one hand, Chinese HEIs are constrained by the central political system and spend more effort on administrative affairs. On the other hand, HEIs cannot cultivate qualified graduates to meet the demands of the job market.

Fiji

Fiji has a high reputation for its education system among the Pacific Island countries, and the government has given a high priority to education through consistent policy and financial support. In 2007, the Fijian government devoted 21 percent of its national budget to education (World Bank 2007). Higher education is treated as a significant pillar of national development and talent training and has gained strong support from various levels of stakeholders (Chandra 2009). Fiji has a centralized education system in which the Ministry of Education handles the overall administration and management of education. Under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, the Fiji Higher Education

Table 23.4 Primary regulations concerning higher education in Fiji

<i>Regulations</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Contents</i>
Higher Education Promulgation No. 24	2008	Established the FHEC to regulate the establishment, recognition, operation, and standards of universities and other HEIs
Higher Education Regulations	2009	Implemented in 2010. Contain additional specifications related to the applications for recognition and registration of HEIs
Fiji National University Decree No. 39	2009	Established the Fiji National University to serve the needs of the post-secondary and higher education sectors
Higher Education (Qualifications) Regulations	2009	Implemented in January 2010. Provided for the establishment of the Fiji Qualifications Council whose primary role is to administer the Fiji National Qualifications Framework for registration of national standards and qualifications

Source: UNESCO (2011)

Commission (FHEC) was founded to oversee higher-education-related affairs, including the establishment, registration, regulation, and facilitation of HEIs (Fiji Higher Education Commission 2013).

With the implementation of a series of higher-education-related regulations (see Table 23.4), Fijian higher education has developed dramatically in the last five years. As of April 16, 2015, 68 HEIs were recognized by FHEC, among which 23 registered by the Commission (Fiji Higher Education Commission 2015a, b). Among these HEIs, there are three universities serving as the major higher education providers in Fiji. They are the University of the South Pacific, Fiji National University, and the University of Fiji (UF). The government is striving to provide universal higher education by 2025 (Kandasamy 2014).

Fiji is a multiracial country of several ethnic groups. Among them, the *iTaukei* (Ethnic Fijians) and Indo-Fijians are the two dominant groups, and others include European, Rotuman, Chinese, Part European, and other Pacific Islanders. It has been a critical issue for the Fijian higher education system to provide equal higher education access to all ethnic groups (Kandasamy 2014). The founding of the UF is a good example of fighting for equal educational opportunity for under-represented people. Realizing that many students from Western Viti Levu and other remote locations throughout the country were unable to attend the University of the South Pacific (USP) or the Fiji National University (FNU) main campuses in Suva due to financial and geographic constraints, the Arya Pratinidhi Sabah of Fiji, established UF to provide greater higher education access opportunities to all Fijians (Kandasamy 2014). After several years' development, this private university has demonstrated consistent achievements and become one of the three principal higher education providers in Fiji.

Due to the small size and limited economic scale of the country, Fijian higher education faces the task of efficiently integrating and utilizing educational resources. The establishment and operation of two universities reflects their endeavors. The first is the USP, which is a South Pacific regional university founded in 1968, jointly owned by the governments of 12 member countries. The idea of regional cooperation has been long acknowledged by the leaders and planners of Pacific Island countries to facilitate their higher education development (Chandra 2009). USP is a good example of the integration of resources, especially land, which is limited in this area. The second university is FNU, which was founded in 2009 to integrate all public HEIs in Fiji. It includes technical vocational education training (TVET) and higher education programs. In this way, Fijian higher education can optimize national resource use and eliminate duplication. In this particular operation, FNU has adopted a multi-term delivery structure that includes block, trimester, and semester formats to make better use of capital and physical infrastructures (Kandasamy 2014).

Many small island states in Oceania are simply unable to offer a breadth of higher education offerings that are afforded students who attend higher education in larger countries, like Australia and New Zealand. And while Fiji has generally more options than many smaller island countries in the region, it

still lacks what larger markets can offer. Despite this challenge, the Fiji government is making a concerted effort to provide students with as many options as possible. The Fijian government has granted scholarships and loans to students in various subject fields. In 2013, the National Topper Scheme provided the top 600 applicants with full scholarships covering 12 priority disciplines (Kandasamy 2014).

Quality has been increasingly treated as a key benchmark of the Fijian higher education system (Chandra 2009). FHEC plays the leading role to ensure the excellence of Fijian higher education (Fiji Higher Education Commission 2013). Specifically, since January 2010, FHEC has applied a process of recognizing and registering award-conferring HEIs. Every five years, Fijian HEIs need to be evaluated to ensure that they continue to meet government quality requirements. Meanwhile, FHEC works closely with the Fiji Qualifications Council to apply the Fiji Qualifications Framework for the registration of the national standards and qualifications to ensure higher education quality (Kandasamy 2014).

Even though Fijian higher education is facing difficult circumstances as a small island state, it has gained impressive achievements. When juxtaposed to the HEPAM, Fiji has made strong efforts to ensure that its higher education can respond to global imperatives of quality, equity, access, excellence, efficiency, and regional and global cooperation (Chandra 2009). Recently established HEIs have helped increase higher education opportunities while at the same time helping optimize the use of limited resources. Finally, many Fijian HEIs have taken a broad worldview in hopes of better participating in the global higher education community through greater regional and global cooperation. ICT development is an important ongoing capacity-building initiative Fijian HEIs will have to capitalize on in order for them to reach their full delivery potential in such a diverse, multi-island context (Kala 2013).

India

India has the largest higher education system in terms of the number of HEIs and second largest student numbers. In 2014, India had 712 universities, 36,671 colleges, and 11,445 stand-alone institutions (Ministry of Human Resource Development [MHRD] 2014). Even though India has an enormous body of higher education students, expansion is still an important topic in its latest five-year plan due to a low enrollment rate of 18 percent of the eligible age cohort (British Council 2014). India has made an ambitious goal that by 2017, this enrollment rate will reach 25 percent, and 32 percent by 2022 (Ministry of Human Resource Development 2013). To realize this goal, the Indian government aims to expand the scale, influence, and regional coverage of existing HEIs, increase discipline diversity and balance the development of different disciplines, and build connections between higher education, industry, and the economy (British Council 2014). This new expansion strategy is

more comprehensive than the previous one, which mainly relied on the establishment of new private HEIs.

India's colonial history and the varied nature of political pressures have become a challenge for achieving opportunity equity of receiving higher education in Indian society (Altbach 2014). The inequalities of access to higher education are multidimensional and exist between rural and urban populations, men and women, minority and mainstream communities, and so on. Equity has been promoted as one of the foci in India's latest (twelfth) five-year plan (2012–2017) for higher education. The central government has implemented several initiatives to help underprivileged and underserved populations (British Council 2014). For example, the Saksham Scholarship Scheme aims to encourage and support differently abled children to pursue technical education. The Special Scholarship Scheme launched by the India University Grants Commission (IUGC) targets students from low-income families in the north-eastern region and provides them with a scholarship grant to pursue higher education (India University Grants Commission 2012; Ministry of Human Resource Development 2015). India has also applied a complex system of a reservations policy that reserves almost half of the admission places for these under-represented groups; meanwhile, the admission standards are relatively low for these groups (Altbach 2014).

Indian higher education has obtained some achievements regarding equity. For example, the enrollment of women students in higher education has increased greatly, and women students represented 42.66 percent of total enrolled students in 2011–2012. However, problems still exist. The reservation policy has harmed quality and led to a high dropout rate because of persisting low standards (Altbach 2014). Moreover, female students still tend to cluster in several disciplines like education and health sciences, and it is hard for them to enter traditionally male-advantaged disciplines such as engineering and management (Gautam 2015).

The fact that the Indian higher education system is largely closed to the rest of the world raises the dominant issue of efficiency. First, the Indian higher education market has traditionally not allowed international branch campuses and other foreign higher education providers to enter India. However, this has changed in recent years. One example includes Carnegie Mellon University's partnership with the SSN School of Advanced Software Engineering (SASE) in Chennai. Meanwhile, it is difficult for non-citizens to be hired as permanent academic staff in Indian HEIs (Altbach 2014). In this sense, Indian higher education does not take full advantage of the global higher education market and talent pool to introduce advanced knowledge and ideas into its system. Therefore, it is an urgent task for Indian HEIs to establish connections with industry, alumni, local and global communities to use these potential resources, instead of only relying on resources within its own higher education system and institutions (Khare 2014).

As with the Chinese case, Indian students who will pursue higher education have to determine their track or "streams" in high school, thereby constraining

their future higher education choices. In this process, gender plays a significant role in the choices of HEIs and subjects, and women have more constraints than men. The social traditions that concern “marriageability” and “social safety” make parents prefer that their daughters attend a “safe HEI” such as single-sex universities or colleges, or HEIs near their homes (Gautam 2015). Moreover, because of the relatively low quality of Indian higher education, and its closed status to foreign universities and higher education providers, many Indian students choose to go abroad for higher education.

The lack of quality has been the principal issue of the Indian higher education system (Altbach 2014; British Council 2014). From the viewpoint of institutional influence, only the Indian Institute of Technology and related institutions are recognized internationally. For the individual student, the low quality of degrees has also led them to be unemployed after graduation and unable to meet employers’ expectations (Altbach 2014; Khare 2014). The reason for the low quality of education mainly comes from two aspects. One is the enormous number of “deemed universities” that are generally underfunded and overall provide poor quality education. The other is that traditional HEIs are generally opposed to higher education reform initiatives even when the initiatives may help overcome their evident challenges (Altbach 2014). To reverse this disadvantaged situation, the Indian government has written excellence of higher education as a key focus in its twelfth five-year plan (British Council 2014). A particular emphasis has been put on raising the quality of existing affiliated universities, and improving the proper governance and monitoring of their operation (Khare 2014). At the same time, recently established HEIs outside the traditional university structure have gained greater support from the government (Altbach 2014).

In conclusion, a clear plan is missing for Indian higher education development. Even though Indian higher education has a large number of enrolled students, it is still focusing on expansion due to its relatively low enrollment rate. Therefore, much more attention should be paid to the balance between expansion and quality. Also, Indian higher education should open its doors to the world to attract higher education resources to enhance its quality, as well as provide Indian students more choices in higher education.

Indonesia

Geographically one of the most complex nations on earth, Indonesia higher education faces many large-scale challenges unlike others in this chapter. Home to more than 17,000 islands, Indonesia constitutes the world’s largest archipelago (approximately 1000 of these islands are inhabited). Distance education takes on new meaning within this context. The poverty and IT challenges that currently plague higher education equity and access in Bangladesh and other developing country contexts also exist throughout much of Indonesia. Limited access to the Internet and a modern higher education IT infrastructure prevent

the delivery of instruction to many rural and remote locations throughout the country.

Indonesia is centrally located as a bridge between the Pacific and Indian Oceans as well as between Southeast Asia and Australia and New Zealand. Its population ranks fourth globally, and boasts the largest Muslim population of any country. The Indonesian economy is diverse and growing. Indonesia also plays a leadership role among Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries.

The breadth of diversity that exists in the Indonesian higher education context poses a tremendous challenge for policy makers and other higher education stakeholders at all levels. While Bahasa Indonesia is the national language, higher education administrators and faculty members recognize that their students speak many of the 706 living languages (Lewis et al. 2015). Prominent non-Indonesian languages include Arabic and English. Reform efforts that support diversity and meeting the social justice needs of under-represented ethnic populations and low socioeconomic status students are key priorities of the Government of Indonesia. Capping tuition costs is one way that this is achieved. But, with the continued cost increases of higher education nationwide, higher education administrators are forced to raise funds in other ways. It is especially challenging in an environment where higher education administrators are unfamiliar with entrepreneurial ventures and community engagement initiatives that could spawn multiple sources of non-traditional funding.

From an excellence or quality standpoint, even the most prominent national HEIs—the University of Indonesia, Gadjah Mada University, and Bandung Institute of Technology—fail to register among the top-ranked institutions worldwide. Still many of the national universities serve in a mentor institutional role to HEIs in rural and outer island locations. Faculty members and administrators from these leading HEIs will often partner to provide professional development training programs to help build the institutional capacity of outer island and rural institutions. This effort is a national community engagement initiative similar to what the CMOE has supported in recent years, and also helps bridge geography and quality gaps that inevitably exist in remote locations of both countries (Jacob et al. 2015). Faculty publications continue to increase at a faster rate than most countries worldwide according to the SCImago Lab (2015), rising over 500 percent to 5341 cited documents in 2014, up from 1803 in 2009. This faculty output indicator trend is projected to continue well into the future (see Table 23.3).

Many students who desire to attend the most prominent HEIs often fail to meet qualifying entrance exam requirements. Only 27 percent of the eligible age cohort attended tertiary-level education in 2013 (UNDP 2014, 193). Those who reside in major urban centers on Java, Sumatra, or Sulawesi have a much higher likelihood of attending one of Indonesia's top HEIs. Economic challenges are especially prohibitive for students from interior and remote locations. Private higher education options help provide additional opportunities, and are among the fastest growing areas of higher education, especially in urban centers.

With further development of the higher education ICT infrastructure, Indonesia will continue to rise in prominence within the Asia Pacific region. Leveraging technology will be an important role of higher education administrators, and will require professional development training of current and future faculty members. In the Indonesian context, perhaps more than for the other five countries examined in this chapter, technology will help break down geographic distances and assist meeting the needs of a diverse student body. Expansion of the most prominent HEIs by building branch and satellite campuses, and continuing to provide technical assistance to HEIs in rural and remote locations is one way that Indonesia is helping to meet its vast capacity-building needs.

South Korea

Higher education in South Korea (hereinafter referred to as Korea) is one of the fastest growing markets in the world. In 2014, Korea had 433 HEIs and a total enrollment of 3.67 million students (Green 2015). Korean higher education experienced a critical turning point in 1995 when the 31st May Plan was launched to reduce central control over HEIs. As shown in Table 23.5, the decentralized process encouraged the rapid development of HEIs (Green 2015). Internationalization has been an internal component of Korea's mainstream programs and policies of higher education, because it is perceived as a key tool for improving the quality and increasing the competitiveness of higher education and research (Byun and Kim 2011).

By 2004, the Korean higher education enrollment rate had reached 81.3 percent of the corresponding age cohort, making Korean HEIs the most highly enrolled in the world (Choi and Yeom 2010). Korea has been doing very well in providing various groups of people with access to higher education. Therefore, the equity issue in Korea is mainly related to process and outcome equality, which is demonstrated by the unbalanced distribution of higher education resources between Seoul and other regions. Because of gaps in income and educational resources, almost all high-performance students choose universities in Seoul (Choi and Yeom 2010; Park 2015). In 2004, the Korea Ministry of Education and Human Resource Development implemented the New University for Regional Innovation (NURI) program to facilitate the development of regional universities. This program has played a critical role in balancing the distribution of educational resources (Choi and Yeom 2010).

Table 23.5 Growth in higher education in Korea, 1990–2014

	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2014
HEIs	265	327	372	419	411	433
Students	1,691,681	2,343,894	3,363,549	3,548,728	3,644,158	3,668,747

Source: Green (2015, 4)

Since the 31st May Plan was launched in 1994, Korean higher education has experienced a sustained process of decentralization. The government began to involve itself in HEIs through evaluation-based budget mechanisms, which has proved to be a more intensive and effective way than previous practice (Shin and Harman 2009). This trend toward managerialism also enhanced HEIs' desire and ability to utilize different types of resources efficiently and emphasize quality to meet the requirement of evaluations.

The unbalanced distribution of higher education resources has become a principal issue of students' choice in higher education. Almost all traditional elite HEIs are located in Seoul. In 2003, 68.8 percent of the students who scored in the top 4 percent on the National Scholastic Aptitude Test chose elite colleges and universities in the region of Seoul (Hwang 2004). Since 2006, Seoul has housed 22 percent of the nation's HEIs and 25 percent of the college student population (Choi and Yeom 2010). In this sense, Korean students have somewhat limited choices in the places where they can receive higher education.

The rapid expansion of higher education has made it difficult for Korea to sustain quality control, and maintaining quality has become a serious issue for the Korean higher education system (Park and Weidman 2000; Choi and Yeom 2010). During the period of expansion, the Korean government took several actions to guarantee the quality of higher education. First, it adopted a quality framework to maintain excellence, which was transformed into an accreditation system in 1994. For instance, private universities are required to submit annual management reports to the government, which is a significant way to guarantee the quality of higher education (Shin 2011). Second, it adopted the evaluation-based budget allocation system to determine resource allocation based on HEIs' performance, and this system has expanded to 90 percent of the total higher education budget. Third, the Korean government has provided research funding to enhance the country's competitiveness in the global economy (Shin 2012). Finally, the government implemented multiple projects to improve the quality of higher education. The Brain Korea 21 Project was launched in 1999 with the goal of developing ten world-class research universities. The World Class University Project started in 2008 and was aimed at attracting globally prominent scholars to Korea (Byun and Kim 2011). The Study Korea Project from 2004 has increased international student enrollments significantly in Korea. However, effective quality assurance for cross-border educational activities is still needed (Byun and Kim 2011; Cho and Palmer 2013; Green 2015; Kang 2015).

From almost every quality measurement, the Korean higher education system is viewed as among the most successful in the world. From a HEPAM standpoint, the Korean government has put much emphasis on balancing the development of higher education in Seoul and other regions, and it has provided equal access to and sufficient choices of quality higher education. Second, some internationalization projects have provided Korean students with more options for receiving higher education; meanwhile, they have also introduced international talents and educational resources into Korea to improve the efficiency and quality of higher education.

CONCLUSION

Long-term capacity development for sustained economic growth and cultural preservation begins with government support of education at all levels. Investing in higher education has been and will continue to be essential for all countries in the Asia Pacific region to have their graduating students develop twenty-first century skills necessary to compete in the local, national, regional, and global economies. Favorable policies in support of social justice issues of equity, access, and choice are paramount in achieving a higher education system that provides the capacity necessary for local and national development. Perhaps no country in the Asia Pacific region has exemplified this at the higher education level more than South Korea, which has often been touted as among the most prominent country success stories—a true Asian miracle (see, for instance, Baker and Holsinger 1996; Ang and Madsen 2011). For a country to rise from economic ruin, political disarray, and a division with its northern sister country that has lasted for over 60 years, Korea exemplifies what can be achieved by proactive government policies in support of education at all local and national levels, and especially a vision that has led to virtual universal higher education for all citizens who desire to pursue it. It continues to serve as a model for other countries in the regional and beyond.

We have also included Fiji in this sample, a small island state that plays an important leadership role in higher education delivery through much of Oceania. Recent political instability, economic challenges, and meeting the higher education needs of its population spread across approximately 100 islands are all challenges that the government faces.

The two largest higher education systems were also examined, highlighting how far both China and India have come in recent decades to lead the region in training national workforces that in many ways serve as the manufacturing engines of the world. Increasingly, HEIs from around the world desire to forge new partnerships with leading HEIs in both countries. Indonesia is another emerging economy in the region, with a rapidly growing higher education system. How to deal with the vast geographic and ethnic diversity of a population spread across 1000 islands is a unique challenge faced by the world's largest archipelago country. Bangladesh also faces tremendous challenges, especially related to poverty, literacy, and political issues, as well as relatively limited opportunities for individuals to pursue higher education training. The challenges each of these four countries face are compounded by rapidly expanding higher education systems, and a constant need for increased quality. As competition increases at local, national, and international levels, so will the need for HEIs to better align their curriculum with industry needs and technology changes. Only by meeting these needs will they be in a position to meet the capacity needs for the future.

NOTES

1. United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)'s national education index is calculated using mean years of schooling and expected years of schooling.
2. HEQEP was launched in 2009 and focuses on the improvement of Bangladesh higher education quality in teaching, learning, research, and innovation (World Bank 2015).
3. The European Union (EU)-funded SHARE Project aims to provide capacity building and coordination and to help find out how to best prepare students for the workforce, including better understanding how to better link primary education with secondary and post-secondary education opportunities. The Project also focuses on how to best support students in the hardest-to-reach areas (Human Dynamics 2015).
4. In China, affiliated colleges are neither public institutions, nor private ones. They are categorized as a separate group called "independent colleges."
5. Arya Pratinidhi Sabha of Fiji is a registered religious, educational, and cultural organization that is based in Suva, Fiji and supports K-higher education initiatives nationwide, including the University of Fiji.
6. The 12 member countries are the Cook Islands, Kiribati, Marshal Islands, Nauru, Niue, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Samoa.

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Higher Education in Cambodia: Challenges to Promote Greater Access and Higher Quality

Yuto Kitamura

INTRODUCTION

One of the impacts of globalization on today's international community is the furious competition raging among different countries and regions in all aspects of politics, economy, society, and culture. Globalization makes people, goods, money, and information travel freely across borders. As the phrase "knowledge-based society" aptly denotes, the amount of access to various information determines the international competitiveness of a country, region, or even organization or individual. Given this fact, many countries are much more acutely aware of the importance of training human resources with advanced knowledge and skills through their higher education system and of developing science and technology through their research and development endeavors (Neubauer 2011).

Urged on by such awareness, higher education in many developing countries has been undergoing rapid expansion in recent years. In Asia in particular, new universities are proliferating, resulting in a remarkable expansion of higher education. Even in countries where formerly only a small percent of the university age population actually had gone onto higher education, the percentage has risen dramatically since the 1990s. Cambodia, the subject of the research reported in this chapter, is no exception.

Notably, the law governing universities in Cambodia was relaxed in 1997, authorizing the establishment of private universities. Thus from the mid-1990s, the higher education sector in Cambodia has been growing larger. In the 2000s, the number of higher education institutions (HEIs) mushroomed,

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largely due to the increase in the number of private colleges and universities (Chealy 2005). Such an expansion in the higher education sector arrived in response to the rise in demand by the Cambodian labor market, which has been strongly affected by the global economy, for human resources with higher educational qualifications. Economic development brought with it a larger middle class, which meant an increase in the young population belonging to the middle-income strata. Unmistakably, there are rising expectations and needs among them for further educational opportunities. Because of this recent and rapid expansion of the higher education sector, the importance of improving the quality of education in HEIs is becoming widely recognized (Chealy 2009).

However, we must remember that the higher education sector in Cambodia had suffered total annihilation at one time. Higher education itself had not been in existence for a long time when, in the mid-1970s, Democratic Kampuchea (the so-called Khmer Rouge) led by Pol Pot utterly destroyed the education system of the country. The gradual rebuilding of higher education started in the 1980s, but in Cambodia, the improvement of the quality of higher education is still not necessarily an easy task (Sloper 1999; Chealy 2009). The purposes of this chapter are therefore to identify the issues surrounding qualitative improvement in the rapidly expanding higher education sector of Cambodia and based on the analysis thereof, to discuss the way forward for higher education reform in Cambodia.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN CAMBODIA TODAY

Modern higher education in Cambodia originated with the establishment in 1947 of the National University of Law, the National University of Political Science, and the National University of Economics, a few years before the end of the 100-year colonial rule by France (Khieu 2011).¹ These institutions had been strongly influenced by the higher education system of France, Cambodia's then suzerain. Later, in the 1960s, higher education quickly amassed in size, starting with the establishment in 1960 of the Royal Khmer University (now the Royal University of Phnom Penh), the Institute of Technology of Cambodia, the Royal University of Fine Arts, the Royal University of Kampong Cham, the Royal University of Takeo-Kampot, the Royal University of Agriculture, and the Royal Academy of Cambodia (established in 1965). Yet, as Pith and Ford (2006) point out, the quality of education provided by these institutions has to be described as extremely poor. Democratic Kampuchea (the Pol Pot regime) that ruled Cambodia between 1975 and 1979 abolished all education systems and destroyed many educational facilities. Indeed, more than three quarters of university academic staff and 96 percent of students were slaughtered by the Khmer Rouge or escaped outside the country (Ayles 2000). Thus razed to the ground, the Cambodian higher education system was unable to relay any knowledge or experience that had hitherto been developed albeit not

necessarily of high quality. Many intellectuals were lost then and the negative legacy is certainly felt to this day.

In 1979, the pro-Vietnamese and Russian-backed Democratic Republic of Kampuchea was established. Many Russian and Vietnamese experts came to reside in Cambodia and a higher education system fashioned on the Soviet model was created. This period saw the reopening of the Royal University of Phnom Penh and other universities that had been founded before the arrival of Khmer Rouge. Incidentally, a power struggle took place within the Royal University of Phnom Penh from the end of the 1980s to the early 1990s. This led to the faculties of economics, law, and education becoming independent. These have subsequently become the National University of Management, the Royal University of Law and Economics, and the National Institute of Education. The government’s administrative system developed during this period led to the process whereby government ministries and agencies individually manage universities in the disciplines relevant to them (Table 24.1). Criticism strongly persists that this meant a dispersal of management and supervision of HEIs, resulting in inefficiency.

The Paris Peace Accords were signed in 1991 and peace finally returned to Cambodia, with a general election held in 1993 under the supervision of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC). Together with stability, the higher education system returned to its expansion course. In this new phase, the Cambodian higher education system gradually shed the socialist influence that had gained ground in the 1980s emanating from Russia, Eastern Europe, and Vietnam. Instead, the influences of America, Australia,

Table 24.1 Number of universities under the management/supervision of government ministries

<i>Parent ministries</i>	<i>HE institutions</i>	
	<i>Public</i>	<i>Private</i>
Ministry of Education, Youth and Sport	9	56
Ministry of Health	1	
Ministry of Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery	3	
Ministry of Culture and Fine Arts	1	
Ministry of Economy and Finance	1	
Ministry of Religious Affairs and Cults	2	
Ministry of National Defense	4	
Ministry of Interior	1	
Sub-total	22 ^a	56 ^a
Other ministries	27	
Total	105	

Source: Khieu (2011)

^aThe numbers do not include branches of main campuses in different geographical areas

and Western Europe came to dominate. With the introduction of a market economy, the idea that began to prevail was that universities could be used as a source of commercial profit. The public university came to be officially referred to as a public administrative institution, and transformed into a semiautonomous institution (Pith and Ford 2006).

In 1997, private capital investment was allowed into university management. This led to the establishment of many new universities. The number of HEIs (especially private universities) grew dramatically (Fig. 24.1). The proportionate increase in the number of private HEIs is a reflection of the sharply rising demand for higher education. The first private university in Cambodia was Norton University, founded in 1997 after the change in government policy. In 1998, the University of Management and Economics and the National Technical Training Institute were founded, and in 1999, the International University, Cambodia followed. In their wake, many other private universities have been created.

As of the end of December 2014, Cambodia has developed 105 HEIs offering four-year education programs. Of these, 39 are public universities and 66 are private.² An extremely limited number of universities cover a wide range of academic disciplines, while some offer programs mainly in practical domains rather than traditional academic domains.

As a direct result of this rapid increase in HEIs, so has the number of university graduates. As in many other contemporary societies, a significant issue is that these graduates have completed their higher education without necessarily acquiring the knowledge or skills the labor market demands. As shown in Fig. 24.2, the majority of higher education students are enrolled either in the humanities, social sciences, economics, or law. We are obviously not denying

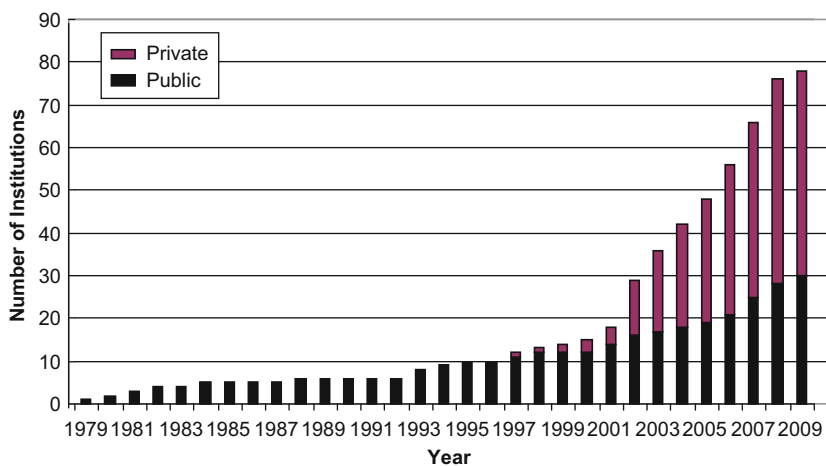


Fig. 24.1 Growth in the number of higher education institutions 1979–2009 (*Source:* Williams et al. 2014)

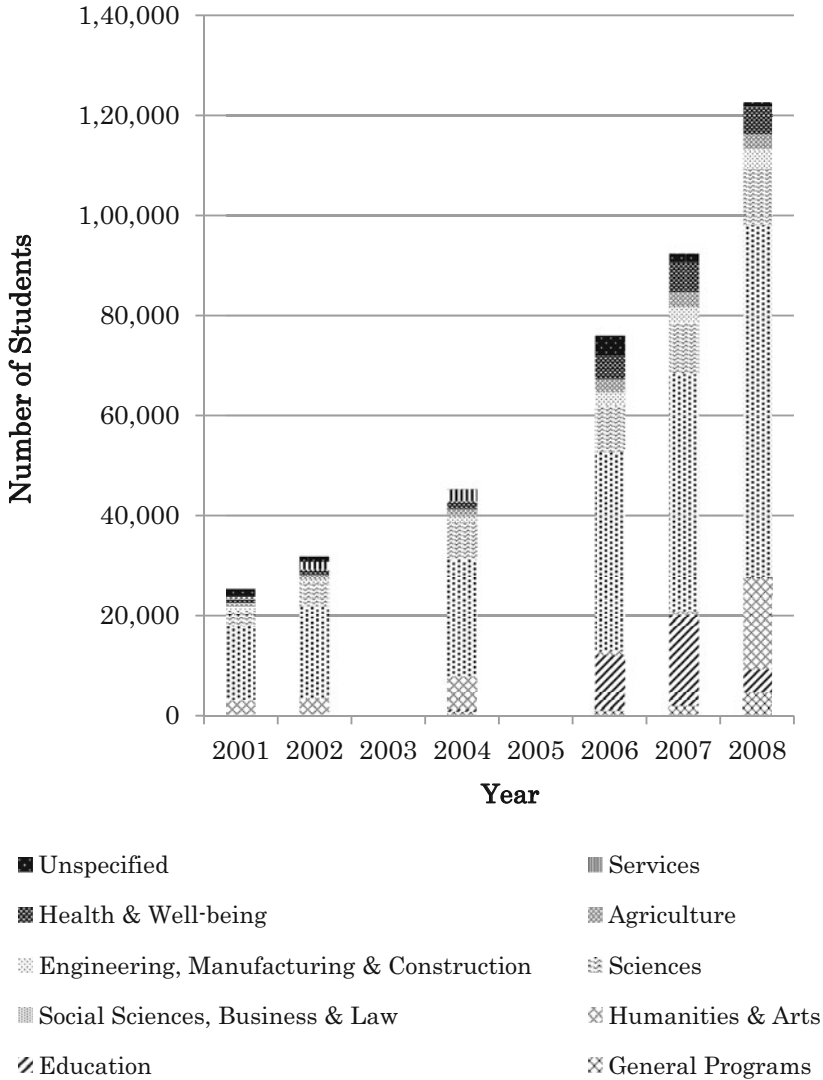


Fig. 24.2 Tertiary enrollment in Cambodia by field of study, 2001–2008 (Source: Williams et al. 2014)

the importance of these academic disciplines. In fact, most students belong to these faculties in universities of most countries. However, for Cambodia and in most of the rest of the developing world, the tertiary industry that would employ the graduates of these disciplines is significantly underdeveloped. For this reason, a mismatch has arisen between the subjects of university majors and employment opportunities, a phenomenon many commentators term

“the alignment dilemma,” and which is a major factor accounting for the high unemployment rate of university graduates.

In examining this issue, the calculations released by HRINC (2010), a human resource consulting firm in Cambodia, are highly interesting. According to this research, more than half the university graduates employed in all sectors had received a business-related education. More specifically, the data for 2009 show that out of the roughly 153,000 graduates in employment, about 55 percent or 82,000 studied business-related subjects. The “business-related backgrounds” referred to here include accounting, banking, finance, economics, business, management, and marketing. This is supported by the data shown in Fig. 24.2, with the overwhelming majority of students majoring in social sciences, business, and law. (As to other areas of study, HRINC research shows that a relatively large number of graduates who are in employment had studied agriculture, construction, tourism, public administration and defense, education, or health.)

Thus more than half of university students finish with business-related backgrounds. However, as mentioned earlier, the tertiary sector (i.e., the service industry) is still undergoing development within the structure of Cambodian industry, which is still predominantly agricultural, with more than 60 percent of the total labor force (not only university graduates) being engaged in farming. Cambodia does not yet have a labor market that can properly cater to and support university graduates.

The next key issue for a country that wants to develop its industry is to significantly increase the number of students who study courses in engineering. Despite the importance, huge fiscal constraints exist that prevent proper investment into elements such as experimental facilities that are essential in improving and expanding engineering education programs, thereby making it even more difficult to increase the number of students in these fields of study. Cambodia is faced with the difficult task of determining and devising how best to train human resources that meet the needs of society, especially when as one regards universities as important instruments of public service.

This being the context, many students are enrolled in more than one degree program (referred to as “double enrollment”), trying their hardest to optimize their employment prospects. Some students major in two different subjects within the same university while others appear to belong simultaneously to degree programs offered by different universities. For example, public universities are generally given higher social status but the education programs of these public universities mainly cover traditional academic domains and do not put much emphasis on education in the practical domains that would lead directly to employment (such as business management, IT, or English). Because of this, there are often cases of students of public universities obtaining degrees in these practical subjects at private universities, so that they can acquire the social status bestowed on a public university graduate but also arm themselves with a practical degree from a private university. We have to take note of the fact that such a phenomenon is a key reason why private universities are flourishing.³

Part of the background to this phenomenon is the rise of the middle class, gradual though it may be, in the wake of the steady economic growth achieved since the turn of the century.⁴ The number of students who go to university using their own funds without receiving scholarship has been rising since the late 1990s. From around 2005 onwards, such fee-paying students are an overwhelming majority. We point out here that there are a certain number of students among these fee-paying students who are enrolled in two universities or two programs at the same time.

For reference, there is no regulation of tuition fees charged by HEIs in Cambodia. Each university is free to charge whatever fees it wishes. That being so, with the number of university entrants increasing, certain market mechanisms have come to operate. Universities find it difficult to recruit a sufficient number and satisfactory quality of students if they charge exorbitant fees. Therefore annual tuition fees are roughly within the range of USD200 to USD750 (HRINC 2010).

Cambodian society has been changing dramatically since 2000s along with its rapid economic development and a transformation of the labor market, and we must point out that universities are attempting to offer relevant responses to social needs. As can be seen in Fig. 24.2, providing the numbers of students in different fields of study, students majoring in education, who were in an extreme minority in 2001, have lately been rising significantly in number. It is worth noting in particular that from the year 2000 onwards the numbers of children in primary and secondary education in Cambodia are growing remarkably, even in the face of numerous problems including a shortage in the supply of teachers working in these schooling stages and the relative poor quality of teachers (Hirosato and Kitamura 2009). In response, many universities have initiated courses in education and are directing effort into training both pre-service and in-service teachers. Moreover, the reality is that many teachers, especially in secondary schools, have moved into this role without receiving adequate training or education, even as the government is trying to improve teacher training institutions while encouraging in-service teachers to obtain a university education. The fact that universities are responding with relevance to social demands manifests that Cambodian universities are consciously attempting to fulfill their public-service roles.

We pointed out in this section that the ratio of private universities is exceedingly high among HEIs offering four-year education programs. It is evident that they are playing a significant role but at the same time, they face various issues, especially with regard to the quality of education provided and the diversity of the programs offered. As indicated above many private universities offer education programs that focus only on practical fields of study such as business management, communication (IT), and English. We cannot say that they are properly fulfilling the role of a HEI that delivers public service or more broadly contributes to ideas of the public good. Deep-rooted criticism is being leveled against these institutions that often their quality of the offered education program is not up to university standard. Such issues regarding the quality

of education are not just the problems of private universities. Public universities are also beset with a mountain of issues. Therefore, we will move on to discuss what actions are being taken in order to raise the quality of universities in Cambodia.

ACTIONS TO RAISE THE QUALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN CAMBODIA

Higher education in Cambodia expanded rapidly from the late 1990s. Universities and other HEIs began accepting many students and even as they did so the relative poor quality of education provided came to be widely recognized as a critical issue. In response the Cambodian government has attempted to raise higher education quality by passing legislation and decrees including the New Education Act, the Royal Decree on Certification of Higher Education, and the Sub-decree on the Establishment of Universities. In addition, the government has been actively engaged in improving the higher education system. To improve basic education, the Foundation Year Course (FYC) Program was introduced to all HEIs. A credit certification system and credit transfer system were also introduced (Chealy 2005).

This series of initiatives constitutes actions needed in order to generate the kind of quality students required by the new labor market. It is also widely recognized that the quality of Cambodian HEIs has to be raised in order to prevent the drain of Cambodian students to the higher education markets of neighboring countries. With new universities setting up successively in not only the capital Phnom Penh but also in major regional cities, educational institutions have expanded hugely and become increasingly commonplace. These are the reasons for the active pursuit of reforms by the government.

The core policy of Cambodia on higher education is the Education Strategic Plan (ESP). The ESP 2006–2010 stated its priorities “to realize the guarantee and improvement of quality in both the standard of educational institutions and standard of the system” not only in higher education but also in all stages of education and “to strengthen the management and development of educational institutions” (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport 2006). Following on, the ESP 2013–2018, which is the plan current in 2015, emphasizes the strengthening of monitoring at the HEI level of the actions taken to improve quality (Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sport 2013).

As emphasized in the previous section, a strong social demand exists for Cambodian HEIs to provide education programs that meet the demands of the changing labor market. To this end, the FYC was introduced as an important element of reform. From 2005 on, all undergraduates have been obliged to take the FYC, which consists of four key fields of study (humanities, mathematics and natural sciences, social sciences, and foreign languages) and aims to make students acquire a wide range of knowledge in all these fields.

In this way, various initiatives are being implemented to improve the quality of higher education in Cambodia. The Accreditation Committee of Cambodia (ACC) is playing a vital role in the higher education reforms of recent years. Established in March 2003 by Royal Decree (No. NS/RKT 03/03/129), ACC clearly indicates the government's position of fully promoting actions to improve the higher education quality (Khieu 2011). The Royal Decree makes it mandatory for all Cambodian HEIs to acquire accreditation from the ACC in order to confer degrees to students, whether the institution is managed by a Cambodian organization or by a foreign organization. Thus, in order to obtain accreditation, many HEIs have been moved to review the content of their education offerings. To illustrate, they set up the FYC Programs and are publicizing their effort toward the qualitative improvement of education. With support from the ACC, many HEIs have started making self-evaluations (Chealy 2005). The basic rules of accreditation form the framework for these and provide minimum standards for qualification certification and are essential to the accreditation process.⁵

Alongside the creation of this accreditation system, another important quality improvement has been the introduction of the credit certification system and the credit transfer system. Replacing the system whereby student academic records were certified for each academic year, the new credit system adds flexibility to the degree programs, especially for credits obtained at other universities, which are now being recognized (Chealy 2009). This allows part-time students, for instance, to draw up flexible plans for course planning.

EDUCATION AND RESEARCH IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS: FINDINGS OF A SURVEY OF UNIVERSITY ACADEMIC STAFF

In order to delve more deeply into the quality issue we intend to examine the current state of university teaching and research, in particular focusing on the role that university academic staff play in the process. To ascertain the position and environment in which academic staff find themselves we conducted a questionnaire survey in association with the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in 2011 focused on academic staff belonging to major HEIs in Cambodia (ten institutions, both public and private universities).⁶

The quality of higher education is on most views dependent on large part by the academic background of academic staff. As is the case in many developing countries, it has been said that one of the major reasons for the poor quality of Cambodian higher education is the lack of proper education and training of university academic staff (Chealy 2009). For example, Williams, Kitamura, and Keng (2014) found that the average number of years of post-high school education of staff teaching at DHEs was roughly 5.5 years. This signifies that many teaching staff have only completed their undergraduate education (four years) and some postgraduate training. Importantly the universities surveyed

were major ones, meaning that these results were “better” than that of the higher education sector taken as a whole. In numerical detail, 375 staff, which was 71 percent of the all respondents ($n = 531$), had obtained master degrees. Of these, merely 9 percent (49 staff) of respondents had doctorates. The percentage of those with only bachelor’s degrees was as high as 19 percent (101 staff).⁷ From these findings, we can surmise that at other universities, a significant number of academic staff possess even less post-secondary education.

The other focus of this survey was the loan of university academic staff and their level of satisfaction with teaching and research environments. Three categories of work are expected of university academic staff: teaching, research, and making a social contribution. Our assumption is that if they can undertake these three in a well-balanced way, a higher quality of education can result. We also assumed that the satisfaction level of academic staff with their teaching and research environments impacts on the quality of higher education. The following results tested these assumptions.

First, we found that public universities offer better working conditions and teaching and research environments than private universities, with greater staff satisfaction regarding their jobs. Teaching staff at the public universities in the capital especially enjoy a good balance of time spent on the three different categories of work. We were able to confirm that the staff were able to spend a regular amount of time on research activities. Compared to those teaching at public universities in other regions, this group is better at making academic contributions involving communicating and publishing research results. (However, we must point out that this is only a comparison within Cambodia. Compared to other countries, especially developed countries, the amount of time staff can spend on research is extremely small.)

Second, we noted that younger staff members spend long working hours focused mainly on teaching and report relatively low levels of satisfaction with their jobs. With respect to the number of hours spent per week on teaching, broken down by age group, 42.7 percent of faculty aged in their 20s to 60s report that they spend fewer than 10 hours a week teaching. However, younger members of staff spend significantly more time teaching. In particular, among staff in their 20s, 46.3 percent spend between 11 to 20 hours a week—the highest among all age groups with some staff even spending an extraordinary 51 hours or more on teaching. In a similar vein, when we asked both full and part-time lecturers how much of their working hours they spend in their main institutions and in other institutions, we discovered that part-time lecturers (which include relatively more of the younger staff) tend to spend considerably more hours working in other institutions compared to full-time staff. Correspondingly, they in turn spend fewer hours working in their main institutions compared to full-time lecturers.

Third, satisfaction among teaching staff is low in the fields of engineering and agriculture. Here we also identified problems in the quality improvement efforts taken with teaching staff and in their access to scientific journals. Data on the satisfaction of academic staff were analyzed by discipline. In the social

sciences, natural sciences, health science/medicine, and fine arts, many staff responded that they were “highly satisfied with their situation.” However, in engineering and agriculture, the highly satisfied levels were 17.5 percent and 23.8 percent respectively, reflecting the relatively under-resourced nature of those disciplines.

Interestingly, many staff indicate that the quality of education had improved over the previous five years, an indication that the quality of HEIs in Cambodia overall is rising. In particular, university teaching staff that regularly engage in faculty development (FD) activities have the perception that the quality of education has risen in the past five years. Table 24.2 indicates the correlation between FD activities and the perceived quality of education. The correlation manifests strongly in the fields of humanities, social sciences, health science/medicine, and teacher training/education, whereas (again), in engineering and agriculture, no correlation was found between investment in FD activities and rise in the quality of education. Our presumption is that in these fields, what is most needed is investment in facilities and equipment required for experiments. We surmise that efforts to raise the quality of teaching staff through FD activities do not easily lead directly to the raising of the quality of education in engineering and agriculture.

The fourth of our findings is the inadequacy of the framework of HEIs generally that would allow active research activities. Figure 24.3 illustrates the interest of academic staff in teaching and research. The largest proportion of staff, 43 percent overall, replied “leaning towards research” and 21 percent replied “primarily in research.” The attention of the academic staff in these instances seems to be basically directed toward research.

Despite that, the framework for conducting research in Cambodian HEIs is not adequate. We found limitations in the aspects of time available for research, funding, facilities, and manpower. With regard to working hours, as indicated earlier, academic staff in private universities spend many of their working hours

Table 24.2 Correlation between FD activities and educational quality

<i>Area of specialization</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>N</i>
Humanities	0.332*	43
Social sciences	0.357**	73
Natural sciences	0.263*	61
Engineering	0.037	47
Agriculture	0.047	43
Health sciences/medicine	1 **	2
Fine arts	0.052	40
Teacher training/ education	0.428*	25
Other	0.321*	46
Not classified	–	–
Total	0.262**	464

Source: Kitamura et al. (2014)

*p < 0.05, **p < 0.01

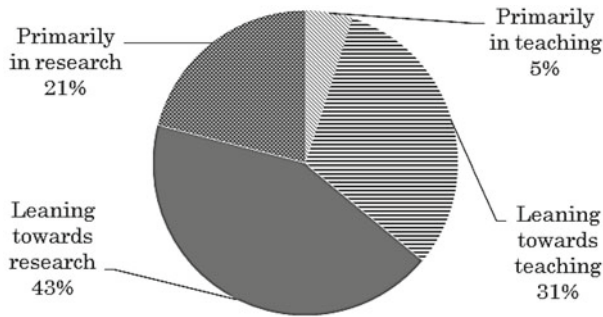


Fig. 24.3 Division of interest between education and research (*Source:* Kitamura et al. 2014)

on teaching activities both during or outside lecturing terms. Even in public universities, academic staff in regional institutions spend a significant amounts of time on university administrative work and social contribution activities. These staff are unable to devote sufficient time to research. An analysis of working hours by age revealed that younger staff are able to devote a relatively larger number of hours on research, but they also spend many hours on university administration, social contributions, and other activities, resulting in long working hours overall. Outside of term time, some work as part-time lecturers, consequently spending a high proportion of their time in teaching rather than research.

The Cambodian higher education sector has been on an expansion course over the past several years and the mounting need for higher education is predicted to rise along with continuing economic growth and increases in the relative size of the younger population. It is against this backdrop that these various attempts are being made to raise the quality of higher education. Our survey indicated that many academic staff are actually enjoying the benefits of such efforts. However, given the relative brevity of Cambodian higher education, we also clearly witnessed that the country is encountering many difficult issues in establishing an environment where higher quality education and research would prevail.

Notwithstanding these, the overall environment surrounding university academics is gradually improving as the Cambodian higher education sector continues to expand along with national economic growth.⁸ Among younger academics especially, an increasing number of researchers have higher qualifications (i.e., doctorates) mainly those with overseas study experience. Thus the supply of human resources for raising the quality of education and research is improving (Kitamura and Umemiya 2013). Given that, a serious problem continues to exist in the poor job satisfaction rate mainly of such younger academics, due in part, no doubt, because of the toll that long working hours (especially for teaching) take and the structural problem of low wages, which is

one of the root causes of the long teaching hours. As the dissatisfaction demonstrates, there are many problems confronting Cambodian university academics that cannot be solved without financial measures such as better pay and university facilities and equipment. To find solutions for these issues, the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports (MoEYS) should take the lead in formulating a clear political will and speed up reforms in the higher education sector.

CONCLUSION

Higher education in Cambodia still faces major issues in the aspects of access, equity, quality, relevance, funding, and administrative management. The higher education enrollment rate is undeniably low by international standards. The fields of study offered by HEIs have led to enrollment concentrating only in a limited range of fields focusing on business-related subjects. What is more, in terms of fairness of access, an analysis of those enrolled in HEIs shows that large degrees of inequality exist between the capital and regions and between men and women.

Among the many issues faced by Cambodian universities, quality issues as discussed in this chapter are perhaps the most serious. There is insufficient progress in system improvement to guarantee the quality of education. Accreditation has only recently been implemented. The course credit system cannot yet be said to be operating to full advantage to meet the needs of students; even where the system has been introduced, issues such as constraints on the universities' management capacity have posed problems.

Another major issue is that graduates of HEIs today have completed their higher education without necessarily being equipped with the knowledge and skill sets required by the labor market. As this chapter indicates, the majority of students enrolling in higher education study humanities, social sciences, or business and law. We are obviously not denying the importance of these disciplines nor the fact that the largest number of students belongs to these subject departments in universities of most countries. However, in many developing countries including Cambodia, the tertiary sector (i.e., the service industry) that would be the employers of the graduates of these disciplines is as yet underdeveloped, resulting in a considerable mismatch has arisen between the subjects of university majors and extant job opportunities. This is one of the reasons for the high unemployment rate among university graduates.

In addition, it is extremely important for Cambodia, which wants to develop its industries, to increase the number of students who study engineering and related subjects. However, the country has grave financial constraints that prevent adequate investment into experiment equipment and facilities that are essential in improving and expanding engineering educational programs. This has led to the difficulty in increasing student numbers therein. From the perspective of the public service value of universities, this is looming large as a major policy issue in the education and training of human resources that meet the needs of society.

This chapter includes a summary of the findings of a questionnaire survey conducted on university academic staff concerned with the quality of education and research in Cambodian HEIs. Compared to the higher education sector in many other Asian countries, university academic staff in Cambodia are working in a very difficult environment. It is not an easy task to improve the quality of education and research in universities under these conditions. While it is true that some problems inhere to some of the activities of academic staff themselves, such as excessive dissatisfaction with the economic situation or low motivation for research activities, nevertheless many academic staff who are at the frontline are fighting a difficult battle in order to fulfill their roles as educators and researchers in the face of a tough reality. As Cambodian society aims to undergo further development not only in economic but also in political, social, and cultural terms, the role to be played by higher education is bound to increase in importance. We conclude by stating that many university academic staff are fully aware of the significance of the social responsibility they shoulder in playing this important role and are making constant, energetic, and valiant efforts in delivering expected results.

NOTES

1. Around 1942 and 1943, before these universities were founded, an *Ecole Normale*, which is a teacher training college, was opened. We could regard this to be an alternative starting point of higher education in Cambodia.
2. Based on data obtained from the Directorate General of Higher Education at the MoEYS in January 2015 when the author made a research visit to Cambodia.
3. It is extremely difficult to obtain data on the number of these students who are enrolled in more than one degree program. Many facts are not clearly identifiable. According to the findings of interview surveys the author conducted on university staff and students (in January, August, and November 2010), a quarter of the students in a modest estimate and nearly half the students in a generous estimate seem to be enrolled in more than one degree program.
4. Although we pointed out that private universities are growing in number to cater for the rising population of middle-class children, even before private universities came into existence, fee-paying programs had been offered in public universities where tuition was free as a basic rule. Such fee-paying programs are considered to be a necessary means to supplement funding for HEIs and to incentivize academic staff.
5. For specific details of how ACC's assessment of FYC is conducted, for example, see Khieu (2011).
6. This survey was conducted as follows. In November 2011, we distributed our questionnaires in Khmer and in English to academic staff belonging to ten selected universities through their university offices.

The completed questionnaires were collected at the end of February 2012. A total of 539 questionnaires were returned, eight of which were reduplications and so were eliminated. The other 531 questionnaires were analyzed. The findings of the survey quoted here are found in Kitamura and Umemiya (2013) and Kitamura, Umemiya, and Osawa (2015).

7. Notably with regard to staff with doctorates, all respondents belonged to universities located in Phnom Penh. There were none in regional universities. Although there must be few staff with doctorates in regional institutions who were not among the respondents of our survey, the finding of our survey indicates the fact that human resources with higher qualifications have resulted in concentrating in the capital Phnom Penh.
8. See Williams, Kitamura, and Keng (2014) for more details on the recent expansion and improvement of the higher education sector in Cambodia.

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Quality Assurance in Asian Higher Education: Challenges and Prospects

Angela Yung Chi Hou

INTRODUCTION

With the rapid expansion of higher education institutions throughout the world and education's increasingly market-based orientation, students, parents, higher educators, employers, and governments have a much greater interest in the actual academic quality of universities and colleges in various dimensions in the globalization era. Definitely, universities and colleges are beginning to take on accountability toward related members of the school and societies in the same way that private enterprise does. In this way, universities are supposed to act as an effective organizer and a good learner on how to improve their quality, particularly in research and teaching quality, through several assessment tools (Henard 2010). Hence, a major concern for Asian governments is how to assure quality in higher education and how to enhance global competitiveness through a variety of national policies and institutional engagement.

As a result, quality assurance (QA) mechanisms, which emphasize output monitoring and measurements and systems of accountability and auditing, have become more popular in Asia and other regions (Marginson 2007; Hou et al. 2015). Up to the present, nearly 90 percent of the governments in the Asian Pacific region have successfully developed a national QA system, by setting up a national accreditor whose principal role is to ensure quality of local higher education institutions and academic programs. As higher education institutions in Asia are transitioning from local to global, they expect to be assessed beyond their national authority for graduate mobility and degree

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recognition. Within the global context, QA services in Asia started to develop internationally in response to this pressure, leading to the emergence of international accreditors, particularly accreditors of academic professional programs (Ewell 2008; Hou 2014).

Based on these discussions, this chapter will focus on the development of Asian QA systems in the massification era of higher education, beginning with the analysis of the characteristics of QA agencies in major Asian countries. The major challenges faced by most QA agencies, including internationalization, autonomy, and accountability will be discussed as well. QA activities of QA agencies will be presented at the end of the chapter.

ANATOMY OF ASIAN QUALITY ASSURANCE AGENCIES AND THEIR ASSESSMENT TOOLS IN THE ERA OF MASS HIGHER EDUCATION

In recent decades, higher education in Asia has been in the massification phase. Enrollments have increased by over 50 percent in East Asia and the Pacific, and the gross enrollment rate has reached the world average level (Marginson et al. 2011; Calderon 2012). Because of variations in demographic and economic development, national higher education systems are vastly different in size and growth. For example, China with its 1.3 billion population has more than 2300 higher education institutions, compared to Timor-Leste with a population of 1.2 million and one university.

Massification generates access to higher education, but it also increases public concern over the quality of institutions and students. As a result, it poses several challenges to QA and management in higher education. To respond to this trend, Asian governments have developed national QA systems in higher education, including national or professional accreditors.

QA systems in Asian nations are diverse in terms of size, maturity, budget, nature, subjects, and review approach (Stella 2010). In most Asian nations, the principal role of a national accreditor is to accredit tertiary education institutions within a given national state and academic programs.

Even before the establishment of a national accreditor, numerous local accreditors emerged in Asian countries, such as the Shanghai Education Evaluation Institute in 1996 and the Institute of Engineering Education Taiwan in 2003. To date, half of the Asian nations have more than two accrediting bodies, including Japan, Hong Kong, China, Philippines, and Taiwan (APQN 2012a). The local accreditors are self-funded agencies, “without any intervention of central governmental in its establishment or functioning” (Martin and Stella 2007, 82). They review certain groups of universities or types of programs via a voluntary approach.

Several QA agencies have a lengthy history and are currently working to make further improvements, such as the Japan University Accreditation Association (JUAA) founded in 1947 (Hou 2014). Some have well-established

policies and procedures that can be learned by other agencies, like the Hong Kong Council for Accreditation of Academic and Vocational Qualifications (HKCAAVQ). Some new agencies have recently established policies and procedures, for example, the National Center of Public Accreditation (NCPA) established in Russia in 2009.

Most such agencies are public organizations funded by government. A few are self-funded by charging applicant institutions fees, such as the Accrediting Agency of Chartered Colleges and Universities in the Philippines (AACCU). Yet, even these still receive partial support from government. Asian agencies also vary in size and budget. The largest is the Malaysia Qualification Agency (MQA) with more than 320 staff, while the smallest, the New Zealand Universities Academic Audit Unit (NZAAU), employs one staff member only. Annual budgets of the agencies ranged from 0.03 million USD to 33.3 million USD.

In terms of review subjects, more than two-thirds of such agencies undertake reviews both at the program and institutional levels, such as the Accreditation Committee of Cambodia, the Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT), and Yunnan Higher Education Evaluation Center. A few have implemented institutional evaluations in response to the growing number of higher education institutions that they seek to serve. These include the National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (NIAD-UE, Japan), the Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment (ONESQA, Thailand), and the National Assessment and Accreditation Council (NAAC, India). In addition to higher education institutions, some agencies, such as the one nationally recognized QA agency, have to accredit vocational educational schools. These include the MQA, the General Department of Education Testing and Accreditation (GDETA), and the ONESQA.

“Accreditation,” “Evaluation,” and “Audit” are the three major assessment tools adopted by Asian QA agencies. The Council for Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA) has defined “accreditation” as “a process of external quality review created and used by higher education to examine colleges, universities, and programs for the purposes of quality assurance and quality improvement” (Council for Higher Education Accreditation 2006, 12). In other words, accreditation, “is a voluntary process of approval of an institution or program by an accrediting agency or body,” according to its own mission and goal (WASC 2008). The HKCAAVQ and HEEACT adopted the “Accreditation” concept to assess programs and institutions. “Evaluation” involves decisions by peers and/or stakeholders concerning an individual institution’s achievement, excellence, and/or potential. It “focuses more on how successfully the institution is achieving its goals and objectives” (NIAD-UE 2007, 4). It often involves a culture of self-reflection and self-improvement. NIAD-UE of Japan is one of the agencies in this sphere.

As with the previous terms, “audit” focuses more on “evaluating processes rather than evaluating quality” (INQAAHE 2013a). Instead of assessing the

institution, the aim of “audits” is to ensure that the institution has clearly defined internal quality monitoring procedures linked to effective action and implementation (INQAAHE 2013a). The New Zealand Academic Audit Union (NZAAU) has adopted “audit” in its institutional assessment.

To sum up, Asian nations have developed their own systems to ensure the quality of their higher education institutions, with either a single national agency or a diversified framework. For example, in Indonesia, The National Accreditation Agency for Higher Education (BAN-PT) (Indonesia), as a public organization, has conducted accreditation of programs and universities via a mandatory approach. The accreditation fees were borne by the government. In Japan, NIAD-UE has conducted university evaluation of public universities using a mandatory approach, and again, the cost was covered by the government. In contrast, the other private agency, the JUAA, has engaged in voluntary evaluation of private universities, which pay fees for this service.

In response to the growing global reach of higher education, some Asian nations have welcomed international accreditors, particularly US accreditors, wishing to provide cross-border QA services for local institutions (Ewell 2008). For the purposes of increasing their reputation and safeguarding enrollment, Asian institutions prefer to receive international recognition rather than that of national and local accreditations. At the same time, some Asian countries, such as Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan, encourage local institutions to seek international accreditation in order to enhance their academic competitiveness globally. This development has led to demands by governments and institutions for international accreditation to be integrated into some national QA frameworks (Hou 2015). Yet, no matter whether international accreditation is pursued by institutions voluntarily or under pressure from governments, it is likely to introduce “a commercial dimension to accreditation practices and the desire for institutions or providers to have as many accreditation labels or stars as possible” (Knight 2005, 2).

THREE CHALLENGES: INTERNATIONALIZATION, AUTONOMY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY

In the era of globalization, “internationalization,” “autonomy,” and “accountability” have been emphasized as the most crucial concerns for QA agencies in Asia. The first challenge is international capacity building of national accreditation. The internationalization of higher education often implies the pursuit of an international image of quality and prestige in order to make the selected top institutions more globally competitive (Deem et al. 2008). This rationalizes the emergence of internationalization of QA in Asia, which, taken as a symbolic and powerful indicator, is used to prove the quality standards of local institutions in a globally competitive education market (Ewell 2008). The fact that institutions in Asia are encouraged by governments to seek international accreditation, particularly from the USA, has contributed to a new concern of

national accreditors over internationalization. In other words, Asian national accreditors are expected to internationalize their operations in various ways.

In response to global trends and local demand, national accreditors are expected to be the quality gatekeepers of cross-border education. However, it is the case that most QA agencies in Asian countries are still confined to national contexts, and have no capacity to evaluate cross-border academic programs at home or abroad. While reviewing the current situation of Asian QA agencies, it was found that they attempt to strengthen their international capacity in terms of networking and exchanges with other agencies via the Asian Pacific Quality Network (APQN) and the International Network of Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education (INQAAHE). Many have signed collaborative agreements with other foreign agencies. Several have set up an office responsible for international affairs or exchanges. With regard to the transparency of official websites, however, there is very limited information in English regarding accreditation policy, standards, and outcomes in most agencies. At present, most agencies have not adopted international guidelines or principles for cross-border education. Furthermore, they do not yet include international reviewers, except for the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA), HKCAAVQ, NZUAAU, and MQA.

To summarize, the internationalization of policies and practices in most Asian Pacific nations is still lacking a QA dimension, except in Australia, New Zealand, and Hong Kong, all of which had the advantages of building on English language systems. Obviously, most Asian QA systems are still not well prepared for international operations. Under these circumstances, a question will be raised: who should be responsible for the quality of cross-border higher education and students' rights? As Van der Wende and Westerheijden have noted: "It is clear that the fact that higher education is internationalizing at such speed and size, while quality assurance systems and responsibilities are still largely based at the national level, creates major tensions and challenges. Increasingly larger parts of higher education provisions escape or bypass national quality assurance systems, with consequent questions about the responsibility for quality assurance and for consumer protection" (2001, 235).

Because Asian QA agencies are either governmental institutions or affiliated with government, a second concern exists for the level of autonomy possessed by national and local QA agencies in Asia. Although most agencies, including those established and funded by their governments, have claimed that they have autonomy over review procedures and decisions, several scholars have expressed their concerns over the issue. Generally speaking, Southeast Asian national QA agencies are established as governmental agencies. In contrast, East Asian agencies tend to be buffer bodies where the government likely plays a major role in the agency. They are both usually considered as extended arms of government, because they are primarily funded by the state. For example, ONESQA in Thailand, established as a public organization in 2000, is the only Thailand QA agency responsible for "development of external quality assurance criteria and methods" and for "conducting evaluation of educational achieve-

ments to assess quality of institution” according to the National Education Act of 1999. In contrast, HEEACT (Taiwan) falls into the category of a buffer body. It was established as a non-governmental agency jointly endowed by the Ministry of Education and 153 colleges and universities based on the 2005 Revised University Law. However, it remained financially dependent on governmental funding. In fact, both types of agencies are expected to serve government functions, particularly the use of accreditation outcomes in educational policy making and funding allocations. In this regard, a study by Hou et al. (2015) demonstrated that Asian QA agencies admit that it is not easy to enhance their level of “autonomy” because of their close affiliation with government. Brown (2013) also argued that when the government develops quality initiatives as a part of higher education reform strategies, its intervention into QA design becomes inevitable. Martin and Stella (2007, 80) pointed out that “getting the government to support the quality assurance process without losing any of the agency’s autonomy or affecting its functioning is certainly an option to be considered.” Dill (2011) in turn raises questions about how truly “independent, transparent, and robust” the QA process actually is. In fact, Asian QA agencies may feel obliged to carry out the government’s wishes rather than those suggested by its own agenda and mission (Hawkins et al. 2006; Ewell 2008). This suggests that the autonomy of such agencies will be threatened when the government maintains bureaucratic control of their internal governance and external review.

Finally, demonstrating the creditability and accountability of QA procedures is the third challenge faced by Asian QA agencies. QA agencies are designated to be self-critical, objective, and open-minded in checking the quality of higher education institutions (Costes et al. 2012). At the same time, they are expected to demonstrate to stakeholders that they have a positive impact on higher education. This is referred to as “accountability of accreditation,” which means that it “refers to how and the extent to which higher education and accreditation accept responsibility for quality and results of their work and openly responsive to constituents and the public” (Eaton 2011, 8).

Since QA has become recognized as a profession in recent years, QA agencies are expected to be “under review and development to ensure that they remain current and relevant” on the basis of a systematic scheme of quality (Woodhouse 2010, 79). Since demonstrating the “quality of quality assurance” has been an area of interest for all QA agencies, QA of QA agencies will be discussed in the following section.

Internal and External Quality Assurance of Asian Quality Assurance Agencies

QA is “a process of establishing stakeholder confidence that provision (input, process, and outcomes) fulfills expectations or measures up to threshold minimum requirements” (INQAAHE 2013a). Governments, driven by pressures for accountability, also impose external review on QA agencies, and in the

1990s, several international networks stated that they considered peer review “an important tool available to the quality assurance agencies to strengthen their credibility and accountability” (APQN 2012b, 2).

QA of QA agencies consists of internal and external quality assurance means (IQA and EQA), which indeed are so much “two sides of the same coin that the activities are inextricable interrelated” (Vroeiijensstijn 2008, 1). Both IQA and EQA will help in decision-making processes by the agencies. According to the INQAAHE, (2013a), internal review means “a process of quality review undertaken within an institution for its own ends.” Here, IQA is considered as the part of the external process that an institution undertakes in preparation for an EQA. Several international networks have engaged in developing guidelines for the self-improvement of quality assurance agencies. Founded in 1999, INQAAHE aims to be a platform for information sharing on good practices for quality improvement in higher education between quality assurance agencies (Woodhouse 2004). To assist in the self-review of quality assurance agencies, it has developed a statement of good principles and practices, entitled the *Guidelines of Good Practice in Quality Assurance* (GGP). In its first section, the guidelines state that EQA should have “a system of continuous quality assurance of its own activities that emphasizes flexibility in response to the changing nature of higher education, the effectiveness of its operations, and its contribution towards the achievement of its objectives” (INQAAHE 2009, 7). These indicators are of practical assistance for QA agencies in reviewing their level of QA operations (Blackmur 2008; INQAAHE 2009).

Several IQA approaches are generally undertaken by QA agencies themselves, such as collecting feedback from reviewed institutions through satisfaction surveys, and having formal or informal meetings, seminars, and congresses with stakeholders (Marcos 2012). Currently, more than a half of Asian agencies have a self-evaluation or IQA mechanism in place. Cyclical review mainly ranges from a one-year to a four-year timetable (Hou et al. 2015). Currently, the most popular methods are “using internal reflection mechanism(s) to take actions or react to internal and external recommendations for self-improvement,” “collecting external feedback via interview or survey from the expert, reviewers, or evaluated institutions for future development,” and “collecting the feedback and opinions from the staff/council/board.” Increasingly, Asian QA agencies have started to adopt multiple methods to gather feedback from macro and micro perspectives. For example, the HKCAAVQ in Hong Kong has set up “Focus group meetings with program operators” to collect institutional feedback. BANPT in Indonesia has conducted a customer satisfaction survey in an effort to visualize the impact of its QA procedures on higher education from a wider perspective. JUAA in Japan has just started to launch an internal system by setting up a Self-Evaluation Committee.

External review means “a process that uses people external to the program or institution to evaluate quality or standards” (INQAAHE 2013a). In other words, an external quality review undertaken by a third party, which might be a government, a recognition body, or an international network, is intended

to recognize the quality of the agency's activities. Currently, "the shift from internal improvement towards external accountability seems to prevail" among QA agencies (Szanto 2010, 12). The major reasons for external review include the need to renew recognition status, assisting in the development of the future plans and activities of the agency, and demonstrating that it meets stakeholder expectations (Szanto 2010). Among the large number of agencies developing internal review mechanisms, less than a half of Asian QA agencies have an external review in place, and most of them are compulsory. According to the study by Hou et al. (2015), many agencies are reviewed either by government authorities or national recognition agencies. The review cycle is usually 5–6 years. "Effectiveness and efficiency," "quality assurance criteria and processes," "having adequate and proportional resources" are the most common review items. In contrast, "independence" and "internationalization" are regarded as the least important. It would appear that government regulation is more important to such agencies than these factors appear to be. Most agencies are reviewed by their national government, which would lead to a lack of autonomy and less attention to the examples and standards represented by internationalization.

IQA networks have started to review QA agencies externally through a set of criteria in order to grant or maintain membership. In 2009, INQAAHE undertook an "adherence review" of its members to its *GGP*. The external review is applied voluntarily by its members. Currently, only two Asian members have been recognized in accordance with the INQAAHE *GGP* (INQAAHE 2013b). The review standards include the agency's governance, resources, QA, reporting of public information, relationship with institutions, standards and internal reviews for institutions, evaluation, decisions, appeals systems, collaboration with other QA agencies, and policy on cross-border higher education. The review employs a panel of international experts to undertake an on-site visit. A final report indicating specific areas in which shortcomings are observed is presented to the reviewed agencies for follow-up actions.

With the support of the World Bank and UNESCO, APQN was established in Hong Kong in 2003 "to enhance the quality of higher education in Asia and the Pacific region through strengthening the work of quality assurance agencies and extending the cooperation between them" (APQN 2012b). It has criteria for membership review in place, including the nature of operations, mission statement and objectives, staff, profile of reviewers, independence, resources, review criteria and processes, and QA. APQN also proposed in 2008 some specific principles, called the "Chiba Principles," for QA agencies and institutions (APQN 2010). In 2012, supported by the Global Initiative for Quality Assurance Capacity (GIQAC), it conducted a pilot study on assisting its member agencies to undergo peer reviews. The Quality and Accreditation Council established under the University Grants Commission (UGC) in Sri Lanka was the first member to take part in the initiative on the basis of criteria drawn from APQN's membership criteria, the Chiba principles and INQAAHE's *GGP* (APQN 2012b).

Currently, many Asian QA agencies are expected to build international capacity and to strengthen global recognition by either being audited by international networks or taking part in international activities. In response to its members' needs, the APQN is now planning to launch the Asia Pacific Quality Register (APQR) in 2015 with a combination of the Chiba principles and APQN membership review criteria as review standards. The purpose of the Register is to serve as a quality hallmark "for global stakeholders on trustworthy quality assurance agencies in Asia Pacific" (APQN 2014, 2).

In addition, Asian QA agencies have adopted several strategies to enhance the quality of QA operations, such as appointing excellent evaluators, developing more effective programs on evaluator training, deepening collaboration with other QA agencies, engaging more in research activities on higher education and related issues, and even attempting to stabilize their financial bases. In addition to the good practices already in place, these actions are intended to aggressively develop international capacity through taking part in QA regional and global networks in order to build trust among institutions, governments, and the public. As David Woodhouse (2006, 7–8), former president of INQAAHE, has said, "quality assurance agencies need to work at their own quality assurance, just as they expect their institutions to do. As educational institutions are constantly being exhorted to exhibit continuous quality improvement, and we quality agencies must do the same."

CONCLUSION: FUTURE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF QUALITY ASSURANCE SYSTEM IN ASIA

The massification of higher education has greatly sped up the development of QA in Asia, while also providing specific functions for both governments and higher education institutions. Although Asian QA agencies are diverse in varying aspects, they all face similar challenges in terms of internationalization, autonomy, and accountability. Hence, several relevant issues were widely discussed among Asian QA agencies at the 2014 APQN annual conference, such as whether national and local accreditors were able to cater to legitimate local institutional needs, which would lead universities to pursue international accreditation; whether national accreditors have sufficient autonomy to undertake evaluation activities without being influenced by a public national government authority; whether local and international accreditation has been too market driven, which might distort missions of universities; or whether to the contrary accreditors have successfully assisted universities to develop quality education.

Asian QA agencies reiterated their intentions to develop IQA mechanisms, particularly by reacting to internal and external recommendations for improvement, having interviews or surveys from expert reviewers or evaluated institutions, and collecting feedback from the staff and council, or board members. Generally speaking, governments are mainly responsible for the EQA of Asian QA agencies. Inevitably, these agencies' autonomy will continue to be chal-

lenged if they are affiliated closely with public authorities and reviewed externally by them. In order to manage this dilemma, QA agencies have to be more accountable for the quality of their work, and are obliged to demonstrate that their professionalism in QA will not be affected by this external control.

However, many Asian QA agencies have expressed their interest in using the principles and guidelines of international networks to prove their accountability, although the effectiveness and objectivity of these international evaluations remains a major concern. Indeed, there is an urgent need to establish common guidelines and basic principles for all QA agencies, especially for some developing and centrally controlled countries in Southeast Asia. Compared with governmental audit, international evaluation in Asia is more acceptable and reliable at present. APQN is working aggressively with Asian QA agencies to implement a quality label initiative. It will be worth observing and investigating whether international networks, rather than governments, will be able to play a major and neutral role in the quality recognition of Asian QA agencies. It can also be foreseen that demands for cyclical internal and external review to ensure the accountability of the QA agencies will get stronger.

It now has been accepted that QA has become a “must” item on national policy agendas for higher education since Asian governments would like to improve the quality of academic programs and institutions and to protect students from low quality or fraudulent providers. As Neubauer (2011) has stated clearly about the function of QA, “as quality assurance agencies, our ultimate justification is working with all higher education sectors to ensure that teaching, research, and services are of high quality, that institutions are engaged in continuous quality improvement, and that students are the ultimate beneficiaries of our efforts.”

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Current Issues with Accreditation in the USA

Ralph A. Wolff

INTRODUCTION

Accreditation has been the primary external quality assurance mechanism for institutions of higher education in the USA for more than 100 years. Initially developed by schools and colleges themselves, accrediting agencies have operated as nongovernmental nonprofit organizations, but their increased role in assuring the quality and integrity of institutions of higher education and the linkage of federal and state financial aid to accreditation has led to increased governmental regulation and public scrutiny.

In the last 50 years, accreditation has adapted to significant changes in American society and to the development of a more diverse higher education landscape. Nevertheless, in the past several years the effectiveness of accreditation has been called into question by a variety of governmental and policy groups, leading to proposals for reform of existing practices, development of alternatives to the current structures and processes of accreditation, regulatory action by the Obama administration and proposed legislation.

This chapter will provide an overview of the current structure and practice of accreditation, challenges to the effectiveness of accreditation, changes made by accreditation in response to these challenges and review current proposals for modification of the quality assurance system in the USA.

HISTORY AND STRUCTURE OF ACCREDITATION

Accrediting agencies were created by schools and colleges in the late 1800s to establish criteria and a review process for high school graduates to be admit-

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ted to college. Since nearly all students attended colleges close to home, these associations were regional in character, and were begun initially in the New England and North Central regions of the USA. Over time, colleges were also reviewed by these agencies to assure quality, to support the transfer of students between institutions and admission to graduate school. Soon thereafter additional regional agencies were formed, including the Southern, Middle States and Northwest Associations of Schools and Colleges. The last regional accrediting association to be formed was the Western Association in 1964.¹ Simultaneously, accrediting agencies were established over 100 years ago for vocational and proprietary institutions, most of which until 50 years ago were certificate or associate degree level institutions only.

Today, the landscape of accreditors has grown to more 70 accrediting agencies. The different types of agencies include:

- Institutional agencies that review and accredit all educational offerings of the college or university.
 - Regional (6 regions; 7 commissions*) (range in size from 140 to 1080 institutions) (4314 institutions total)
 - National (7 agencies) (3400 institutions)
 - Religious (4 agencies) (415 institutions)
- Specialized/Professional agencies focus on professional or specific disciplinary programs within an institution
 - 60 and growing (20,000 programs)

This increase in the number and types of accrediting agencies is a result of the significant expansion in the number of postsecondary and higher education institutions (HEIs) and programs in the USA over the past 60 years. The following chart identifies the types of institutions currently accredited:

Public 4-year institutions	689 (15 %)
Private 4-year institutions, nonprofit	1,576 (34 %)
Private 4-year institutions, for-profit	570 (12 %)
Public 2-year institutions	1,008 (22 %)
Private 2-year institutions, nonprofit	91 (2 %)
Private 2-year institutions, for-profit	637 (14 %)
Total	4,571

In addition to the large number of HEIs in the USA that need to be quality assured, there is perhaps the greatest diversity of institutional missions of anywhere in the world, a fact that does and would challenge any system of quality assurance. These institutional types include selective research universities, comprehensive universities with a combined teaching and research mission, liberal arts colleges (primarily undergraduate), faith-based institutions sponsored by

or reflective of the traditions of a wide-range of religious traditions, community colleges that are typically open access and focus on certificate and associate degree level programs, vocational institutions designed to prepare graduates for technical careers and specialized schools in the arts, music, medical fields or psychology.

In addition to the growth in the number and diversity of institutions, student diversity has also increased substantially, creating its own challenges for assuring quality. Of the more than 20 million students enrolled in higher education programs, there have been significant shifts in the characteristics of today's students.

Shifts in Student Demographics

- Only 16 percent are 18–22, full-time, living on-campus
- Typical student is female (12 mil. vs. 8 mil.)
- 47 percent are >25
- 75 percent are juggling classes, jobs, families
- Typical student works 19 hours week
- 36 percent are minority (Hispanic, Black, Asian < American Indian)

These characteristics of the higher education system have led to enormous challenges for assuring quality and integrity. The typical model of accreditation is based on certain key principles: focusing the review of each institution within the context of its distinctive mission, having each institution prepare a comprehensive self-study report organized around the accrediting agency's standards, followed by a team of peer reviewers visiting the campus and selected off-campus locations, issuing a team report which the institution can comment on, then action by an accrediting commission comprised of academics and public members. The cornerstone of the accrediting process is the use of peer reviewers using their professional judgment in the application of accrediting standards. Accrediting standards are, in turn, developed by the academic community with the inclusion of some limited participation of business and industry. With this mission-centric approach, accreditation has been able to adapt to the many institutional types it reviews and focus on quality in the context of each institution's mission and character.

This same model has been in place for more than 75 years. Questions have arisen whether the model is sufficient to address today's highly dynamic academic context. Can one set of standards be applied consistently and fairly across such a range of institutions? Is there appropriate accountability with comprehensive reviews occurring only once a decade? Does the peer review process and decisions made by academics assure avoidance of conflict of interest? With changing student demographics, do accrediting standards focus on the right or the most appropriate dimensions of quality?

THE INCREASED ROLE OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENTAL OVERSIGHT

In 1952, the federal government introduced large-scale financial aid to support returning veterans and relied on accrediting agencies to assure the quality of institutions that students receiving aid could attend. This was done through a process of “recognition” of agencies that met criteria established through law and regulation. Until 1992, this process was relatively benign but Congressional hearings on abuses by for profit colleges led to major changes in the law and subsequent regulations that, as further described below, imposed ever increasing monitoring of all accrediting agency policies and practices. Many of these changes were subsequently eliminated or weakened with revisions to the law in 1998, but the broader concept of accountability and the need for consumer protection remained, and has been significantly strengthened by the Obama Administration (Flores 2015).

Recognition by the federal government has led to the flow currently of more than \$150 billion in financial aid to students in the form of grants and loans through the US Department of Education, and additional financial aid from the States and to veterans from the Department of Defense. Additionally, credits and degrees earned at accredited institutions recognized by this process facilitates acceptance for transfer and admission to graduate study. Mobility of students has increased with nearly a third of all students attending more than one institution before graduating, and nearly 10 percent attending more than one institution simultaneously.

Accrediting agencies recognized by the federal government must undergo review by the Department of Education under a set of federal regulations that require standards in several defined areas and policies in such areas as conflict of interest, substantive change, complaints, filing of reports to the Secretary of Education and more. The review also includes the sufficiency of the agency’s administrative staff, governance, fiscal capacity and periodic establishment of the validity and reliability of accrediting standards.

The review process is first undertaken by Department of Education staff who prepare a compliance report that is transmitted to the accrediting agency and an advisory review body, the National Advisory Committee on Institutional Quality and Integrity (NACIQI). Under recent revisions to the law, the membership of NACIQI was revised to include 18 members of which six are appointed by the Secretary of Education, six are appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and six are appointed by the President Pro tempore of the US Senate. Both the Department staff and agency representatives appear before the Committee to discuss the staff findings, and recommendations are made by NACIQI on continued recognition to a senior Department official, who makes a final decision. While the maximum period of recognition is five years, increased monitoring of accrediting agencies has led to concerns about the “granularity” of the review and agency reporting within the five year period has become more frequent (Nelson 2012).

In 1984, in response to national and state efforts to require institutions to assess student learning to assure educational quality, a new regulation was added to require accrediting agencies to develop standards regarding “success with respect to student achievement.” The regulation reads: “(i) Success with respect to student achievement in relation to the institution’s mission, which may include different standards for different institutions or programs, as established by the institution, including, as appropriate, consideration of course completion, State licensing examination, and job placement rates.” This regulation has been implemented by the regional accrediting agencies to require institutions to identify learning outcomes for all programs and to align course outcomes with them. National accrediting bodies, dealing primarily with vocational and job training programs, emphasized program completion and job placement rates rather than learning outcomes, and professional accrediting agencies have focused on licensure examination pass rates. Since 1984, implementing this regulation has led to a major transformation of regional accrediting commissions, and has led to the offering of workshops, resource guides, assessment academies and conferences to assist institutions (and primarily faculty) make the shift from teaching to learning.

Another area of increased federal regulation has been in the area of substantive change—where the federal regulations list multiple areas where prior review by an accreditor is required before a new activity, off-campus location or online program can be offered. With the need to provide educational opportunities through new locations and new technologies, the requirement that all such activities be reviewed and approved by the accreditor prior to initiation and then visited on-site within six months of implementation has led to a significant increase in the work of accreditors, and required them to focus on individual programs rather than institutional systems of quality assurance. Institutions wishing to innovate or move quickly to address market demand have found these requirements to be an administrative burden and a barrier to innovation.

One of the most controversial recent regulatory issues has been over the definition of a credit hour. A report by the Inspector General of the Department of Education raised concerns about excessive granting of credit by an entrepreneurial institution (Kelderman 2009). Notwithstanding the fact that the regional accreditor had earlier identified the same problem and had required the institution to address these excessive credit awards, and the fact there was no finding that these concerns were widespread among other institutions, the Inspector General nonetheless required the Department to adopt regulations creating a federal definition of a credit hour and to have accreditors verify that institutions met the new regulatory requirement, reporting to the Secretary of Education any infringement. Though the regulation was actively contested by the higher education community as a serious intrusion into the academic integrity of HEIs, the regulation was adopted (Lederman and Epstein 2010).

These concerns were aggravated with more recent new regulations requiring all institutions to be specifically authorized to operate in a given state by a state approval authority even if the state previously did not have one or more exempted institutions accredited by recognized agencies, and to offer distance education programs in every state in which students were enrolled. These two regulations have led to significant new burdens and costs to comply. These regulations, as well as the addition of many other new regulations in the past 10 years, have led to widespread concern about the “overreach” of the Department of Education into the internal operations of both HEIs and nongovernmental accrediting bodies (Moltz 2011).

In response to the increased oversight of accreditation brought about by legislation in 1992, higher education groups, institutions and accrediting agencies formed the Council on Higher Education Accreditation (CHEA) in 1996 to advocate on behalf of institutions regarding issues relating to accreditation and to operate a nongovernmental recognition process. CHEA recognition differs from that of the Department of Education in that it does not link to the award of federal financial aid, and it includes accrediting agencies that are not eligible for federal recognition. In its advocacy role, CHEA has been an outspoken opponent of increased federal regulation and intrusion into the internal affairs of institutions (Eaton 2015).

In 2010, the NACIQI undertook a series of hearings to assess whether the linkage to federal financial aid should be continued through the recognition of accrediting agencies, and to consider other reforms to improve state, federal and accrediting agency effectiveness. These hearings, in which the author testified, resulted in a set of 25 recommendations. A proposal to delink financial aid from accreditation was not included in this set, although a minority opinion from several members advocated such a major action (Nelson 2011; Lederman 2012). Continued concern over the performance of accrediting agencies led to an additional set of recommendations issued by NACIQI in July 2015 to the Secretary of Education for strengthening the review process of accreditors and heightening their accountability. Building on the 2012 recommendations, NACIQI updated and revised them to produce thirteen recommendations in three areas: (1) Toward simplifying and enhancing nuance in the accreditation and recognition process; (2) Toward reconsidering the relationship between quality assurance processes and access to the substantial amount of federal financial aid funds; and (3) Toward reconsidering the roles and functions of the NACIQI. Among the recommendations, accreditors are called upon to increase their emphasis on student learning and student outcomes, create a more nuanced and tiered model of accreditation with more flexible processes that focuses on more troubled institutions and allows more established institutions to have a reduced review process (characterized as risk-based accreditation). Regarding the Department of Education’s recognition process, recommendations were made to focus recognition reviews

more on agency effectiveness rather than compliance with multiple lacunae, and to provide accreditors greater flexibility to implement the recommendations for them through revision or relaxation of the regulatory burden (Phillips 2015). These and most of the other recommendations made cannot be implemented without changes to the law, however. To date, there has been no response from the Secretary of Education to these recommendations and it is not clear whether they will be endorsed by the Secretary in whole or in part and, even if so, whether those that require new legislation would be adopted.

CONCERNS ABOUT ACCREDITATION'S EFFECTIVENESS

The pattern of increased federal oversight over the past 15 years is largely due to a series of books, reports and news articles calling into question the effectiveness of accreditation as a reliable arbiter of quality. Following is a list of concerns commonly raised about the effectiveness of accreditation:

Concern Over Completion

Statistics over this period indicate that only 54 percent of students enrolled complete their degree programs within 150 percent of the length of the program (three years for an associate degree or six years for a bachelor's degree). For highly selective institutions, the completion rate is much higher but at less selective institutions it is too often much lower. Questions arise how institutions with completion rates in the single digits or below 20 percent can continue to be accredited. Major national organizations such as Complete College America have worked at a policy level to make completion a major national and state goal and have undertaken research projects to see what steps have the greatest impact. All accreditors require the filing of data on completion as part of a data portfolio, but only one of the regional accreditors, the Senior College and University Commission of Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC), has incorporated the review of retention and completion as a major element of its standards and a focus of every comprehensive review. This is seen by many as a major failure on the part of accreditors and is a focus of recent actions taken by the US Department of Education described below.

The Obama administration created The College Navigator website (<http://nces.ed.gov/collegenavigator/>) for prospective students with cost and completion data to better inform their choice of an institution and with the hope that making this information available would lead to pressure on institutions and accreditors to improve these rates. The NACIQI recommendation to increase the emphasis in the recognition process on student outcomes has the same intent. Remarkably, however, regional accreditors (other than WASC) continue to argue that there are too many factors involved to hold institutions accountable for improving completion.

Concern Over Student Learning

With the increased diversity of students attending HEIs, concerns arose whether the quality of learning might suffer. One such troubling study was the National Assessment of Adult Literacy in 2003 where college graduates declined in performance from a previous assessment in 1993 on basic prose and math assessments (NCES 2006). The publication of *Academically Adrift* in 2010 caused widespread concern about findings of limited learning across all types of institutions from freshman to senior years (Arum and Roksa 2011). Among its findings was that only 36 percent of students did not show significant learning gains from freshman to senior years, and the rigor of courses defined by reading and writing assignments was highly variable and low in most disciplines. While many attacked the methodology of the research underlying the book (Astin 2011), similar findings from other studies corroborated to some extent the basic concerns over quality and rigor of a college education (Pascarella and Blaich 2013). Many other studies have confirmed similar concerns about quality of learning and rigor. (Though studies undertaken by others, such as the American Association of Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) reported measurable learning gains.) Notwithstanding these findings, and the call for greater attention to these issues, accreditors stood on the sidelines and failed to publicly address these concerns.

College Costs, Loan Indebtedness and Default Rates

State support for higher education has declined by 40 percent between 2011 and 1980 even with significantly increased demand (Mortenson 2012). As a result, the cost of higher education has shifted to increases in tuition and fees, such that “moderate” public in-state tuition costs now average \$23,000 and private institutions \$45,000 a year or higher. Comparing overall inflation between 1985 and 2011, the Consumer Price Index increased 121 percent whereas college tuition increased over 500 percent (Jamrisko and Kolet 2013). Seventy percent of undergraduate students carry loans, which now average more than \$28,000 for undergraduate students and significantly higher for graduate students (TICAS 2014). Given the significant investment students and their families (or others paying) now are making in their education, a return on investment in the form of high paying jobs has become more important than ever. This has led to the publication of both starting salaries and employment rates for different majors and has begun to be used to advise students on what fields they should consider entering. It is also the basis of the Obama Administration’s new College Scorecard [<https://collegescorecard.ed.gov>] which, while based on data only from financial aid recipients, provides information on average college costs, graduation rates and starting salaries of graduates, and compares them to other schools and the national average. Outstanding loans for university education have now moved above \$1 trillion, higher than accumulated credit card debt in the USA, and concern

about the ability of loan holders to repay is an increasing issue. Default rates are regularly tracked and federal rules limit financial aid to those institutions with consistently high default rates for its graduates. While all of these issues are prominent in national discussions about the ability of higher education to serve society effectively, and for a college education to continue to be accessible to the population, accreditation has been noticeably silent in addressing these issues. The cost of education is not a focus of accreditation reviews, nor typically are loan amounts students carry, and default rates are reviewed only when they reach a trigger point set by the US Department of Education. Accreditors believe that these issues are internal matters defined by the institution and that accrediting agencies are not equipped and have no authority to set or evaluate the costs of tuition and fees. Indeed, some critics of accreditation have argued the process adds unnecessarily to costs in order to meet outdated standards.

Oversight of For-Profit Institutions

Until recently, for-profit institutions have grown in scope and size dramatically, reaching approximately 10 percent of all enrollments but nearly 40 percent of all online enrollments. The Obama administration identified abuses within the for-profit industry as a major concern and initiated a series of actions designed to rein in abusive practices. A Government Accounting Office Report in 2010 highlighted a series of practices that were illegal or noncompliant with federal regulations (GAO 2010). The report and many news stories on problematic activities of for-profit institutions received widespread publicity and served as the basis for several Congressional hearings. In these hearings and in the press, accreditors were challenged why they did not report these abusive actions and why institutions continued to be accredited with unacceptable performance on such indicators as completion rates, job placement, academic rigor or loan defaults.

While most of the concerns have arisen at institutions accredited by national accreditors, not the regionals, some of the institutions cited in the press or in state or federal investigations have been regionally accredited. The most dramatic instance is the government cutting off financial aid payments to Corinthian College, operating with branch campuses and online across the USA, based on allegations of misrepresentation of job placement and salary data which led to closure and then a filing for bankruptcy by Corinthian, displacing 70,000 students (Gleason 2015). Heald College, owned by Corinthian and regionally accredited by WASC, closed soon thereafter on allegations of misreporting of data to the federal government (Stratford 2015). Hearings before the Senate raised questions why accreditors did not discover these issues, or act more vigorously to address concerns raised by these investigations (HELP 2015). As a follow up to the Corinthian closure and bankruptcy, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau has launched an unprecedented action to formally investigate Corinthian's accreditor—the Accrediting Commission for Independent Colleges and Schools (ACICS) (Niemann 2015). As these

events were unfolding, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan even characterized accreditors as “watchdogs that don’t bite” (Duncan 2015).

Workforce Preparation

Along with concerns about academic quality and increased costs, employers (as it must be said in other countries as well) have raised serious concerns about the preparation of today’s graduates to succeed in a dynamically changing work environment. “Workforce preparation” at all levels is now a leading topic for institutional reform. Multiple surveys have shown employer dissatisfaction with the ability of graduates to work in teams, deal with diversity or be able to communicate effectively, problem solve or innovate (Johnson 2011). One effort to address this concern has been recent conversations sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce to undertake consideration of an employer-based accreditation process to supplement the academic process provided by regional accreditation. Again, the lack of response on the part of the accrediting community has led to efforts to develop alternatives or complementary processes to increase the role of employers in assuring the quality and effectiveness of higher education.

Unnecessary Cost and Burden of the Accreditation Process

Over the past several years, leaders of a number of elite research universities have publicly criticized the cost and administrative burden of the institutional accreditation process when the outcome of reaccreditation is not at all problematic and such institutions have a proven record of successful outcomes and a record of successful accreditation reviews (Fuller and Belkin 2015). They have called for a tiered-system of accreditation that allows for a simpler review process for such institutions and greater focus by accreditors on those institutions where problems have arisen. Accreditors have implemented flexible approaches to accommodate these institutions, but current Department of Education regulations call for *all institutions* and accreditors to undertake a comprehensive self-study and team review under all agency standards to formally determine compliance, even if there are no issues with such compliance. Several prominent national higher education organizations, representing these and other well-established institutions have recently called for the Department of Education to formally allow for such flexibility and have submitted a legal review reflecting that such an approach is legally permissible (APLU 2015).

Support for Innovation and Emerging Providers

One of the most frequently cited concerns about accreditation is it being a barrier to innovation. While accrediting agencies have overseen the development of online programs and institutions and many other innovative practices

over the years, the combination of federal regulations and accrediting agency practices to require prior review and approval of new modalities of instruction, greater use of technology and innovative degree programs can slow down if not outright impede innovation. The advent of MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses) by Udacity, Coursera and EdX highlighted the limitation of regional accreditation choosing to be constrained to institutions offering full degree programs. Similar limitations arise in recognizing course providers such as StraighterLine, which offer courses at a much reduced price point that can then be transferred to a select number of credit-accepting institutions. This has led to calls for new accrediting entities to be formed that would review and approve sub-degree programs, and develop new metrics based on outcomes, rather than inputs or resources (Fain 2015).

The desire for innovation in quality assurance and accreditation has led to a new set of initiatives by the Obama Administration that includes an experimental program called EQUIP (Educational Quality Through Innovative Partnerships) that would allow financial aid to be provided to needy students attending innovative programs, such as coding academies, where there are partnerships between a regionally accredited institution and a new provider offering sub-degree programs. In a limited number of cases, the new provider would be permitted to offer more than 50 percent of the instruction, which is currently prohibited under federal rules. Furthermore, the EQUIP program is encouraging the formation of new quality assurance entities to review and validate the outcomes of these new providers, and for having the findings of the new quality assurance entities accepted by the recognized accreditor (USDE 2015).

RESPONSE OF ACCREDITORS

The list of concerns identified above has created a challenging environment for accreditors—since these concerns arise both from within the academic community and from multiple external stakeholders. Alternative models are being openly developed, and even encouraged, by the Department of Education's EQUIP program. It is generally assumed that existing accreditors will continue in their current structure with some reforms adopted in new legislation in the coming one to two years, but that any major changes or alternatives will arise from efforts to develop quality assurance entities using new models and metrics for sub-degree programs, such as coding academies or lower cost course providers like MOOCs or StraighterLine.

Accreditors have adapted to many of the changes in the delivery of higher education, such as addressing distance and technology-based education as part of the ongoing comprehensive review and substantive change processes. Major changes have occurred within several of the regional accrediting commissions in the standards of accreditation and the accreditation process itself. Over the past 20 years, all of the regional accrediting bodies have focused more attention on assessment of student learning as a major element of

institutional quality. As a result, all institutions are expected to have publicly stated outcomes for all degree programs (PLOs) and to align course outcomes to those PLOs. Many institutions as well have developed institutional learning outcomes (ILOs) for all graduates. Working together, the regional accreditors developed a common statement on making learning central to the accrediting process, and each accreditor has developed resources and workshops to guide and assist institutions toward a shift from teaching to learning (C-RAC 2003).

In 2013 one regional accreditor, the WASC Senior College and University Commission took the step of requiring that all institutions define and assess outcomes for graduates in five core competencies: written and oral communication, critical thinking, quantitative reasoning and information literacy (WSCUC 2013). Rather than institutions offering lower level courses in each of these topics, the WASC requirement engages each department within an institution to determine what level of achievement graduates within the department would be expected to demonstrate. A physics major might have a higher quantitative reasoning requirement than perhaps a dance or English major, though all students would be expected to demonstrate core competence in all five areas, and in additional areas defined by the institution.

There have been efforts to modify the visit process as well to enable institutions to use the process for improvement as well as compliance. Both the Commission on Colleges of the Southern Association (SACS) and WASC Senior College and University Commission now conduct off-site reviews to refine the focus of the visit process and undertake compliance reviews, where appropriate, as a documentary review process, enabling the site visit to focus on areas of improvement. As commented earlier, agencies have been attempting to reduce the burden of reviews for well-established institutions by allowing for highly focused self-studies or special topic reviews. The Higher Learning Commission of the North Central Association has introduced a Pathways Project that allows well-established institutions with no history of compliance issues to skip a mid-term review.

An American Council on Education report in 2012 on *The Future of Self-Regulation* called for retaining the current model of accreditation but made a number of recommendations for improving the process (ACE 2012). Included were harmonizing the different decision making terms used by regional accreditors. The Council of Regional Accrediting Commissions, comprised of all seven commissions, has announced that this will be done, since the terms “probation” and “show cause” were used differently across the seven regions (Lederman 2014). The regionals have also developed a common statement on the review of competency-based programs, and already a number of these programs have been approved in several regions, and many more programs are under development (Lederman 2015).

The regional accrediting bodies have determined that they would not, at this time, undertake separate reviews of sub-degree programs, and it remains to

be seen if they will partner with new quality assurance entities that may wish to work with new providers in partnership with regionally accredited universities under the EQUIP program.

RELEVANCE TO ASIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Several of these trends are relevant to the higher education context in Asia. As higher education becomes associated with further economic development, extending higher education to new populations of students will be needed. Such a massification of higher education systems inevitably leads to an increasing number and diversity of both students and institutions, making quality assurance all the more important. The development of private higher education, for profit and nonprofit alike, requires a system for approving the initiation and ongoing monitoring of programs to assure their quality and integrity. Responding to the larger societal need for graduates inevitably leads to new educational institutions: community colleges in some countries, online programs and institutions in others, which also call for monitoring of quality. As quality assurance agencies develop review processes for these new institutions and students, there may well be calls by the more well established or elite universities to be subject to less oversight or some form of recognition of their previous record of successful reviews.

Additionally, as new populations of students enroll, there is a need to address differential levels of preparation for college level work and determining the best ways to provide remedial education. There is also a need to monitor claims made by new institutions on the qualifications of graduates, employment rates and potential salaries, and so on to avoid unfounded claims or outright misrepresentation.

CONCLUSION

While there have been many adaptations in the accrediting process over the last 23 years, the rapid rate of change in society, technology and in the initiation of new models of higher education have challenged the flexibility and resourcefulness of accreditation in the USA. Coupled with a series of very public criticisms, reform is likely to occur. Change, however, is not likely to be radical but incremental, with the emergence of new quality assurance providers supported by the Obama administration. The situation now is dynamic and ultimately Congress will need to enact legislation for further reforms and any major changes. The Higher Education Reauthorization Act is currently in need of renewal so there will be opportunity to undertake these reforms through legislation if Democrats and Republicans (who currently control both the House and Senate) can come to agreement. To date, however, no new bill has been drafted and it is not clear what the timetable will be for a new law.

In summary, while the larger landscape is dynamic and fluid with many new providers, programs and increased efforts to use technology to improve access and performance, the current model of accreditation will likely remain stable for the next several years in serving institutions and students.

NOTE

1. The WASC is unique in having two separate commissions: one for community and junior colleges and another for senior colleges and universities.

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Impact of Globalization on Japanese Higher Education Policy: Examining Government Control and Quality Assurance

Reiko Yamada

INTRODUCTION

Recent higher education policy in the world has a number of common characteristics. These seem to be that they are economic centered, market conscious, and reflect strong government control. In Japan, such a trend also reflects government concerns that Japan can deal with global competition in the twenty-first century, while simultaneously coping with both a rapidly aging society and a declining birth rate in a retrenchment era.

As often pointed out, the accountability issue is closely associated with higher education policy and reform directions. Zumeta (2011) describes responsibility for one's actions to another individual—or to multiple parties—as a result of legal, political, financial, personal, or simply moral ties. Accountability is associated with every aspect of society. Observing the emergence of neo-liberal policy across many nations in the world during the early 1990s, Van Vught and Westerheijden (1994) emphasize the concerns of governments and other interest groups with respect to accountability—which Berdahl and McConnell (1994) have defined as being answerable to various constituencies for a responsible performance. Within a higher education context, the concept of accountability involves the evaluation and measurement of performance, as well as the monitoring of all functions of a university. Herein, the general public becomes

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more involved with higher education institutions (HEIs) than in the past, calling for educational and research outcomes while also expressing criticism when not satisfied with an HEI's effectiveness or performance. In this schema, universities and colleges worldwide are presently expected to take responsibility for the quality of their education, with quality assurance becoming a common topic for HEIs in many nations. At the same time, the emergence of globalization in the twenty-first century has also seen the acceleration of accountability in higher education throughout the world, with quality assurance among HEIs and the enhancement of global competitiveness becoming major concerns worldwide (Hou 2012).

The emergence of strong accountability expectations, a quality assurance movement, and serious competition accelerate the requirement of strong governance of HEIs. Japan is no exception. In Japan, the School Education Law and National University Corporation Law were revised in order to establish the leadership of the president and strengthen university governance in 2014. These laws are obliged to be effective from the year of 2015.

Given the existence of the strong accountability issue, it is imperative to examine the relationship between government control and higher education policy and determine how higher education policy influences quality issues within university education. In this chapter, first, I will present the overall picture of Japanese higher education policy after the 1990s and then, examine how the higher education policy has shifted to strengthening government control within the area of the quality assurance of Japanese HEIs.

JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY DIRECTIONS AFTER THE 1990s

Accountability and Accreditation

The most recent cycle of educational reforms within Japanese higher education began during the early 1990s. Autonomous deregulation and voluntary reform were the background for the acceleration of educational reforms in this period. The introduction of self-monitoring and self-evaluation started in the 1990s. The self-monitoring and self-evaluation function was regarded as ideal for improving the quality of education and teaching on the basis of university autonomy. However, at times, self-monitoring and self-evaluation have been criticized as a slow process and one that engenders self-satisfaction among individual faculties and thus, it was not an effective means to improve the quality assurance of teaching. Mortimer (1972) draws a clear distinction between external and internal accountability with reference to society at large, as well as institutions. He states that the need for some form of social control over universities increases during eras of retrenchment. The idea of external accountability was integrated within the University Council Report of 1998, which established a plural evaluation

system, which is considered a necessary step for enabling universities to be independent organizations that continually improve the quality of their education and research.

A third-party evaluation system was implemented following the conventional system of self-monitoring and self-evaluation, wherein evaluations enable planning for the efficient allocation of resources. A new third-party evaluation institution was established in April 2000 and as a result, all national, public, and private universities are meant to participate in a third-party evaluation. Such results are expected to be used in the allocation of future funds. However, actually, in the early stage of third-party evaluation results they were not employed to decide the actual allocation of funds. Overall, since this process began, governmental authority has been strengthened and accountability has been spotlighted in parallel with the movement of university reform.

A subsequent bill was enacted by the Diet to partially amend the School Education Law. First, all HEIs—national, public, and private—are obliged to be evaluated by third-party evaluation institutions. Second, a third-party evaluation institution must be authenticated by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (hereafter, MEXT). This amendment covers all HEIs including national, public, and private universities, and it also covers two-year institutions and technical colleges. With this amendment, the process of governmentality was further strengthened, such that since the amendment in November 2002, it is widely viewed as the symbol of emerging strong governmentality and the consequent erosion of university autonomy.

Emergence of National University Corporations

National university corporations were first launched in April 2004, representing the largest transformation within the higher education system in Japan since World War II. Before this transformation, issues of governance and management among national universities were the subjects of intense debate. Japanese national universities were directly governed and managed by the national government, while public universities were directly governed and managed by local councils. Following the enactment of the new National University Corporation Law bill, the status of legal personhood was granted to former national universities.

Prior to the reform, Japanese national universities had almost no power with respect to governance and management. Instead, they were supported and regulated by the government, a structure in which there was little individuality and flexibility among universities. As a result of the reform, autonomy and accountability were expected to be realized as a direct result of the incorporation process. It is often pointed out that after national universities became national university corporations, their presidents were expected to

play a role similar to the top executive of corporations. Thus, it was expected that management organization would include the integration of a board of directors, as well as administrative and education/research councils. In such a structure, boards of directors are represented by a president, full-time and part-time directors, and external personnel. Administrative councils, on their part are charged with deliberating management issues, while education/research councils consist of internal representatives who are responsible for issues of education and research. Through this management structure, presidents serve as top managers—and the management style is expected to shift from the conventional bottom-up process to a top-down mechanism aimed at speeding up the decision-making process. In this structure, a president is granted absolute power to appoint directors from both outside and inside of the university; and s/he will be able to decide the budget and human personnel plan of the university corporation.

In practice, some national university corporations changed their internal rules for the selection process of the president, and after this change, it became possible to select the president from outside the university. Prior to the creation of the national corporation law, all presidents of national universities were conventionally selected from inside universities.

Such a structure allows for the possibility of producing a more attractive education and research structure from the standpoint of both students and partners from the corporate sector. Additionally, the issue of accountability becomes more important in this system, wherein a third-party evaluation becomes obligatory in order to improve the quality of education and research, as well as foster sound competitiveness.

In this structure, each university must construct medium-term goals within a given time frame. Medium-term plans must then be proposed as concrete plans to achieve medium-term goals. Every year, national university corporations must submit corporate self-evaluation papers, whose results are evaluated yearly by the MEXT corporate evaluation committee. In fact, a 1 percent budget cut has been made obligatory for national university corporations every year—thereby forcing them to implement more effective governance and management. In addition to the 1 percent budget cut, a temporary salary cut for faculties and public servants was introduced after the East Japan Earthquake. Although a flexible management system can be implemented as the principle, strong government leadership with regard to financial allocation for national university corporations strongly influences the directions of management and research, as well as teaching and learning of national university corporations. In particular, regarding research there is a tendency for science- and technology-oriented policies to predominate in each national university corporation over recent years, leading to the reduction in a number of faculties and budget cuts for the humanities and social sciences.

LEARNING OUTCOME: ORIENTED HIGHER EDUCATION QUALITY ASSURANCE AND POLICY

Focus on Quality Assurance of Education

It has often been claimed that the heavily research-centered academic culture of Japanese universities has long prevented substantive improvements to teaching practices. The Central Council for Education (CCE) suggested the need for faculty development and consequently the University establishment standards were revised in 2008. Faculty development activities became obligatory for all Japanese HEIs from the year 2009.

The Japanese focus on the issue of quality assurance within higher education is reflected throughout the world, such that one can suggest that it has become an authentic global issue. The centrality of assessing student-learning outcomes in the overall context of teaching and learning issues can be found within the contemporary concerns of HEIs worldwide. For Japanese HEIs, the quality of teaching and learning have become a very critical issue especially given the significant changes to the structure of higher education in Japan and the shifts having taken place in government policy toward higher education, with the result that universities have become more teaching and learning centered. I observed above that Japanese faculty have tended to be more research and less teaching oriented. However since the 1990s, a teaching-oriented culture among faculty has emerged in Japan, aided by the rise of a number of movements.

The first of two phenomena that have contributed much to these developments is that the process of contemporary globalization has encouraged Japanese universities to compete in and adapt to a newly internationalized knowledge-based society. In such a society, Japanese universities have been obliged to tailor research as well as teaching and learning to a more globalized world. The second critical factor is the rapid decline of Japan's birth rate over the past 18 years. Japanese universities have entered a period of "universalization" (Trow 1974), in which almost 50 percent of college-age students have access to higher education. Universalization is a pressing issue as more Japanese students now attend HEIs than previously. As a result, HEIs in Japan have become increasingly less elitist and a newfound focus on teaching has emerged to accommodate a growing and sometimes ill-prepared student population.

These major changes in the higher education environment are well reflected in the Report of the CCE (2005), titled "The Future of Japanese Higher Education," which declared the twenty-first century as the age of the knowledge-based society, wherein higher education becomes important not only for individuals, but also for the nation (MEXT 2005). This focus implies that HEIs must simultaneously pursue the separate functions of both cultivating elites and improving the collective outcome of the student body on the whole. As a consequence of this determination, the Japanese government has invested more in the development of a center for excellence that focused on

sophisticated research and educational programs aimed at cultivating highly skilled students (MEXT 2005). Curiously, although a significant amount of money has been invested in this initiative, higher education policy in Japan has undergone a shift during the past decade from being more research centered to more teaching and learning focused—which stands in contrast to the response of most other nations.

Further, in the 2008 report of the CCE, a variety of critical issues were taken up with many proposals for improving undergraduate education included in the report. The report titled “Toward the Construction of Undergraduate Education,” urges Japanese universities to set common learning outcomes for students of each institution as one method for quality assurance within the context of continuing globalization. One proposal focuses on the need to develop quality assurance for graduating students, and the importance of gauging the learning outcomes of students. Since then, the issue of learning outcomes has become critical within Japanese higher education. The report recommends setting a common standard for “Learning Outcomes.” For example, the report details “Graduate Attributes” as a reference guideline which are expressed as: (1) knowledge and understanding includes intercultural–multicultural knowledge and human culture, society, and nature; (2) generic skills indicate communication skills, quantitative skills, information literacy skills, logical thinking skills, and problem solving skills; (3) attitude and orientation imply self-control, teamwork, collaboration, leadership, ethics, citizenship, and lifelong learning; and (4) integrated learning experiences and creative thinking.

The 2008 CCE Report is recognized as the starting point for a major higher education policy shift from emphasizing diversification and flexibility to one focused on quality assurance—the latter of which includes outcome assessments and a comprehensive reform plan. This formulation of “quality assurance” has propelled higher education into establishing curricular programs, as well as pedagogical reforms, that have forced universities to adapt to the demands of universalization and the emergence of something resembling a global educational standard. In effect, the report demonstrates the need to clarify three policies in higher education for the sake of quality: namely, those relating to diplomas, curricula, and admissions.

At the same time, the report recommended the development of a first-year experience (FYE) in the curriculum, pointing to the increasing number of diverse students who are accepted for university admission without taking any paper-based scholastic entrance examinations. They were accepted by admission offices through interviews and based on documents showing a high school GPA and other co-curricular activities. Thus, the report required the development of a clear “Admission Policy” and emphasized the importance of FYE after entering the university as a prerequisite and preparation for further higher education work.

Focus on Oriented Higher Education Policy

Given that the universalization of higher education makes it difficult to maintain the quality of university students and selection at enrollment, the focus of the quality assurance policy of Japanese HEIs has shifted from the entrance stage to the exit stage. A Grade Point Average (GPA) system, clarification of Admission, Curriculum, and Diploma policies, and the acceleration of faculty development are further examples of quality assurance initiatives. In 2010, the survey conducted by the MEXT showed that 46 percent of universities and colleges had introduced GPA systems and developed rigorous grade control systems (MEXT 2010).

In this chapter, these developments are perceived as the first stage of quality assurance. Japanese universities have now moved to a subsequent stage of accumulating various kinds of data inside their institutions and analyzing this data for internal program review, for measuring learning outcomes, and tying this to the improvement of teaching and learning. In this second stage of quality assurance, the focus has shifted from inputs to outcomes.

With the abrupt introduction of demands for educational quality assurance through university learning experiences, we believe that one factor in this regard is the way that individual universities—in addition to higher education as a whole—have been highlighted within developing discussions regarding the importance of demonstrating educational outcomes. In terms of the measurement of educational outcomes for each university, it has been recognized that the basis for educational quality assurance is the collection and measurement of educational data, as well as the way that such results are then utilized toward making improvements. In reality, however, while many institutions of higher education share the necessity for gaining educational improvement, many of them implement their current assessments not through objective data, but rather via the subjective views and experiences of individual instructors.

After Japan's national universities were turned into national university corporations in 2004, it became possible to accumulate and manage the dispersal of data regarding financing, students, academic affairs, and so on among various individual offices and sections. For national universities that were expected to announce midterm goals and review their activities, the centralization of data became a particularly important strategy at this time. In addition, amid the rapid calls for educational quality assurance through learning experiences, the demonstration of educational outcomes has become an important issue for all institutions of higher education—whether national or private. For those universities targeted for assessment, therefore, the matters of measuring educational outcomes, as well as how educational data is collected and measured—and how the results thereof connect to the implementation of improvements—have all become matters of great significance. In such an environment, HEIs are obliged to assure the quality of student learning outcomes and their educational programs. This trend can be simultaneously developed worldwide.

This is the common thread of higher education policy shifts toward quality assurance in the world.

A major focus of quality assurance in Japanese universities is how to improve teaching and learning and how to measure students' learning outcomes as a result of that improvement. Hence, an increasingly important emphasis has been laid upon the assessment of student learning outcomes. This phenomenon can be applied to many countries in the world. For example, today in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries, the Assessment of Higher Education Learning Outcomes (AHELO) has become a regular feature of educational review.¹ The Tuning movement has been developed widely across the nations including those in Europe and North America. Participants of the AHELO Feasibility Study amounted to approximately 23,000 from 250 HEIs in the world. The prevalence of the AHELO can be taken as a sign of the growing push toward international standards in education and academic performance.

Further, in 2012, the CCE announced the release of a report titled "To transform the quality of university education for the future: The role of university education to cultivate students who can learn throughout life and think proactively." This report urges HEIs to achieve a qualitative transformation within undergraduate education. The report states that a majority of HEIs have promoted several university reforms such as the introduction of first-year seminars, instructive syllabi, as well as active learning styles in the past decade. After faculty development initiatives were made obligatory, many faculties have become more teaching centered.

The report also suggests, however, the concern that the number of learning hours outside class among Japanese students is relatively small compared with those of American students. At the same time, the report also observes differences existing in terms of learning hours between academic majors. As a matter of fact, following the publication of this report, an intensive argument emerged to discuss the meaning and significance of student learning hours pursued outside of class. The report suggests that a number of sufficient learning hours is the basis for establishing proactive student learning and urges HEIs to undertake efforts to increase the learning hours of students outside class.

Consequently, university governance becomes imperative to assure effective educational management for assuring adequate numbers of student learning hours. Therefore, the report presents the association of university governance and effective educational management. In concrete terms, comprehensive educational management, construction of systematic curricula, organization of educational provisions, and fulfillment of syllabi are the keys for the promotion of effective educational management. Since then, internal quality assurance and institutional research have been regarded as the effective tools for educational management.

The 2012 CCE Report is regarded as the turning point for shifting toward a more learning outcome orientation for Japanese HEIs. In addition to that

shift, university governance and effective management are often suggested as additional positive steps in the report. This resulted in the revision of the School Education Law and National University Corporation Law in 2014.

Impact of Globalization on Higher Education Policy

The previous section emphasized that a learning-outcome-centered higher education policy in Japan has been developed in association with the quality assurance movement. Concurrently since the late 2000s, Japanese higher education policy has been strongly affected by the varied forces of globalization.

Presently, knowledge-based societies are on the rise—particularly within the so-called “developed and middle developed countries.” This has resulted in efforts to restructure systems at the levels of higher education, human resources, and society itself—wherein policies regarding higher education and industry are targeted for development insofar as they serve to support scientific technology. The present situation may be described as one wherein the presently ongoing competition to gain innovation from the higher education system seems to have no tangible end in sight. Serious competition resulting from increased globalization has forced HEIs to focus more on science and technology fields, and to become more sensitive to industrial policy and intellectual property strategies (Slaughter 1998).

The International Institute for Management Development publishes a *World Competitiveness Yearbook*, which ranks countries in a range of criteria. While Japan was the top-ranked country throughout the 1990s, it has gradually since slid down the rankings and is now behind countries such as the USA, Singapore, Korea, and China. In 2012, Japan’s overall ranking was 27 out of 59 countries. With respect to infrastructure as indicated by the *World Competitiveness Yearbook*, Japan was ranked 17, with the sustainability of corporations, and corporate investment in research and development both highly evaluated. The enrollment rate of secondary education has also increased. The quality of Japanese secondary education is subject to a process of extensive evaluation. In the not too distant past, Japan once had “a PISA shock” by posting scores that were regarded as disturbingly low, and since then, both elementary and secondary education have made a significant effort to deal with the PISA test with the result that the 2013 PISA test showed good results gained from these efforts.

In contrast, on other criteria such as foreign language skills, the overall population dependency ratio, and corporate evaluation of college education, the evaluations received were considerably lower than deemed acceptable. In fact, Japan was ranked among the lowest of the 59 countries shown in the *World Competitiveness Yearbook*. The Japanese government and industrial sector are now understandably very concerned about poor foreign language skills and the quality of college education since these two indicators are closely associated with the probability of success in a globalized knowledge-based society. This sense of crisis resulted in the implementation of a new

project in fiscal year (FY) 2012 directed in part to addressing these shortfalls, called the “Promotion of Global Human Resources Development” (The Council on Promotion of Human Resource for Globalization Development 2011). During the past decade, in order to deal with the increasingly important context of the knowledge-based society and the need for the country to be competitive in a globalized society, Japan has launched several targeted incentive programs. In particular, MEXT has launched various incentive programs for HEIs. The Global 30 project initiated in 2009 is a symbol of the determination to deal with globalization and student mobility. Global 30 is rooted in the framework of the 300,000 International Students Plan, which was also established by MEXT. Here, in collaboration with the government and the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO), Japanese HEIs are encouraged to increase the number of international students studying in Japan, as well as the number of Japanese students studying abroad (MEXT 2013).

While the Global 30 project aims to increase the number of incoming international students, Japanese society, including the government and industrial sector, has been concerned about the decrease in the number of outgoing Japanese students. Almost 75 percent of Japanese companies that responded to a survey titled the “Survey for Globalized Talents,” which was conducted in 2010 by the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry (METI),² responded that retaining and developing globalized human resources for overseas development was crucial for their business.

On the contrary, it has been pointed out that the Japanese younger generation has tended to look inward since the middle 2000s. In concrete terms, many college and high school students have started to show the inwardness-looking attitude that leads them not to study abroad, and young salary persons have begun to display a resistance to work in foreign countries. Thus, the government, industrial sector, and universities are now seriously concerned about the inward-looking nature of Japan’s younger generation, as well as the ability of Japan to reemerge as a country with a growing economy, despite its decreasing population and drastically aging society.

It is imperative, therefore, to cultivate a young generation that possesses creativity and a positive global outlook. The strategic promotion of student exchanges, in particular, aims to strongly encourage Japanese students to study abroad, setting a target goal of 80,000 students gaining overseas experience of a year or more. To achieve this goal, the development of a system has been encouraged wherein students, young researchers, and employed persons would be provided with assistance for accommodation and living expenses during the period of their experience abroad. Termed the “Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources Development” this endeavor is positioned to improve the inward-looking nature of the younger generation in Japan, while also promoting their globalized talent—thereby creating a base from which Japan can improve its global competitiveness and enhance its ties with other

countries. The plan helps support the internationalization of universities, consisting of projects for promoting university-wide internationalization and faculty/school-specific internationalization (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science 2012).

Here, let me introduce a good example of government support for promoting global human resources that covers both higher education as well as the secondary education level. The Council on Promotion of Human Resource for Globalization Development was established in 2011 for the purpose of cultivating “global human resources.” To cultivate global human resources, the council set the goal for the next decade (2011–2021) of seeing approximately 10 percent (i.e., around 110,000) of 18-year-olds gain overseas study or work experience of a year or more by the time they are in their early 20s (The Council on Promotion of Human Resource for Globalization Development 2011).

Universities are encouraged to improve and enhance their curricula and teaching systems so that they are in line with the present era of globalization. In concrete terms, the increase of English-taught and more globalized content courses, so-called global liberal arts programs, are encouraged. Many faculty members who can teach courses in English are being employed. This policy culminated in the Super Global University Program conducted by MEXT in 2014, which supports universities aiming to be in the top 100 in the world ranking in ten years and those promoting globalization and internationalization of programs and human resources through various campus programs. Thirteen universities were selected for the world rank 100 programs and 24 selected for promoting globalization and internationalization. These targeted universities are supported financially for ten years in order to raise their ranking positions and to promote globalization.

In the Super Global University program, reforms under the leadership and governance of the university president are highly evaluated. In other words, the reforms are intended to produce not only globalized programs but also university reforms under strong governance.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Globalized societies are subject to competition with respect to research, education, and administrative operations, wherein information is shared with immediacy. The effects of globalization in this regard have also been significant. The directions taken within higher educational policy and university reforms have resulted from the competition between nation-states, affecting human resource development, human migrations, and the transfer of knowledge, all of which have occurred within the context of contemporary globalization—and fluctuations therein have served to directly impact universities worldwide.

Further, the “quality assurance” movement and the necessity to deal with a competitive international market greatly affects higher education policy.

The idea of enhanced quality assurance within both senior secondary school and university education is associated with multifaceted meanings—both with respect to “hard” aspects including the nature of systems, finances, organizations, administrative operations, internationalization, qualifications of faculty members, curricula, entrance examinations, students, educational methods, and information. To promote the improvement of these aspects of higher education, government control has been strengthened. The disclosure of education-related information became compulsory starting in 2011 and the common database known as “The University Portrait” began in 2014 as a result of dealing with accountability issues arising from the overall society including several critical stakeholders. The symbolic feature of government control has been a new 2014 amendment of the School Education Act and the National University Corporation Law, which also was amended in 2014. These major revisions have included clear definitions of the role and authority of university presidents, vice presidents, and the faculty in its collective meetings. Therefore, the amendments have authorized the strong leadership of university presidents and limited the authority of the faculty acting collectively. Those laws are effective from 2015 and Japanese HEIs are obliged to revise internal school regulations to make them compatible with these changes. Although the National University Corporation Law is only applicable to national university corporations, the School Education Act applies to both national university corporations and private universities. Therefore, the governance of national university corporations is more strongly regulated by these two laws. It is assumed that the governance of national university corporations will be similar to the overall pattern of corporate governance.

The era of freedom within higher education is ending in Japan. A notable trend with respect to Japanese higher educational policy is represented by the keywords employed in this regard including “financial allocation cutbacks within higher education,” “accountability,” and “assessments,” wherein higher educational reforms are calling for levels of quality assurance comparable to various other countries worldwide. It can be said that the phenomenon that has had the greatest impact is that of the recently and rapidly undertaken process of globalization and in such a situation, government control has been strengthened.

NOTES

1. The AHELO project is explained on the OECD website. Available online at: <http://www.oecd.org/>. At the same time, the AHELO project in Japan has been developed through joining the OECD project. The detail of Japanese AHELO project can be obtained in the OECD website. Available online at: <http://www.oecd.org/>.
2. Two hundred and fifty-nine companies responded to the survey (201 listed and 58 unlisted in the stock market).

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After Massification and Response to Internationalization: Quality Assurance of Higher Education in Taiwan and Hong Kong

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INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, higher education in Taiwan and Hong Kong has experienced significant transformations. The massification of higher education in these two Asian societies, together with the drive for internationalization, has resulted in the institutionalization of QA in their higher education systems. Overall, the introduction of QA mechanisms is becoming increasingly popular as higher education is getting more competitive, especially when universities are subject to various forms of international benchmarking and global ranking. In order to enhance their global competitiveness, both the Taiwan and Hong Kong governments have adopted different measures to assure the high quality of learning and teaching, research, and services delivered by their HEIs. This chapter sets out against the policy context outlined above to examine the changing landscape of QA regimes in Taiwan and Hong Kong, with particular reference to how the implementation of QA exercises has become part and parcel of university governance. This chapter focuses on three aspects of QA

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in these two cases. The first is the changing role of the various actors such as governments, QA agencies, and HEIs in relation to QA of higher education. The second is to examine how HEIs are being monitored and evaluated. And, the third aspect is to examine how evaluation results are being used indicating who, among the various actors, has the dominant power over how the universities should be run.

NEOLIBERALISM AND NEW MANAGERIALISM DRIVING QUALITY ASSURANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The globalizing economy has driven individual states to change both their roles and their constitutions in order to adapt creatively to the changing demands and pressures generated from external environments. With strong conviction to enhance their global competitiveness, modern states have to balance two commonly opposing forces, that is, reducing costs to be more efficient on the one hand and providing quality public services to the needs of citizens on the other. Very often, these competing demands have generated pressures on governments to adopt ideas and practices strongly shaped by the ideology of neoliberalism. When neoliberal doctrines are put into practice by governments in general and in public sector management in particular, two core principles are stressed (Faulks 2000, 75): first, the superiority of markets over politics in providing for human needs, generating prosperity, and enhancing personal freedom and, second, the right to assert one's right to choose from a wide range of goods and services in the market place. It is against this policy environment that modern states have taken two broad forms in enhancing their global competitiveness: separately they have taken on what Cerny (1996) calls a "competition state" form, and collectively they have tried to set up an international framework by focusing on what Rosenau (1992) refers to as "governance without government." As Harvey argued, the modern state has tried to "regulate activities of corporate capital in the national interest at the same time as it is forced, also in the national interest, to create a 'good business climate' to act as an inducement to transnational and global financial capital" (Harvey 1989, 170).

Higher education, like other public service sectors, is also subject to management reforms along the line of new public managerialism. Central to new managerialism is the introduction of notions such as "competitiveness," "efficiency," "accountability," "value for money," "marketization," and "corporatization," and others in the governance of universities (Mok 1999, 2000). Under the trend of the new managerialism, university operation is subject to both internal and external pressures. Internally, universities are increasingly run from an enterprise perspective to boost productivity and cost-effectiveness. Senior academics are required to act like company managers in overseeing resource allocation and budgets, rather than as scholars whose main concerns are focused on teaching and research. Externally, universities, especially the

public ones, have to respond to the heightened demand for public accountability on the use of public money. In this kind of context, QA systems are put in place to assess the performances of HEIs (Davidson-Harden and Schugurensky 2009; Ntsohe and Letseka 2010).

The popularity of neoliberal ideology, including the practice of the new managerialism in the public sector, has swept across the world since the 1980s. Pro-market policies and practices such as privatization, marketization, commodification, and corporatization were being adopted in public management in many countries. The basic premise of neoliberalism is that the market is the best (certainly better than the state) at facilitating the efficient use of resources and satisfying stakeholders' demand. While many Asian states have not totally retreated from the realm of public services, they have decentralized much power to the market, families, and individuals. In this regard, the private sector has become increasingly active in the provision of higher education. At the same time, there is a decrease in public funding for higher education so universities are required to search for other non-state financial sources for survival and further development (Mok 2011).

It is against such a background that universities have been corporatized and academic entrepreneurship has become increasingly prevalent. For those who subscribe to neoliberalism, they believe that engaging in entrepreneurial activities is beneficial to HEIs for such activities could bring them research networks and research funding from the private sector, which in turn would help to generate profits, strengthen research capacity, and enhance the reputation of the universities. Examples of university–industry partnerships would include setting up university spin-off companies, conducting market-related activities and contract research, providing consulting services, and exploring graduate and researcher mobility between the two sectors, and others (Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Slaughter and Rhoades 2004). Another feature of academic entrepreneurship, as briefly mentioned above, is that many universities are rushing to increase the provision of various kinds of “education services and products,” such as those self-financing programs which are designed to meet the demand of both local and foreign students (Mok 2013). In light of this shift in the higher education landscape—from a decrease in public higher education to an increase in private higher education with the introduction of academic entrepreneurialism into university management—many governments have increasingly placed emphasis on the importance of QA and international benchmarking (Hawkins et al. 2014).

POLICY BACKGROUNDS IN TAIWAN AND HONG KONG

Taiwan

The rise of QA in Taiwan can be attributed to the rapid massification of high education in the past two decades. The number of universities has increased substantially to meet the increasing social demand for higher education.

Student numbers between 1995 and 2010 doubled at the undergraduate level, increased threefold at the master's level, and increased five times at the doctoral level (Chan 2013). At the same time, many junior colleges have been upgraded to university status so the quality issue in higher education has become a big concern to the public. These developments led to mounting pressure from various stakeholders for closer monitoring and supervision of the higher education system.

Another concern is the increased marketization of higher education, which could result in a decline in the quality of higher education. In 1994, the Ministry of Education (MOE) in Taiwan introduced the *University Law* in which each university is required to identify its niche area and to develop an appropriate strategy to capture that market. With the rapid diversification and expansion of higher education in Taiwan, HEIs are expected to play different roles with different missions. The MOE would then use QA measures to ascertain whether HEIs are meeting their institutional missions. The aim is to see if the HEIs can sustain themselves and survive in the highly competitive market environment (Mok et al. 2013).

Hong Kong

The massification of higher education is also a major factor leading to the rise of QA in Hong Kong. In the early 1990s, several colleges were upgraded to universities and a new university was built, producing a larger pool of university graduates. Despite the fact that the gross enrollment ratio to higher education in Hong Kong has not been high when compared to those of neighboring countries such as Taiwan, South Korea, Japan, and Singapore, the significant increase in the number of higher education enrollment from the late 1980s to the early 1990s had caused much concern over the quality of higher education (Mok and Chan 2002). From 1991 to 1995, there was a 66 percent increase in the number of first degree students, and a 123 percent increase in the number of postgraduate students (Massy and French 1997). More recently in 2014, approximately 70 percent of high school graduates were enrolled in post-secondary education, with around 20 percent being admitted to publicly funded universities, while an additional 25–30 percent enrolled in private colleges / universities. Many more are now studying sub-degree programs such as associate degrees and higher diplomas offered by different private institutions of higher learning in Hong Kong.

Another major reason for the emphasis on QA in Hong Kong's higher education is closely related to the strong conviction of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) to transform the city-state into a regional hub of education in Asia and the government's policy agenda to develop education into a service industry. QA is critical to not just local stakeholders but also those beyond the border. If Hong Kong's universities can attain world-class status they can also attract funding and talents worldwide (Mok 2005).

Another major drive for QA in higher education is related to the expanding role of the private sector in providing higher education. In the last decade, higher education providers have proliferated with the growth of private universities and colleges. Under the policy direction of the HKSAR to diversify education services, a number of private colleges and quasi-public HEIs, which originally offered sub-degree programs under the framework of public universities, have begun to become incorporated or privatized. The privatization of the higher education sector requires the need to set up a new structure to oversee QA matters of both public and private HEIs (University Grants Committee 2010). In this regard, the proliferation of higher education providers supplies the impetus for assuring the quality of higher education (Mok 2014).

MAJOR QUALITY ASSURANCE OF HIGHER EDUCATION EXERCISES IN TAIWAN AND HONG KONG

Taiwan

Since the mid-1990s, the rapid expansion of higher education, rising awareness of public accountability, and increasing need for institutional improvement have been the driving forces for instituting various QA mechanisms in the higher education system. In the past two decades, Taiwan has carried out different forms of QA, which included institutional evaluation and departmental audit as well as program evaluation (PE). Also instituted were the evaluation of specialized fields such as liberal education, teacher education, medical and nursing education, and so on. The establishment of the Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT) signifies the institutionalization of QA. Besides external evaluation, we shall also examine the process of “self-evaluation” carried out by the universities themselves in line with the call for “institutional autonomy” and “mission differentiation” by the universities.

Institutional Evaluation

Institutional evaluation (IE) generally aims to assess the holistic operation of the university as a whole. This type of QA has evolved from relatively voluntary participation in a compulsory requirement by the MOE in recent years. Moreover, the roles of government in this particular initiative have changed from being an implementer to a commissioner with the goal of steering the sector from a distance (Chen 2008). The first pilot project in IE, implemented by MOE, started from 1997 with an eye toward providing extra information for self-improvement and building the capacity of “self-evaluation” by the universities (Wu 2010). In 2001, *Regulations regarding financing the implementation of self-evaluation in Universities and Colleges* (大學校院實施自我評鑑計畫補助申請要點) was issued to provide financial incentive to undertake institutional evaluation in the form of self-audit or internal quality checks.

Three years later (from 2004), MOE launched the most comprehensive and thorough IE by commissioning the Taiwan Assessment and Evaluation Association (社團法人臺灣評鑑協會) an independent professional association. The dimensions used for evaluation included teaching resources, internationalization, extension services, student affairs, general education (通識教育), and administrative support. Professional departments and programs were evaluated in reference to faculty, teaching, and research. During a two-day site visit, quantitative and qualitative data were collected and examined, after which the final results were released as to whether the institute qualified as a good or weak performer.

After finishing that round of IE, MOE then turned its attention to PE in 2006 along with the establishment of the Higher Education Evaluation & Accreditation of Taiwan (HEEACT) in 2005 which is a semi-autonomous entity for assessing the quality of higher education. In realizing the importance of IE again in accord with the stabilization of PE after the first round, MOE decided to launch a second round of comprehensive IE in 2011. With the administrative capacity and support of HEEACT, MOE adopted the “accreditation model” to examine 81 universities and colleges on the following five dimensions: self-positioning, governance and management, teaching and learning resources, accountability and social responsibility, and mechanisms for continuous improvement and QA (Chan 2010).

From Discipline Evaluation to Program Evaluation

Discipline evaluation (DE) paves the way for later PE. They are intertwined since university departments or programs form the basis of each discipline. DE started from 1975 in the following academic fields: mathematics, physics, engineering, medicine, humanities, business, education, electrical engineering, and so on. Although launched by MOE, they were mainly implemented by different and respective *professional academic associations*. The results were used as a basis for improvement but not for budget allocations. This academic-oriented approach was supported and respected by MOE since major DE’s were planned and carried out directly by various academic groups.

According to the *Plan for Program Evaluation in University and College* released in 2006, all programs should be reviewed by HEEACT every five years on the following aspects: (a) objectives, features, and self-improvement; (b) curriculum design and teacher teaching; (c) student learning and affairs; (d) research and professional performance; (e) graduate performance. This initiative was designed to serve the following purposes:

- To understand the quality of programs offered currently;
- To judge and recommend the quality status and length of accreditation;
- To promote the establishment of mechanisms for program quality improvement;
- To develop specialization and moves toward excellence; and
- Provide evaluation results for policy making.

Seventy eight universities and colleges were reviewed under the accreditation model with the final results classified into three categories, namely, “accredited,” “accredited conditionally,” or “denial.”

Institutionalization and Professionalization

Although earlier mechanisms or initiatives for QA existed throughout the 1990s, they tended to be “temporary,” “pilot,” or “experimental” in search for an overall sound evaluation system. The Taiwanese government has institutionalized QA by establishing HEEACT in 2005. This semi-autonomous organization, funded by both government and universities, is the professional accreditation body that assesses the educational quality of programs, institutions, and other specialized areas such as general education, teacher education, medicine and nursing, and so on. The use of different types of QA by this professional body is an ambitious attempt to consolidate different evaluation mechanisms and standards. Acting as a “buffer,” HEEACT attempts to bridge the needs of MOE and the university sector. It also serves the public demand of external stakeholders by carrying out its mission in an “impartial, professional and striving for excellence” manner (HEEACT 2013).

In general, HEEACT tends to use accreditation mechanisms for improvement purposes but the Taiwanese government sometimes still employs QA as a means to exert overall control over the higher education sector. The control element is reflected by the growth of “specialized” assessments in the past two decades, especially in the fields of liberal education, teacher education, teacher evaluation, and industry–academy cooperation. The use of parallel developments stresses the importance of these emerging fields while also tightening the control of these specific functions of universities. In this sense, the institutionalization of QA in Taiwan means a greater intervention on the part of government in university operations including academic matters.

Self-Evaluation: A Reaction to Rapid Institutionalization?

Since the 2000s, major resistance and criticism have arisen and been directed at the institutionalization of QA in higher education from the universities. The concern stems from a sense within academia over the invasion of university “institutional autonomy” or even “academic freedom.” Given the use of compulsory inspection procedures and fixed standards or indicators, universities perceive that they may face the danger the imposition of greater “institutional homogenization.” The nature and strength of these concerns are leading to a shift toward self-evaluation instead of external evaluation. This new approach is aimed at self-improvement such that each HEI can develop its own specialization(s) and target its niche market in what has become a highly competitive environment.

Seven years after the systematic institutionalization of QA, a *Pilot Program for Accrediting the Results of University Self Evaluation* was released by MOE in 2012. Only selected universities (i.e. those funded by the Top University Plan and the Teaching Excellence Program) are qualified to choose the “evaluation

indicators” to carry out their own self-evaluation exercises. The role of (MOE and) HEEACT has been limited to decide whether or not to accept the results of such self-evaluations. Under the new QA regime, a number of universities are empowered to perform self-conducted evaluations rather than to succumb to the intrusive QA exercise carried out by HEEACT. The move is one toward “self-management” instead of that of external monitoring. This new development signifies a redistribution of power between the government, the major accreditation agency (HEEACT), and universities. By decentralizing QA to the HEIs it seems that HEEACT and even MOE are retreating from the previous strong position supporting external QA. However, they still hold the final power to decide whether to recognize the results of self-evaluations undertaken by individual universities or not.

Hong Kong

Positioning itself as a regional hub of higher education, Hong Kong has placed much emphasis on research performance by implementing a research performance-led funding formula for its universities. Since the 1990s, Hong Kong universities have gone through several rounds of Research Assessment Exercises (RAEs), modeled after the UK approach in monitoring research performance. Universities in Hong Kong are required to differentiate themselves in terms of their roles and missions. Academics currently working in Hong Kong are facing increasing pressure to engage in international research, to deliver high quality teaching, and to contribute to professional and community services. Over the last two decades, the higher education sector in Hong Kong has experienced various forms of QA, starting with a RAE launched in the early 1990s and extending to teaching audits in the mid-1990s and the introduction of holistic institutional audits in the recent years.

Research Assessment Exercise

The development of QA of Hong Kong’s higher education started in the early 1990s. In 1991, the Research Grants Council (RGC) was established under the aegis of University Grants Committee (UGC), a non-statutory body that oversees the overall development direction of Hong Kong’s public higher education. The main task of RGC is to manage the research grants allocated by the government. In 1993, the RAE was introduced, which was and continues to be the most important QA exercise focused on the research performance in Hong Kong. The function of RAE is to measure the research index (ratio of “active researchers”) of a cost center (e.g. an academic department, or a research center, etc.). The research indices of all cost centers are then added up to determine the overall research index of the HEI.

Since its inception in 1993, RAE has altered the academic ethos of Hong Kong’s HEIs. Because government funding is tied to the research performance of the academic staff, HEIs have started to give increased emphasis on research over teaching. Complaints are frequently raised by academic staff about the

different weights given to teaching and research. In addition, research performance has become an essential criterion for staff promotion. The phenomenon of “publish or perish” has now become a common practice in the higher education sector.

Most recently, another RAE was completed in 2014 with more emphasis placed on the differentiation of institutions in terms of research outputs with international recognition. The results of RAE 2014 were announced and the funding allocation of all the eight publicly funded universities is also linked with the RAE results. It is anticipated that the research assessment exercise will continue intensifying competition among the universities with the “high flyers” receiving more fund allocations than the less competitive ones. Obviously, international benchmarking based upon matrices and rubrics would inevitably favor science and engineering disciplines more than the humanities and social sciences.

Teaching and Learning Quality Process Reviews

After the implementation of the RAE, a growing concern emerged among academics that the process would drive universities to over-emphasize research and neglect teaching. In response, the UGC launched the Teaching and Learning Quality Process Reviews (TLQPR) in 1996, signifying that the quality of teaching and student learning are also of utmost importance for HEIs. TLQPR, as UGC states it, has the following goals:

- To focus attention on teaching and learning as the primary mission of Hong Kong’s tertiary institutions;
- To assist institutions in their efforts to improve the quality of teaching and learning; and
- To enable the UGC and the institutions to discharge their obligation to maintain accountability for the quality of teaching and learning (TLQPR Review Team 1999).

TLQPR and RAE are two different QA mechanisms. In contrast to the RAE, which makes graded judgments of research quality levels (e.g. the calculation of the “active researcher” ratio), TLQPR is a process review, which is “an externally driven meta-analysis of international quality assurance, assessment, and improvement systems” (Massy 1997, 253). TLQPR aims to ensure the validity of the process by which the quality of the concerned areas is assured internally by the HEIs themselves. It is noted that UGC was generally satisfied with the performances of the HEIs, and that the successful implementation of TLQPR confirmed the idea “that the efficacy of educational quality processes can be determined through self-study corroborated by interviews at the institutional, faculty, and departmental levels” (Massy and French 1997).

Toward Total Quality Control: Quality Assurance Council

In the late 2000s, stronger calls for better QA in Hong Kong's higher education sector, the government made an institutional response. In April 2007, the QAC was established as a semi-autonomous non-statutory body under the aegis of the UGC. The first round of QAC Audits started in 2008 and was completed in 2011. The mission of the QAC Audit, which has replaced the TLQPR, is:

- To assure that the quality of the educational experience in all first degree level programs and above, however funded, offered in UGC-funded institutions is sustained and improved, and is at an internationally competitive level; and
- To encourage institutions to excel in this area of activity (University Grants Committee 2007).

In order to establish the representativeness of QAC and also because QAC is by nature a semi-autonomous body, its members comprise not only UGC staff but also local and overseas academics, augmented by well-respected persons in the community. In regard to the audit approach, QAC makes it very explicit that the audits it conducts are by no means an intrusion or interference with HEIs' autonomy. The audit is not a top-down assessment exercise solely conducted by QAC without the acknowledgement of the HEIs. Rather, collaboration between QAC and HEIs is stressed and encouraged. A "fitness-for-purpose" approach is adopted by QAC. Recognizing that each HEI has its distinct and differentiated role, QAC does not intend to impose a uniform standard over all HEIs and insists that their performances should be appropriately measured against their own missions and roles. Nevertheless, QAC has identified 11 common focus areas that are related to all UGC-funded HEIs. It can be said that all the stages of the "teaching and learning" process—planning, production, content, execution, delivery, and feedback—are covered in the Audit.

Despite UGC's explicit emphasis that QAC audits are to induce a quality culture through critical self-reflections of individual institutions rather than ranking institutions with reward or penalty packages, academics working in the higher education sector in Hong Kong believe the results of QAC audits do inform funding allocations of the UGC to all publicly funded institutions, especially in the context that the UGC is very keen to reinforce the idea of "internal competition" within the higher education sector through the allocations of undergraduate education funded places and postgraduate research study places to universities under the purview of Academic Development Plan (University Grants Committee 2011). It is clear then that the higher education sector in Hong Kong will continue to experience intensified competition for public funding in the quest for performance and quality enhancement, especially after the government announced that the second QAC Audit is coming in the next four years beginning from 2015.

DISCUSSION: DECENTRALIZATION OR RECENTRALIZATION IN EDUCATION GOVERNANCE?

Different Roles of Government in Quality Assurance

The above discussions have clearly indicated the different roles played by the governments in Taiwan and Hong Kong vis-à-vis the QA of higher education. In the case of Hong Kong, the government's role is more like that of a fund provider to higher education, in particular to the eight publicly funded universities. Despite the fact that the Hong Kong government has taken QA of higher education very seriously, it has not directly monitored and evaluated any of the HEIs. As we have discussed above, all the QA exercises that have taken place in Hong Kong's higher education system were carried out by independent QA agencies, particularly relying on international academic peer reviews and benchmarking. The UGC, through its RGC and QAC in implementing various forms of QA reviews, has demonstrated its effectiveness in fostering a quality culture among the different Hong Kong HEIs. From the above analysis, it is also clear that the Hong Kong government has tried to steer the development of higher education from a distance. It does not interfere in academic matters of the universities because of the strong belief in Hong Kong that academic freedom and institutional autonomy are the cornerstones of success among the universities in Hong Kong. The Hong Kong government has adopted New Public Management measures to enhance the performance of HEIs in the city-state by introducing different forms of QA mechanisms as well as injecting competitiveness among HEIs so as to drive them toward continual improvement and self-enhancement.

Unlike Hong Kong, the Taiwan government is very interventionist because the MOE plays a direct role in the QA of higher education. Despite the participation of various QA agencies in monitoring the quality of Taiwan HEIs, the government still plays a very prominent role in QA. Our discussions above have demonstrated that the Taiwanese government has made serious attempts in distancing itself from direct management of HEIs. However, governmental intervention is still very visible when compared with its counterpart in Hong Kong. Therefore, the Taiwanese government's attempt to adopt New Public Administration (NPM) in the QA of higher education, when compared to Hong Kong, is less successful because one of the key features of NPM is the government "steering management at a distance."

Centralization or Decentralization in Education Governance

The discernible trend of restructuring higher education has led to a fundamental change in state-education relationships. When analyzing changing state and education sector relationships, the concepts of centralization and decentralization are useful. According to Mark Bray (1999), there are three major forms of decentralization in education, namely, de-concentration, delegation,

and devolution. In addition two other forms of educational decentralization can take place, namely: (1) *functional decentralization* which features “a shift in the distribution of powers between various authorities that operate in parallel”; and (2) *territorial decentralization* as characterized by “a redistribution of control among the different geographical tiers of government, such as nation, states/provinces, districts, and schools” (Bray 1999, 208–209). Another point deserving attention here is that the range of models for educational decentralization is very wide. During the processes of centralization and decentralization, very often a process of *recentralization* may take place as some party to the process fears losing control (Tatto 1999). In some situations, it is easy to identify the process of “centralized decentralization” in the education sector as when the state does not impose detailed controls over educational institutions. In introducing various regulatory frameworks, mechanisms, or assessment / QA systems, the state could easily steer the development of educational institutions from a distance (Massen and van Vught 1994).

In conceptualizing the changing role of government in QA and the management of higher education in Taiwan and Hong Kong in the light of the above discussion, it is clear that Hong Kong higher education has experienced centralized decentralization in education governance. Despite the fact that the Hong Kong government has not directly been involved in university governance and that HEIs are given autonomy to run their business, the intensification of QA ranging from teaching and learning to research performance and university management has clearly suggested a tendency of central control over university governance through the introduction of various forms of performance reviews. More importantly, the implementation of Quality Audits has shown clearly the use of “Total Quality Review,” derived from the holistic and comprehensive perspectives, in monitoring higher education development. Recent calls for reviews in finance management so as to make sure that there is no cross-subsidization happening at all publicly funded institutions in Hong Kong clearly show that quality control is again tightening. All these developments suggest Hong Kong higher education is experiencing “centralized decentralization,” especially when the governance model of universities is oriented toward the new public management strategy along the line of managerialism. Currently, universities in Hong Kong are on the one hand given more “autonomy,” but on the other hand placed under stringent regulations in the name of improved QA and accountability (Braun and Merrien 1999; Neave 2001). Therefore, operational decentralization is combined with the centralization of strategic command in university governance, whereby academic autonomy is a regulated quality (Hoggett 1991). It is, therefore, not surprising to see the coexistence of trends that are decentralizing and centralizing and recentralizing the governance of education being experienced by HEIs in the city-state.

In contrast to recent developments of QA in Hong Kong, we have observed a trend of “decentralized recentralization” in Taiwan. Having gone through different forms of QA ranging from institutional evaluation, discipline

evaluation to PE, Taiwan's experiences suggest a tendency of comprehensive institutionalization. Behind this grand transformation, the role of the government has been essential and critical to make all reforms possible. Bearing with increased accountability demands and providing feedback to universities, educational authority in Taiwan was keen to legalize the effective governance of QA through the establishment of HEEACT and the passage of higher education reform for remote control at a distance. These developments suggested a "centralized governance" model. However, in order to respond to the call for increased institutional autonomy and greater specialization of different market niches, the Taiwanese government since 2012 began to devolve the right to carry out self-conducted evaluation to a selected number of universities. This reform highlights a new type of educational governance in which the government "decentralizes" part of its power to lower organizations (universities in this case) (Mok 2003; Lo 2010). These new decentralized arrangements, however, do not indicate that the Taiwanese government has loosened its control on the high education sector with respect to QA. On the contrary, under the new regime, the government has shifted its role from that of a direct planner and implementer to being a final decision-maker with respect to the results of QA. This practice reminds us that universities in Taiwan are experiencing "decentralized recentralization." "Self-evaluation" becomes a means of "decentralization" but the government and its accreditation agency still retain the right to judge whether the outcome of self-evaluation is acceptable or not. This unique combination shows the coexistence of decentralization and recentralization taking place in Taiwan at the same time.

CONCLUSION: WHO ARE IN CONTROL OF HIGHER EDUCATION?

Closely related to decentralization in education are privatization and marketization in education. Privatization is the transfer of responsibility and resources from public to private sector institutions (Rondinelli 1990), while marketization means the adoption of market principles and mechanisms (Whitty 1997; Mok 1997). Stressing the importance of parental and student choice, together with the increase in market pressures in education, we should not ignore the growing influence of commercialization in the development of a higher education system. The above analysis has clearly suggested the growing influences of market forces in the governance of HEIs. It is particularly true for Taiwan at a time when the island-state is confronted with the reality of over-supply of higher education capacity. With the proliferation of HEIs in Taiwan, especially after the upgrading of technical colleges into universities of technology in the private sector, the decline of academic quality has become an acute issue in Taiwanese higher education. Compared to Taiwan, higher education in Hong Kong has not yet experienced an over-supply as such but the increase in social demand for higher education and the increase of self-funded pro-

grams operating in HEIs have resulted in the growing commercialization of higher education. In short, commercialization is affecting the way in which universities are governed in both places. In addition, other forces such as local and international QA agencies, international and global ranking exercises, and government controls via different non-government bodies, are driving HEIs to constant improvement and enhancement of their performances. The public demand for more transparency and accountability also has an impact on the governance of universities in these two Chinese societies, which are becoming more democratic in recent years. In conclusion, the massification and commercialization of higher education together with the increasing demand for institutional autonomy and the lack of trust in universities have all affected the governance of universities in both Taiwan and Hong Kong (Rosa and Amaral 2007, 183).

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The Paradigm Shift on Quality Assurance of Higher Education in Taiwan

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INTRODUCTION

During the 1990s to mid-2010s, Taiwan's higher education experienced dramatic changes, which can be observed from the fact that the number of colleges and university increased from 50 to 144. By the year 2014, Taiwan had 144 universities/colleges and 14 junior colleges which was 40 times greater than it was in the early era of post-World War II (Table 29.1). This phenomenon occurred under the ideal of "universalizing" higher education; however, it brought about another crisis of higher education in the face of demographical transformation. The birth rate has been experiencing a huge decline from 15.7 percent in 1991, 11.65 percent in 2001, to the recent 7.21 percent in 2010, and 8.99 percent in 2014 (National Statistics 2014).

It is worthy to note that among those newly founded universities and colleges, most are private Higher Education Institutions (HEIs); in 2014, Taiwan had 50 public HEIs and 108 private ones (Table 29.2). Unlike the USA, public HEIs in Taiwan are almost uniformly of higher quality when compared to private HEIs, which tend to feature higher tuition fees, lower quality learning environments, and lesser reputations.

The increasing number of private universities and colleges and enrollments in Taiwan during the past two decades has raised a debate over how to assure the quality of HEIs. Ton (1992, 110) has noted that it is fair to assume the 1960s as the era with an agenda most concerned with "educational equality,"

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Table 29.1 1949–2014 Numbers of higher educational institutions in Taiwan

	1949	1956	1961	1971	1981	1991	1996	2007	2014
Universities/colleges	1	11	16	23	27	50	67	147	144
Junior colleges	2	6	14	73	77	73	70	16	14
Total	3	17	30	96	104	123	137	163	158

Source: Chen (2005, 4); Ministry of Education (ROC) (2014)

Table 29.2 Types of HEIs in Taiwan 2013–2014

	Universities	Colleges	Junior colleges	Total
Public	47	1	2	50
Private	76	20	12	108
Total	123	21	14	158

Resource: Ministry of Education (ROC) (2014)

but the 1980s and 1990s as those in which “quality” while standing at the center of education has been referenced to other sectors of society as well. Furthermore, Schwarz and Westerheijden (2004, 5) stressed that “quality assurance in higher education” comes along with the outcome of expanding the reach of higher education. This consequence has resulted from the government’s policy by implementing the control over the number of HEIs, with the rise of neo-liberalism, and deregulation helping to cause the tension between budget availability and crises and the process of quality assurance. Following in this vein, higher education policies in Taiwan have encountered the various challenges they have engendered since then.

In this chapter, we start by outlining the transformation of the policy environment that was the backdrop for subsequent discussions of quality assurance in Taiwan’s higher education. The current quality assurance of higher education in Taiwan has been framed as the goal of “pursuing excellence” and has been accompanied by series of evaluations implemented by the Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT) since the year 2006, which as a general process has affected the overall quality of higher education. Since 2009, the assessment of self-evaluation has been conducted individually by the university itself. It is also worthy that currently the MOE in Taiwan has started to encourage an increasing number of “high quality” HEIs to conduct their own evaluations within the context of their unique standards instead of following the pathway of using similar criteria from HEEACT. Drawing upon the conceptual framework anchored by the concepts of academic capitalism and McDonalidization, we discuss the current execution of the quality assurance of Taiwan’s HEIs to argue for the emergence of a transformative paradigm framed by the production and reproduction of educational hegemony.

NEW CHALLENGES OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN TAIWAN

The year 1987, when Martial Law was discontinued, can be seen not only as the watershed for Taiwan in moving from a state-dominated system to one organized around principles of civil society, but also the transition of its education systems from a state-oriented infrastructure to becoming self-governance framed institutions. In this socio-political atmosphere, the power of government seemed to be gradually marginalized in the management of higher education. Before the *University Law* was promulgated in 1994, the MOE (Republic of China, ROC) was the sole authority to decide the setup, program design, budget allocation, curriculum, and accreditation of HEIs. However, since the amendment of the *University Law* in 1994, the MOE had been losing control over HEIs, and each HEI was allowed to create its own special features. Under the ideal of pursuing educational excellence, the traditional mode of state-involved higher education was challenged by the emergent view suggesting that HEIs should be more plentiful and diverse (Chen 2005). The MOE dropped its compulsory curriculum, released the mandatory enrollment quota, and deregulated budget limitations, thereby on the whole emancipating higher education from its state-dominated structure. These events were followed by a subsequent decision regarding the quality of higher education. In 2014, the president of MOE suggested reducing the number of HEIs from 160 to around 100. Nevertheless, the strategy to execute this idea was “the worry hidden within it,” inasmuch as it engaged the critical issue of quality control and the elements required for quality evaluation.

THE “QUALITY” OF HIGHER EDUCATION

In the following section, we have two interrelated goals. One is to pursue the idea of quality understood as a pragmatic interpretation for that which is non-inferiority, superiority, or usefulness of something as well as Gibson has suggested (1986). Through the discussion of quality control and quality assurance, we introduce the manner in which this US-oriented concept was drawn upon and applied in Taiwan’s higher education.

The English word “quality” means character, disposition, particular property, or feature, which originated from Old French *qualite*, from Latin *qualitas* (translating Greek ποιότης), and from *qualis* “of what kind, of such a kind,” according to the Oxford English Dictionary. Its history can be traced back to medieval Europe when craftsmen were being organized into guilds in the late thirteenth century. This craftsmanship model was imitated by the subsequent industrialized countries, starting in Great Britain in the mid-1750s, and also within the precursor culture of the industrial revolution (Shah et al. 2011). One current meaning of quality was transformed and fixed to be the well-known idea of total quality management (TQM) when in the post-war USA, particularly in the 1970s, industrial sectors embraced Japan’s high-quality competition model of production (Shah et al. 2011). Eventually, the concept

of quality has gradually evolved from the manufacturing idea into a broader sense as used in social, cultural, political, and educational contexts. As Frazer (1992, 9) has put it, the word “quality” was on everyone’s lips: “quality control,” “quality circle,” “total quality management,” “quality assurance,” terms not only used in industry, but also in commerce, in government circles, and in higher education.

As previously mentioned, “quality” has two core meanings: one is related to the embodiment of the essential nature of a person, collective, object, action, process, or organization, and another is the approximation of an act or substance of high grade or high status as in a quality performance (Harvey 1995). Within the discourse of higher education, the meaning of quality covers five essential elements: (1) to produce perfection through continuous improvement by adopting TQM; (2) as performance that is exceptional, attainable in only limited circumstances, and only when very able students are admitted; (3) the ability to transform students on an on-going basis and add value to their knowledge and personal development; (4) ability to provide value for money and to be publicly accountable; and (5) something which fits the purpose of the product or service, once the purpose has been decided (Harvey and Green 1993). The idea of quality control can be taken to mean a group of controllers or inspectors, who are independent from the main workforce, and who have powers to reject sub-standard products or service (Rhoades and Sporn 2002). Therefore, the quality control movement sought to inculcate the idea that the overall quality of a university must be the concern of everyone who works within it; and this leads in the direction of quality assurance (Vought and Westerheijden 1994; Westerheijden 1997; Westerheijden et al. 2007).

On the basis of the idea of quality control, the strategy of quality assurance contains five common typologies: (1) accreditation schemes: all institutionalized and systematically implemented evaluation schemes of HEIs, degree type, and programs that end in a formal summary judgment that leads to some formal approval process regarding the respective institution, degree type, and/or program. (2) Approval of institutions, degree types, and programs to grant the “right to exist within the system” (or, respectively, to reject the “right to exist”) to an institution or degree-type program, for instance, those providing a charter, license, or accreditation. Such approval can be carried out by several organizations or one organization and is granted by one or more entities at the supra-institutional level. (3) Approval from outside existing accreditation schemes: all major approval schemes of HEIs, degree types, and programs that are not part of an accreditation scheme, for instance, approval by a state ministry that does not involve accreditation. (4) Evaluation schemes: all institutionalized and systematically implemented activities regarding the measurement, analysis, and/or development of quality for institutions, degree-type, and/or programs that are carried out at the supra-institutional level. (5) Other evaluation schemes: other types of rating/measurements of quality that do not fulfill the criteria of the definition of evaluation schemes, such as institution-based evaluation (Schwarz and Westerheijden 2004). Typically, the popular techniques to

improve quality are statistical process control (SPC), Zero Defects, Six Sigma, Malcolm Baldrige National Quality Award, quality circles, TQM, Theory of Constraints (TOC), Quality Management Systems (ISO 9000 and others), and continuous quality improvement (Dunkerley and Wong 2001).

In the USA, the idea of quality assurance in higher education dates back to the formation of accrediting bodies which were embodied in the form of a “four stage model”—the independent organization of procedures, self-evaluation, site visits, and public external evaluation reports (Vought and Westerheijden 1994; Rhoades and Sporn 2002, 359). This sort of quality assurance was being shaped from three dimensions of the higher education system. First, the non-governmental regional accrediting bodies reflect their own considerations in higher education policies. Second, state-level involvement in higher education assurance usually focuses on accountable performance and to a lesser degree on qualitative aspects. Third, given its interrelationship with various markets, for example, the political, economic, and cultural emphases of the private sector, colleges, and universities look to business as the manifestation of excellence and efficiency (Rhoades and Sporn 2002, 375–376). Thus far, the so-called “four stage model” of quality assurance, leaves out an important fifth step, namely that it is part of the system of the US-oriented model of the evaluation for resource allocation and strategic decision making (Rhoades and Sporn 2002, 379).

IN PURSUIT OF EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION

The recent goal of Taiwan’s higher education was the pursuit of excellence, which has undergone three major stages: 1975 to 1990, 1991 to 1993, and 1994 to 2005. In 1975, university evaluations were conducted by MOE over both full universities and technical colleges, but only focused on particular disciplines, that is, mathematics, physics, chemistry, medicine, and dentistry. This assessment was changed to be carried out by professional institutions later on during 1991 to 1993, and then by following the content of the University Law from 1994 to 2005.

The MOE established the *Development of Outstanding University and Research Centers Project* in 2004, by which the ministry hoped to nurture and cultivate the academic talents of Taiwan and to establish ten distinguished and outstanding research centers in Asia with at least one university ranked as one of the top 100 world universities over the next ten years. This project might have originated in emulation of the developed countries, such as the UK, the USA, or Germany, which have greatly and substantially invested in higher education. Therefore, “pursuing excellence” has become the key theme of Taiwan’s higher education environment and since then has focused on the implementation of university assessments, the promotion of teaching, and research achievements.

In 2006, the MOE paid strong attention to the implementation of the Discipline/Field Assessment, which has been conducted by the HEEACT (founded in 2005); reviews were conducted through self-evaluation reports

Table 29.3 The implementation of quality assurance in Taiwan's higher education

<i>Time</i>	<i>Content</i>
1975–1990	Field and professional evaluation, that is, mathematics, physics, chemistry, medicine, and dentistry, carried by MOE
1991–1993	The professional institutions assigned by MOE did the work of evaluation of HEIs
1994–2005	The implementation of <i>University Law</i> . College Evaluation, including both academic and administrative work
2006–2008	Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan (HEEACT)
2007	The University Self-evaluation Act was promulgated
2009–	The self-evaluation assessment of HEIs

Resource: HEEACT (2014)

and site visits. Subsequently, HEEACT has closely reviewed each institution's quality control mechanisms and assessed them to see whether their set goals and objectives have been reached. In 2006, 17 institutions, including universities of education, arts, and physical education were evaluated for the discipline/field assessment. The first result of nation-wide university evaluation was released on May 15, 2007; 279 departments/institutes were approved, 71 required further assessment, and 11 failed to receive acceptance. The crucial reasons for the requirement of further assessment or non-approval are lack of faculty, deficient students' learning space and resources, proper curriculum design, self-improvement mechanisms, and unclear mission of statement of departments (HEEACT 2007). In 2009, however, HEEACT was no longer the sole institution to conduct the assessment over HEIs; instead, it was given to HEIs to execute the assessment of self-evaluation (Table 29.3).

The discipline/field assessment operates on a five-year cycle. The first time period ran from January 2006 to December 2010 and the second from 2011 to 2016. For most HEIs, the assessment of self-evaluation comprised five major categories: (1) specialty and self-improvement of each discipline/department; (2) curriculum design and faculty teaching; (3) student learning and student affairs; (4) research and professional performance; and (5) achievement of alumni (Ministry of Education 2005; HEEACT 2014). The result of the evaluation was unrelated to ranking or inter-institutional comparison; however, it will be a part of accreditation and quality assurance of the quality of departments and fields. These institutions were assigned one of three judgments: "Approved," "Further Assessment is Required," or "Not Approved." If an institution receives a score of "Further Assessment is Required," it is unable to increase its undergraduate enrollment quota and to apply for the establishment of graduate programs. If the institution receives a score of "Not Approved," the institution's undergraduate enrollment quota is going to be reduced. In both cases, follow-up assessments were conducted in the following year. If the results of the following-up assessment still indicate "Not Approved," then this institution would receive no enrollment quota and could even face suspension (Cheng 2009).

Quality Assurance, Academic Capitalism, and McDonaldization

Under the goal of pursuing excellence, quality assurance is considered to be functioning as an impartial strategy for effectively improving the quality of universities and enhancing the competitive advantages of Taiwan's HEIs both domestically and internationally. With this aim, quality assurance has earned its legitimacy, but at the additional cost of also raising some other concerns. According to the procedures and content of the quality assurance processes that have transformed the state-dominated mode into that of self-evaluation from the 1990s and into the present, another paradigm, as a form of hegemony, seems to have been re-formulated. This can be understood from the theoretical lens of academic capitalism and McDonaldization.

The concept of academic capitalism can be seen as having extended Max Weber's insight to critique the system of German universities in the early 1900s as the emergence of academic enterprise:

The large institutes of medicine or natural science are "state capitalist" enterprises, which cannot be managed without very considerable funds. Here we encounter the same condition that is found wherever capitalist enterprise comes into operation. [...] The worker, that is, the assistant, is dependent upon the implements that the state puts at his disposal; hence he is just as dependent upon the head of the institute as is the employee in a factory dependent upon management. (Weber 1946a, 131)

Hereafter, this idea of academic capitalism has been coined by scholars to highlight the operation of universities as characterized by the entrepreneurial model (Hackett 1990, 2014; Slaughter and Leslie 1997; Stephan 2012). In particular, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) have stressed the idea of Academic Capitalism by which they mean the phenomenon of universities' and faculty's increasing attention to market potential(s) as a research impetus that operates as a compulsory response to the current socio-economic climate.

The interests of global capitalism have efficiently inter-linked their prestige with research funding and marketability, and thus it steers the direction of academic research development and the state's policy-making. Especially since World War II, the emphasis on science and technological invention, for example, focused on new military weapons, has become a key point associated with the power and advantages of state competitiveness within international society. The idea of academic capitalism focuses not only on the ways in which the academy is involved in business activities, but also by the associated structure of politics, which lead to an awareness of not only how the individual state, or society, is penetrated by global capitalism, but also how higher education almost automatically comes to participate in this structure as well.

Slaughter and Leslie's argument shares its logic with various other kinds of arguments, both quantitative and polemical, that themselves occupy a niche market in academic publishing and hiring. The logic that warrants these arguments pitches the possible responses on a rage-or-resignation continuum. Liberal rage aimed at otherwise unconscionable conditions, it is argued, is too

often content to stop at politicizing people's thoughts, which, as Slaughter and Leslie (1997) amply demonstrate in their faculty interviews, matters approximately not at all. Their work provides a quantitative substitution to accustomed polemics, though we greet the logic of this with a great deal of skepticism. At the other end of the scale, resignation at worst bears the mark of conservatism, compelling us to bow down before the market, and at best remains a reduction to the ontology of "the system just is what it is," while we tiptoe around it.

Unlike the science professions as industry-academia collaborations, within this political economic instrumental view of the university, the humanities have come to be viewed as useful only insofar as they support the most marketable research coming out of the university. This produces a trickle-down effect for the humanities edging them toward an increasing reliance on communication training that can be viewed as valuable in corporate settings. Following this thread of argument, one is also led to emphasize the tendency that central governments exercise control over academic economic interests leading to the bias of evaluation and roughness and imprecision of evaluation indicators, the subsequent inflation of technology rationality, and the marginalization of human/social science disciplines. The over-emphasis on the value of science and ignorance of the humanities leads in turn to the consequence of moral decline. This resulting new structure and academic strata of higher education is the consequence of academic hegemony (Chen 2005; Mendoza et al. 2012). Therefore, the crisis triggered by academic capitalism lies not only with discrete educational issues, but also with their social, cultural, and national effects.

Max Weber stressed the concept of rationalization as a major process playing the crucial role in shaping the structures of social life (1946b, 1998). Within this overall frame of rationalization, bureaucracy embodied by the characteristics of hierarchy, credentials, and the quest for universal standards was the epitome of social organization (Weber 1946b, 1979, 1998). Drawing upon a Weberian-inspired theoretical framework of rationalization and bureaucracy, George Ritzer (2000) advanced the idea of "McDonaldization" and its associated norms of efficiency, calculability, predictability, and control as manifestations of the rationalization process which has come to characterize the life styles of post-modern society, including such fundamental processes as consumption, birth, death, and education. Efficiency in this frame of reference means the choosing of means to reach a specific end rapidly, with the least amount of cost or effort, for example, the drive-up window and self-serve gasoline. The idea of "calculability" concerns the quantity of the product, but not the quality, for example, the "Big Mac" and "the Whopper." "Predictability" refers to the attempt to structure our environment so that surprise and differences do not encroach upon our sensibilities. The implication is that rational people need to know what to expect, including the fun, satisfaction, taste, and benefits. "Control" in this context means that nothing is uncertain and unpredictable; the products, the workers, the customers, the choice, the ingredients, and the package, are all standardized (Ritzer 2000). The theoretical concept of McDonaldization and academic capitalism were applied to discuss the kind of quality assurance (self-evaluation assessment)

implemented in Taiwan's HEIs featured by a growing managerialism, increasing student to staff ratios, mass enrollments, or "calculable" teaching, and research performances which have shaped, facilitated, and also constrained the academy of Taiwan (Ritzer 2000; Hayes and Wynyard 2002; Cheng and Jacob 2012; Nadolny and Ryan 2015, 144).

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Although Taiwan's higher education has been experiencing a process of "emancipation" from state control, since the early 1990s the US-oriented educational quality assurance model has been applied as the new model of assurance. Unlike the content of the University Law (1994), which was concerned with the performance of university as one unity, the assessment of university self-evaluation has given keen consideration to the accomplishment of each individual sector. Since then, not only the general affairs of the institution, but also those of each department, including the department's feature perspectives, curriculum design, teacher's profession and publications, student's and alumni's performances, are all taken into account in the self-evaluation assessment. This policy was implemented with the purpose of achieving educational excellence; nevertheless, it resulted in igniting competition between not only institutions, but also disciplines engendering an academic crisis.

According to Rhoades and Sporn (2002, 379), the five steps of quality assurance are interconnected as a means for achieving effective evaluation for resource allocation and strategic decision making. This system of self-evaluation assessment has come to embody some of the key characteristics of academic capitalism and McDonaldization as outlined by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) and which has given status to a variety of key debatable issues, for instance, market value, cultural hegemony, and new academic strata and privilege. The critique of this policy arises mainly from the doubts about how to evaluate the essence of quality, that is, performance and achievement, by using the strategy based on a quantitative method, namely, assessment.

Take the case of evaluating research achievements and students' and alumni's performance, which have served as key sections of assessment. It is true that knowledge from different fields has come to represent heterogeneous types and levels of commodity value due to the vagaries of global competition. Within the model of self-evaluation assessment, however, some disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, like literature, art, history, philosophy, and education are experiencing difficulty justifying themselves in such an environment in which priority is given to academic fields able to garner external investment for their financial support. In the face of this situation, we doubt that "whose is knowledge worthier than others" can be satisfied, as Michael Apple has stressed (Apple 2012; Apple and Buras 2012). The self-evaluation assessment purports to precisely tell the answer to this question and from which we can note why the science disciplines stand in the center of the academy while those of humanities in particular are marginalized.

A similar logic can be drawn to reflect the column of the self-evaluation assessment regarding students' performance and alumni's career achievement. The challenge for doing this was from the technical issue of how to impartially evaluate, measure, and compare the success of students and alumni across different disciplines and professions. Those aspects that can be quantified, such as awards and income, but not those which cannot be, such as moral qualities and manner of behavior, became the content of the assessment. Accordingly, the assessment has the appearance of a value-free model; however, it tends to provide distinct privilege to those disciplines, such as engineering, which have readily accessible value within market situations and deny such privilege to others. In other words, education is driven not only by the ideal of pursuing intelligence and gaining self-possession as it had been in the Western or Oriental traditions, but also increasingly by the norms of capitalism.

Another apparent point to consider is the quantity of faculty publication and the privilege given to materials cited within the Scientific Citation Index (SCI)/Social Scientific Citation Index (SSCI)/Art and Humanity Citation Index (A&HCI) and the presumption that such papers represent an accurate and complete notion of the accumulation of the academic achievements of the institution (Cheng et al. 2013). This convincing evidence reveals the way from which the spirit of capitalism and McDonaldization has come to dominate the academy and reproduced its meaning of "quality" of education. The Journal Citation Report (JCR) published by the Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) is regarded as a key useful indicator of the Western academic approach and is viewed as encouraging the development of a unified view of "what universities should be" in the world (MacRoberts and MacRoberts 1996; Seglen 1998). It remains irreducibly the case that the value of many aspects of the higher education experience are difficult to be calculated and measured as commodities, for example, teachers' beliefs, and various subjects are notoriously difficult to evaluate, such as, nursing and art, but stand as a significant part of what would commonly be regarded as the quality of education. Secondly, the idea of "predictability" may suppress the birth of innovative knowledge and discovery because learning, teaching, or research results tend to find an empirical level biased toward a normal curve. From this point of view, almost everything inside the HEIs of Taiwan is pre-packaged, pre-measured, and automatically "controlled." The procedure, the item, the examiner, and even the terms used to evaluate academic performance have formed educational strata that dominate and serve to manipulate broad academic activities, but which also is legitimated as the appropriate discourse to judge knowledge.

Some portions of the professoriate are concerned about the new academic strata formations that are arising from continued exposure to academic capitalism (Chen 2005; Apple 2012; Hackett 2014). Under the pressure of these derived quality assurance frameworks, universities and scholars work to satisfy this model to gain and sustain funding and engage in reputation maintenance through this normative mechanism. It has followed that the process of self-evaluation assurance is the power constituting this frame as the legitimating

mode to manipulate academic performance and behavior; simultaneously, scholars inside it have reinforced this structure and vice versa (Ritzer 2000, 154; Bourdieu 1993, 35–37).

Stemming from the overall idea of rationalization, the techniques of quality assurance have been created, disseminated, and constrained. The irony is that this mode actually constitutes a kind of “irrationality of rationality” which as Ritzer argues, could have the paradoxical outcome of putting everybody into what he sees as an “iron cage” (Ritzer 2000). Although many social benefits and conveniences have resulted from this mode of McDonaldization such as variety, round-the-clock banking and shopping, and often speedier service; there is a certain sense that these narrow rational systems tend to turn in on themselves, and lead to irrational outcomes. Most specifically, irrationality in this context means that rational systems are *unreasonable* systems. While Ritzer’s idea of “efficacy” seeks to measure the academic world with the scales of less cost and more benefit, “calculability” leads to the presumption that everything is measurable and evaluable, with the result that many problems lie hidden behind those ideas when they are applied to higher education.

CONCLUSION

The delineated trajectory of educational policy surveys the pathway from which the state-dominated structure of higher education has gradually been transformed to be the self-operated quality assurance of the present. This transformation can be observed not only from the content of policy, but also from the obvious educational concerns expressed as the major themes of assurance shifted to be that which intermixed quality with efficiency during the period from the 1990s to 2010s, driven by the eventual increasing involvement of each individual HEI and the decreasing influence of the state.

Those dominant perspectives—discipline assessment, incentives for teaching excellence, the achievement of alumni and students, and the designation of outstanding (university) research centers—served as the cues reflecting the key concerns of self-evaluation quality assurance. Ostensibly, this practice of self-evaluation assurance was intended to signal the achievement of academic quality combined with efficiency; nevertheless, as we have seen this shift draws the spirit of capitalism and the phenomenon of McDonaldization into the academy. The consequence of the resulting academic hegemony, a new academic strata, and the resulting “iron cage” has been a product resulting from the relatively unreflective self-assurance embodied by the efficiency, calculability, predictability and control, and profit-directed capitalist purpose which in this view have become the top academic priorities. In this frame of quality assurance, the 3-Es model, of economy, efficiency, and effectiveness, results from the three pillars of new managerialism with its emphases on performance, outcomes, and customer orientation and which has replaced the traditional “bureau-professionalism” structure (Terry 1998) of a previous academic era.

The currently implemented self-evaluation assurance movement seeks to achieve quality and efficiency in teaching and research performance; however, numerous difficulties hidden behind this ideal exist, for example, the plight of faculty struggling in their time management between research and teaching, the relationship between HEEACT and MOE, the gap between regular budget allocations and “extra” research grants, and quality assurance emphases at program or institutional levels. Paradoxically, it is not only the policy, but also the university itself as an intuition whose staff have produced and reproduced this educational milieu and also its current predicament. From the case of Taiwan’s higher education quality assurance experience, we can observe that traditional debates over issues of power, equality, normative goals, rationalization, and bureaucracy, remain at the center of discussion of education, even as the state-oriented mode of higher education assurance has been shaped and reshaped to be the capitalist-driven form of the paradigm.

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Introduction to Part IV: Country Studies

This section of the *Handbook* contains a selection of country studies within the Asia region. In our conversations with contributors, the editors shared with them the overall plan of the volume and early drafts of the introductory conceptual material. We then asked them to fashion chapters for their selected country that represented features that they believed to be essential for understanding the overall structure and dynamic of higher education in their designated country. The result was a range of heterogeneity and reached broader than the editors had anticipated, but one which overall contributed to a net benefit. As we reviewed these submissions from the perspective of the editors, however, we came to the conclusion that some “country studies” would in fact, serve better in other sections of the book. For example, contributors of chapters on Cambodia, Japan, and Taiwan chose to emphasize how structures of quality became inseparably linked to the contemporary development of those higher education systems, providing the implicit argument that an accurate understanding of these systems could not be gained absent from this conceptual and intellectual framing. The editors have chosen to include these chapters in the thematic sections of the volume, rather than as country studies.

Conversely, various contributors, asked to provide chapters dealing with regionality or within the context of access, equity, capacity, and quality chose to illustrate their more general topics with detailed country illustrations. In a related matter, given that the overall framework for the volume has been Asia, both as a historical construct and as an entity that has emerged from the various and persistent forces of contemporary globalization, it is perhaps not surprising that China as a subject matter plays a role in this volume that mirrors its relative size, in terms of population, geography, and economic presence. As editors, we have come to believe that this continual interplay between what we have termed “distinctive instance” is inseparable from what we seek to identify as underlying and continually dynamic engagements within the regional construct that comes to be termed “Asia.” At the same time, we made a conscious

effort to include in this section representative contributions from the historical and cultural currents that have characterized what have typically been the prominent sub-regions of Asia: East, South, Southeast, and Australasia. This interplay, we believe, between the distinctive and the “merging emergent” is present in virtually all of the country studies presented in this section.

Massification of Chinese Higher Education: Policies and Practices

Ma Wanhua

INTRODUCTION

Chinese higher education has experienced great changes since the 1990s. The rapid expansion of the system, the implementation of tuition and fees, the presidential call for the building of world-class universities, the development of Sino-foreign education programs, the massive student mobility, and the “brain circulation” all took place in the past two decades. Observing these developments, one has to acknowledge that although it still faces many challenges, Chinese higher education has made great progress in many aspects. The changes in Chinese higher education share many commonalities with other systems of higher education, but they are unique, given China’s social transition, the speed of economic development, and the global context. This chapter provides an explanation of the uniqueness of Chinese mass higher education in the past two decades.

SYSTEM EXPANSION

In the earlier 1990s, higher education gross enrollment in China was very low. Statistics indicate that in 1991, the gross enrollment rate was only 3.4 percent of the age cohort. (Here age cohort refers to the age group from 18 to 22.) It was a typical elite education system (Ma 2010). Between 1990–1998, although the Chinese government selected different policies to increase the student gross enrollment rate, it found it still could not meet the demand for higher education graduates. Under the pressure of the Asian financial crisis and

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due to the fear of youth unemployment, two debates were initiated. The first was over whether to use higher education as a reservoir to remove youth from the labor market for four years in order to reduce unemployment pressure. The second argument focused on the premise that student enrollment would help a university's financial structure by providing tuition and fees or to increase overall family expenditures on education. Based on these two debates, an administrative order was released to increase student enrollment by 30 percent nationwide in 1999. In that year, the national gross enrollment rate was only 10 percent (Ma 2010). Stimulated by the enrollment increase policy, a very rapid expansion in enrollment resulted. In 2002, the national gross enrollment grew to 15 percent (Ma 2010). A year later, the gross enrollment rate rose up to 17 percent of the age-cohort, indicating that Chinese higher education had entered the phase of mass higher education based on Martin Trow's (1974) definition. But one has to notice that the social context and global environment of Chinese higher education massification is different from Trow's observation on the massification of American higher education. If one can say that between the 1930s and 1960s, the expansion of American higher education was the product of American industrialization and economic development, the massification of Chinese higher education has taken place under the pressure of globalization and the growth of the knowledge economy. In this sense, the driving force for the massification of Chinese higher education is quite different from the dynamics that led to Martin Trow's classification. Huang (2012) has offered a comparison between China and Japan in their respective massification of higher education. He points out that although both countries share similarities, massification of higher education in Japan was greatly influenced by industrial demand, while in China it was affected by a rapid increase in more graduates leaving senior high schools and by the existing state of unemployment. His observation partly explains the situation, but in addition one can add that China then was also heavily involved with the economic transformation from a planned to a market economy. Most of the youth wanted then and now to be educated in order to be competitive on the labor market.

Under such circumstances why were universities happy to take on more students? Preceding the policy of increasing enrollment in 1999 was the collection of tuition and fees in 1998. Even though at the time the tuition was only 800 RMB annually, less than 100 USD (then the exchange rate was 8.21 RMB to 1 USD) for a college or university student, which was at the time very much under-financed, having the 800 RMB was much better than receiving no student financial contributions. This was especially the case for newly established colleges and universities that relied heavily on student tuition and fees to survive. Tuition fees were raised in 2002 to 4000 RMB (at the time the exchange rate was also changed, to its current rate, approximately 6.50 RMB to 1 USD). Current student tuition at the top universities is 5000 RMB, approximately equal to 800 USD and for local and provincial universities, it can be 3500 RMB, much less than 800 USD. Tuition is one of the critical factors that motivated universities to take more students. That is also one of the reasons why local universities have large undergraduate student bodies. Here

it is safe to say that for the overall process of massification in Chinese higher education, local universities have made a great contribution. (According to the Statistical Yearbook of China, in 2013, Chinese colleges and universities hosted a student body of 34.6 million and the gross enrollment rate reached to 34.5 percent [National Bureau of Statistics of China 2014].) Overall, it is the largest higher education system in the world, and it is anticipated that by 2020, the gross enrollment rate will reach 40 percent as estimated by the national long-term education reform and development plan (2010–2020).

SYSTEM DIVERSIFICATION

Chinese higher education is currently made up of 2305 public institutions. Following the process of system expansion, the Chinese experience also included a system diversification. Traditionally in China, there had been only a few key universities, and all others were viewed as non-key universities and vocational colleges, all of which were public. The current system is made up of both public and private institutions. The public sector is diversified into three tiers. The first tier consists of 39 “985 program” universities, and the second consists of “211 project” universities and some provincial universities, with the third tier consisting of some public universities and many four-year private universities. The first of two important projects to promote diversification was the “211 project” launched in 1992. It is a governmental effort aimed at strengthening about 100 Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) and key disciplinary areas as a national priority for the twenty-first century.

The second project is the presidential call for building world-class universities. At the centennial celebration of Peking University on May 4, 1998, then President, Jiang Zeming issued a national call to build world-class universities in China. This call later was named as the “985 program” with the objective of developing world-class universities able to compete with the premier league of HEIs worldwide.

To initiate the program, more than 14 billion RMB (equal to 1.7 billion USD) were invested for the first stage from 1999 until 2003. The program focused on nine HEIs initially, including Peking University, Fudan University, Harbin Institute of Technology, Nanjing University, Shanghai Jiao Tong University, Tsinghua University, the University of Science and Technology, Xi’an Jiao Tong University, and Zhejiang University. Later, the program expanded to cover 39 universities.

Currently, in Chinese higher education, 112 universities are members of the “211 project” and of these, 39 universities are also in the “985 program.” The remaining 2305 public institutions are regular four-year undergraduate institutions or three-year vocational colleges. Chinese higher education is hierarchically distributed and employs the “tier” concept to refer to college enrollment processes. Every year after the national entrance examination, the first tier universities begin the selection of students. Non-tiered colleges and universities will select students last.

The president's call for building world-class universities in China in 1998 has resulted in great international influence. For example, in 1999, South Korea launched a "Brain Korea 21 Project," based explicitly on the premise that higher economic growth relies on high quality human resources. In 2002, Japan started to reorganize its public higher education system in order to increase university productivity. In 2005, Germany began its universities excellence initiative. And in 2014, the Russian government started to reform its higher education by taking Chinese higher education as an example.

What is more influential in this race for world-class status is the appearance of worldwide university rankings. In 2004, when Shanghai Jiaotong University published its first ranking result, the whole world of higher education was shocked. People appear not only to be curious about such rankings, but also to be fearful about the nature and consequences of them. These globally competitive rankings create sufficient anxiety that university presidents' worldwide worry about the relative position of *their* universities, and especially if over time, they rank lower than previously. So in order for Chinese universities to maintain their rankings or to raise their relative position, faculties are asked to focus increasingly on research and to publish in English internationally.

PRIVATIZATION OF CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION

In addition to the 2305 public institutions that currently constitute the Chinese higher education system, totally, 1470 institutions exist in the private sector. Among these, 370 are authorized to issue four-year education certificates or bachelor degrees, whereas the rest can only offer certificates. In China, private higher education is complicated in ownership, governance, and finance. Some institutions might be state-owned, but they are self-financed with student tuition and fees, or industry support. Some colleges are affiliated with public universities, and known as "independent colleges." These colleges were created early on by the public universities as branch campuses, a relationship which allows them to collect higher tuition and fees to subsidize the main campuses. Later, branch campuses were required to be separated from the mother institutions, so they became "independent" and currently number 318.

In 1985, a document for higher education reform was published, noting the boom of private HEIs. In the 1990s, the Chinese government attempted to achieve regional decentralization or the devolution of authority from the central government to different regions or provinces in the realm of higher education. Provincial and local governments received opportunities to develop HEIs according to local economic developmental needs. But due to financial shortages, the national government started to introduce market elements into higher education, a process that yielded tuition and fees, promoted university research cooperation with enterprises in the broader economy, and the growth of private colleges.

Still for the governance of those private institutions, the national government provides regulations, requirements, and policies to guide their develop-

ment, with the result that as mentioned above, the definition of a “private” institution is complex. One element of this complexity arises from the fact that the privatization process inherited the socialist state’s characteristics of privatization, which are different from prevailing notions in the Western world. Essentially, in Chinese higher education, privatization is concerned with the transfer of responsibility originally shouldered by the government (including all levels of government) to the non-state sector, or with a change in the nature of government involvement. The quick growth of Chinese private universities and colleges in the 1990s raised many debates about the nature and the ownership of private higher education in China. The *Act for promoting Minban education in the People’s Republic of China* was published finally in 2002 after a decade of debates and was China’s first national legislation focused on private education (Ministry of Education 2002). Since that act’s promulgation, private HEIs have put more attention on quality control, so they can better meet a growing demand for a specific kind of higher education and meet the requirement for quality assurance, administered by the Ministry of Education (MOE). But on the whole, since there is a strong public higher education sector, especially recently, the Chinese national government has put more money into the development of public technical colleges and universities, meaning that the private sector has to provide good quality education in order to grow.

FINANCING CHINESE HIGHER EDUCATION

Recent research indicates that higher education worldwide faces a great financial challenge. Virtually all universities, either in the USA or Europe, feel the pressure for money, and Chinese universities have been no exception. As different countries have adopted different ways to deal with the problem, issues of how to marketize higher education has become a common concern.

In China the national government’s investment in higher education was approximately 2–3 percent of GNP until 2012, while many developed countries had allocated funds in the range of 5–7 percent of GNP throughout the 1990s to higher education (Zhang and Zhang 2001). As a direct result of system expansion, many universities found it necessary to construct new buildings for teaching and research capacity, and of necessity, also found it necessary to seek loan financing.

Beginning from 2006, many researchers have tried to estimate the scale of the higher education debt, but nobody knows for sure how much it may be. For example, in 2010, one 985 program university in the Northeastern part of the country was carrying 3 billion (RMB) (around 0.5 billion USD) of debt after having merging with several local colleges and universities. The debt problem, however, is more than a bit common among other universities as well. Taking on debt, of course, makes discussions necessary about how to pay back these loans with many suggestions focused on gaining an increase in central government support to higher education. In 2012, Premier Wen, Jiabao determined to allocate 4 percent of GNP to education after his visit

of Geographic University where he had received his undergraduate education. For higher education, this 4 percent may be employed not only to help with the university debt, but also to some degree be used to improve faculty salaries.

As mentioned above, the 211 project and 985 program universities are under the leadership of the MOE, with the consequences that the Ministry is responsible for the finance of these universities, whereas universities that are a provincial government's responsibility, are supported by a joint sponsorship schema.

The presidential call also resulted in a revised model of higher education finance. Today, the model of finance for the "985 program" universities is used as a basis of governmental investment in higher education. Through the "985 program," leading universities have received and continue to receive substantial funds for building facilities and to undertake advanced research. There is no doubt that these policies have already achieved substantial success in raising the levels of academic research in China.

As discussed above a two-level provision has been in place in Chinese higher education, which means that the central government is responsible for policy making, developing plans, quality controls, and providing core funding (mainly research grants, infrastructure building capital, and faculty basic salaries); and local or provincial governments are responsible for managing admissions, funding, and placement of graduates in accordance with national policies and laws for local and provincial universities and colleges. Since 1998, the central government has appropriated additional money into the country's leading research universities. Other universities are financed partially by the central government and by provincial and local governments.

At the same time, universities are given further autonomy to tap different resources. The commercialization of Chinese higher education now is reflected in many aspects of academic life—having faculty work with enterprises and establish commercialized labs in university science parks, and supporting schools and departments to establish Sino-foreign education programs by collecting much higher tuitions and fees, and asking for social donations from alumnae and friends are other public university fund-raising strategies. Such fund-raising practices are not, of course, unique to Chinese universities, but follow the onset of commercialization and entrepreneurship of universities in the Western world.

PERSONNEL AND CURRICULUM REFORM FOR QUALITY

Following such rapid system expansion with more students entering into higher education, many three-year education institutions were upgraded to four years. This has caused a great concern about the quality of mass higher education in China. Most criticism focuses on two issues: curriculum and the quality of faculty. At the beginning of the great transformation in Chinese higher education the university curriculum was very much out of date and many faculties possessed insufficient education given the level of teaching responsibility

with which they were faced. In order to improve the situation, in 1999, the government published “The Plan for Reverberation of Education Towards the Twenty-first Century.” This plan was accompanied by an 18.3 billion RMB investment between 1999 and 2001. Most of the money was devoted to the training of faculty and the reform of university curricula.

With the adoption of the “new economy” in the 1990s, with its emphasis on the development of open market competitiveness and efficiency, many workers in older industries were laid off. Within higher education, there were also discussions about reforming the hiring system in order to eliminate the practice of lifelong employment. In 1999, *The Decisions on Deepening the Reform of Personnel System of Higher Education* was published by the MOE. At that time three issues were driving a reform of the personnel system: academic inbreeding, the practice of lifelong employment, and the overall low quality of academic staff. As expected, efforts to gain reform in these areas provoked resistance, because it was generally considered that the ability to gain and maintain academic freedom requires the guarantee of lifelong employment. So although the decision was published in 1999, nothing happened in HEIs in its first three years. In 2002, Peking University initiated the first personnel reform and the other leading research universities began to follow.

Even at Peking University, it took another year and half to come up with a final resolution. The final decision was that only full professors could be tenured, and all other staff levels including associate professors, lecturers, and assistant professors were to be contracted. These decisions were taken with the notion that a more Western style of human resource management system was to be implemented. But after the fact when one looks at the university personnel reform plan carefully, it is easy to see that the schema for the reform differs quite significantly from a characteristic Western style of academic administration. First, a contracted associate professor can still hold lifelong employment, if the person forgoes the effort to be promoted to a full professor. The only thing he/she needs to do is to renew their existing contract every five years. So in this case, the metaphor of “publish or perish” in the Chinese environment may not really exist to some important degree. Academic inbreeding although having been the subject of considerable criticism does not in fact seem to have much changed. The nature of this issue may have much to do with the underlying characteristics of the Chinese higher education context than with notions of dominant or preferred managerial strategies.

THE SINO-FOREIGN EDUCATION IN CHINA

As defined by Knight (2004), internationalization is the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education. In higher education research, a marked differentiation exists between globalization and internationalization. Globalization is seen as a more encompassing social and economic process; internationalization by contrast is described as the strategies by which colleges

and universities respond to globalization. This basic conceptual difference constitutes the essence of how university administrations worldwide have engaged both the expanding processes of globalization and desired elements of becoming internationalized (Cantwell and Maldonado 2009).

In China, discussions on the nature of Sino-foreign higher education are also complicated as many researchers have considered it is a product of internationalization. And even in major policy documents, Sino-foreign higher education is considered as an essential part of what higher education internationalization does and should take place domestically. As other researchers have considered this to be an element of the global reach of foreign universities, so it is believed, should this element be considered as a basic part of the globalization process? The confusion has been caused in part by the nature of governance arrangements of those international branch campuses or programs. In China, any foreign university that wishes to open a program or a branch campus must have a Chinese partner university or host university. And in most cases, those partner universities are public in nature.

Given such arrangements, the first Sino-foreign cooperative program was established by Johns Hopkins at Nanjing University, a well-known public university in China. Similarly, the Institute of Engineering of Michigan University has developed a cooperative program at Shanghaijiaotong University, also a well-known public university. An exception to the rule is the Nottingham campus at Ningbo University given that instead of operating with a public entity it has chosen to work with a well-established private company.

To date in China, 930 Sino-foreign program and branch campuses have been approved by the MOE, and 1049 by provincial governments. In total, there are 1979 Sino-foreign programs and branch campuses with approximately 550,000 enrolled students, which amounts to 1.4 percent of the Chinese higher education student population. To date, 1.5 million students have graduated from these programs and branch campuses. Many graduates have gone on to study abroad, with the remainder being employed locally. It is interesting to note that not many Sino-foreign students continue their education in domestic public HEIs, a subject worthy of further research.

The rationale for foreign institutions to operate branch campuses or programs in China differs depending on the nature of the stakeholders in a given situation. Governmental documents indicate that a Sino-foreign program can enhance students with foreign education experiences without them going abroad, while parents may see such programs as a preparation stage for their children to study abroad. Thus, a reading of university brochures for these programs almost universally finds a statement of the percentage of students who gain opportunities to study abroad, which is considered as a useful way to show to the general public that the university in question is of good quality.

It is true that the Sino-foreign programs can be very expensive. Tuition may range from 30,000 RMB (4838 USD) to 100,000 RMB (16,129 USD) in contrast with tuition in the best public universities. It seems safe to conclude that these Sino-foreign programs are created to meet the intense “educational

desire” accompanying China’s rapidly developing urban and affluent population: parents can offer it, and their children may not be ready for the competition of getting into the elite public universities.

In addition some Chinese public universities, acknowledging the need to better prepare their students for a new global world, now also offer a separate track termed an “international” program for students interested in overseas study. Many such students may not be required to take the College Entrance Exam, but rather participate in a curriculum comparable to some of the best British or American upper secondary schools. These international programs are not to be confused with International Schools, which are operated for international students whose parents from a foreign country work or study in China.

Many Sino-foreign programs focus on engineering, business and trade, atmospheric science, environmental science, physical therapy, ship and ocean engineering, professional therapy, and culture protection. These fields of study are complementary to the dominant fields of study in public higher education. The campuses of these programs tend to be located in economically developed areas, like Beijing, Shanghai, and Jiangsu. Recently, more programs have been approved in lesser-developed areas such as Xian, Gansu, and Fujian. Currently, in line with China’s new economic development plan “the belt and road initiatives,” at the beginning of 2015 the MOE approved 43 Sino Foreign Programs. These included five masters, and one PhD program located in Hebei, Hubei, Guangxi, Yunnan, Fujian, and Guizhou, areas that are considered as lesser developed. In “Outline of China’s National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010–2020),” chapter 16, article 49, is a statement that China will continuously have more of the best foreign universities and colleges to operate branch campuses and programs with Chinese universities (Ministry of Education 2010).

FROM BRAIN DRAIN TO BRAIN CIRCULATION

The concept of “internationalization” first appeared in Chinese higher education in 2010. Previously, the term “education exchange and cooperation” was employed. In 2010, “The Outline of China’s National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010–2020)” stated that Chinese education will continue to open up to the world to strengthen international exchanges and cooperation (Ministry of Education 2010). The purpose of learning from the advanced educational philosophy and experience of others is to promote China’s educational reform and development, in order to have an education that better adapts to the requirements of national economic and social openings.

Whether it is internationalization, educational exchange, or cooperation, the direct result of having so many Chinese students studying abroad is a serious “brain drain.” Statistics from the MOE indicate that from 1978 to 2011, approximately 2.24 million Chinese students studied abroad of which the majority did not return after graduation.

The fashion of studying abroad has continued. In 2013, alone 400,000 students went abroad, of which more than 75 percent went to English-speaking countries, primarily the USA, UK, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. According to a recent Institute of International Education (IIE) report in 2014, in the USA students from People's Republic of China (PRC) alone comprise 31 percent of all international students, making them the largest "group" in American universities. While the majority of Chinese students study at the graduate level, the number of students and parents opting for their children to study at the undergraduate level has also risen significantly in recent years. The IIE report also indicates a significant increase of students in undergraduate programs. The combination of perceived scholarly and financial rewards for both Chinese students and overseas universities has created an industry of recruitment, English instruction, and consultation so complex that families and schools are often at a loss to mediate this terrain.

Of course, sending students abroad is not the only policy goal of the Chinese government; having them return was the most important issue. In order to get more overseas students back, in 1992 the MOE set the agenda with a sentence which could be translated as "support [students] to go abroad, encourage [them] to come back, and freedom of entry and exit." This means that if one comes back, not electing to stay in the country, the student is free to go abroad again. But even with this policy, the return rate was low.

However, at the beginning of the twenty-first century with more job opportunities available in the fast-developing Chinese economy, more overseas Chinese students are willing to return, leading to what is now termed as a "brain gain." Especially after the financial crisis in 2008, significantly more overseas students have returned, leading to increased domestic job pressure. According to statistics from the MOE in 2013, 353,000 overseas students returned (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2014). Currently, the competition for better jobs is so intense that even a PhD holder from an elite foreign university may not be able to locate an ideal position.

Besides the return of overseas students, more international students are coming to study in China. According to MOE (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2012) statistics, in 2010 altogether 265,090 international students from 194 countries and regions were studying in 620 colleges and universities, research institutions, and other education institutions in 31 provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities in China (not including Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macao). Among them, 22,390 were granted Chinese government scholarships.

MOE 2012 statistics also demonstrate that incoming student numbers increased to 328,000 in that year (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2012). In an effort to further increase the number of mobile students coming to study in China, the Chinese MOE launched "The Study in China Plan" in 2012. The Ministry is determined to make further efforts to optimize the environment for international students to study in China. It would require universities to offer English programs, improve management, and upgrade education quality. This

adheres to the “National Outline for Medium and Long Term Educational Reform and Development (2010–2020).” The “Study in China Plan” aims at attracting 500,000 international students by 2020 so as to make China Asia’s biggest host country for international students.

NATIONAL PLANS TO PROMOTE BRAIN CIRCULATION

Recently, many discussions have taken place concerning the shift in the model of China’s economic development from “made in China” to “created in China.” This transformation no doubt depends on national innovation ability, which in turn includes both knowledge innovation and technical innovation abilities. It is believed that both innovation capabilities can be achieved through the efforts of individual and groups of talented researchers. In order to attract world-class experts and scientists back to engage in teaching, research, and management and to increase the country’s capacity in knowledge and technical innovation, the “Changjiang Scholars Program” was launched in 1998, as a joint effort of the MOE and a Hong Kong businessman, Li Jia Cheng. The purpose of establishing such a plan is to raise the academic status of Chinese colleges and universities and to revitalize Chinese higher education. The plan was co-financed by MOE and Li Jia Cheng. The “Changjiang Scholar Plan” aims at attracting experts from abroad to work in Chinese universities for a longer term. Originally called the “International Partnership Program for Creative Research Teams,” it was then considered as the most prestigious government program, intended to have world-known professors teach and carry out research on Chinese campuses. In 2006, the name of the plan was changed to “the Changjiang Scholars and Creative Research Team Development Plan.” At an earlier stage of the plan, about 100 professors in the sciences and engineering were selected each year. The humanities and social sciences were excluded from this plan. In 2004, under the idea of “developing the country with science and technology and strengthening the country with talents,” the humanities and social sciences were included. Currently, Peking University hosts about 100 Changjiang professors with most of them in science fields and a few in the humanities and social sciences. Changjiang professors could have either a three-year or lifelong appointment. One could be a special appointed professor, or a chair professor. The specially appointed professor is required to work full time on campus, while a chair professor does not need to be full time but should be on campus for at least three months annually. There is an age requirement for a Changjiang science professor with the scholarship holder not to be older than 45. In the humanities and social sciences, the scholarship holder should be under 50. The special appointed professor’s annual award would be 100,000 RMB (15,500 USD) on the top of a basic salary and bonus, plus a 2,000,000 RMB (310,000 USD) annual research grant. The chair professor’s monthly salary would be 15,000 RMB (2325 USD) on the top of basic salaries and bonus. And in social sciences, there would also be a 500,000 RMB (77,520 USD) research grant annually.

In 2006, another plan named “Expertise-Introduction Project for Disciplinary Innovation in Universities” was launched to attract top scientists to work at the best research universities in China. This plan is jointly organized by the MOE and the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs. Again, the aim of this plan is to upgrade scientific research and create peer competition in Chinese universities by having those experts establish innovation centers and gather groups of first-class talent from around the world. The plan intends to bring in about 1000 top overseas scholars from the leading 100 universities and research institutes worldwide. It is expected that these experts will team up with domestic research infrastructure alongside the creation of 100 subject innovation centers to be set up in universities. In brief, it is called “the 111 Plan.” Only universities from the “985 Program” and “211 Project” are authorized to recruit overseas talents under “the 111 Plan.” It states that under the supervision of one “111 plan” professor, at least ten overseas talents should be employed to organize a team. In each of these teams, at least one should be an overseas academic master while the foreign representatives can only emanate from the top 100 universities and research institutes.

For this program generally, academic masters should not be older than 70, with the exception of Nobel Prize winners, with other representatives under 50. Subjects should include basic sciences, technology, and project management. This plan is co-sponsored by the national government and universities. Under this plan, the recruited scientists would have an annual package of one million RMB (150,500 USD). And on the top of this basic governmental salary, the “111” professor will also enjoy departmental and university bonuses, plus a 5 million RMB (775,193 USD) research grant annually. Further, these master professors could get other research grants from enterprises and the national science foundation, too. These two plans indicate the national government’s determination to attract the best talents for the service of the country. Those outside China may require further context to appreciate what the relative value is of a one million RMB award in China. Compared with a local professor’s current annual salary, this would be eight to ten times its value. At the beginning, the planners recognized that there might be unanticipated difficulties in bringing the plans to fruition, but on the whole, they indicate to the general public that Chinese policy-makers have realized the value of knowledge and the value of top scientists. This acknowledgment represents great social progress over the span of recent Chinese academic history. Currently under the 111 plan, a significant number of provinces and universities have set up their own “Millions of Talents Project.” Besides, the “111 plan,” the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs launched another “1000 foreign Talent Plan” in 2010, which aims to recruit outstanding foreign scientists (who are not overseas Chinese) and leading figures capable of achieving critical technological breakthroughs, developing high-tech industries, and helping China become the leading force of new disciplines to provide graduates to work in key state innovation projects, key disciplines and labs, state-owned enterprises and financial institutions, and high-tech industrial parks. It is hoped that within five to ten years the plan would help meet many of the strategic targets of

national development. The “1,000 Foreign Talent Plan,” considered an integral component of the “111 Plan,” aims to recruit 500–1000 foreign experts of non-Chinese descent within ten years. In 2011, the State Administration of Foreign Experts Affairs was put in charge of implementing the Plan under the general guidance of the Communist Party of China (CPC) Central Committee on “High-Level Overseas Talents Recruitment Working Group.” Given that this is a new program, it will take some time to see its achievements.

To conclude, the massification of Chinese higher education has been and is both strategic and complicated, raising many challenges for Chinese higher education. And in many cases, those challenges are intertwined with the country’s overall economic and social changes. The most current and continuing concerns are quality assurance and accountability: since so many policies have been issued and so much money has been invested, it is imperative that the targeted goals should be achieved.

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Higher Education in Malaysia

Morshidi Sirat and Chang Da Wan

INTRODUCTION

Malaysia, a multi-ethnic country in Southeast Asia with a population of 30 million, is very ambitious in its development plan. It is a middle-income country with a gross domestic product per capita of USD \$10,432 (World Bank 2013) but aspires to become a high-income economy that is inclusive and sustainable, as well as to establish a progressive society that is scientific and innovative (Malaysia 2009). To achieve this aspiration, higher education has been recognized as a key sector for socio-economic development of Malaysia. There is also an ambition to turn higher education into an industry that has higher income-generating capacity with linkages to other sectors of the economy. To achieve this aim, the Performance Management and Delivery Unit of the Prime Minister's Department (PEMANDU) translates higher education projects in Malaysia into income-generating activities for the private sector.

Higher education in Malaysia is very much a post-independence development, beginning with the establishment of the first university in Kuala Lumpur in 1959. Although with a relatively young history, higher education has played prominent roles in nation building and established itself as one of the most important sectors of the economic and socio-political landscape of the country. There were significant changes in the higher education system of Malaysia over the last six decades in many respects, including the state–university relationship, actors, and stakeholders, as well as the ecosystem in which universities,

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higher education institutions (HEIs) and ministries operate. This chapter aims to discuss the changes in a systematic manner and to provide an overview of the development of higher education in Malaysia with special reference to the dynamics of state–university relationship.

Briefly, after Malaya gained its independence in 1957, only an autonomous campus of a university was established in the capital city, but to date, the Malaysian higher education system is made up of 20 public universities, 53 private universities, 7 branch campuses of foreign universities, 26 private university colleges, 30 public polytechnics, 80 public community colleges, and more than 350 private colleges across all 13 states of Malaysia (Ministry of Education 2014b). The gross enrollment ratio (GER) for higher education had also increased significantly, from 4 percent in 1980, 7 percent in 1990, 25 percent in 2000, and further to 37 percent in 2010 (UNESCO Institute for Statistics 2014). In terms of student numbers, there were only 323 students enrolled in 1959 at the inception of the autonomous campus of the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur (Selvaratnam 1985). Since then, student enrollment has increased dramatically to 86,330 students in public universities in 1985, 189,020 students in public universities in 1995, with 213,599 and 71,278 students in public universities and private HEIs, respectively, in 2002 (Lee 2004). The most recent statistics in 2013 recorded more than 500,000 students in public universities, close to 50,000 in public polytechnics and community colleges, as well as more than 480,000 in private HEIs (Ministry of Education 2014b). Underlying this significant numerical growth, the expansion of higher education has been supported financially by the state whereby the percentage of expenditure for higher education had remained consistently more than 30 percent of the total expenditure on education in recent decades. Besides financial support, it is interesting to note that while there was no legislation to govern the higher education system six decades ago; currently, there are nine separate pieces of legislation that have direct influence on the development of higher education in Malaysia (Zainal et al. 2013).

To enable a systematic analysis of the Malaysian higher education system, we shall characterize the developments into five distinctive eras:

- 1) Era 1: 1959–1969,
- 2) Era 2: 1969–1996,
- 3) Era 3: 1996–2004,
- 4) Era 4: 2004–2013,
- 5) Era 5: 2013 and beyond.

Each era is characterized and marked by a watershed event. For instance, the watershed event that defined the shift from Era 1 to Era 2 was the May 13 racial riot, which led to the introduction of the New Economic Policy and the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971. Likewise, the watershed event between Era 2 and Era 3 was the legislative reforms in the higher education system that led in turn to the introduction and revision of a number of legislative acts concerning higher education. The establishment of the Ministry of

Higher Education (MoHE) in 2004 and the merger of the MoHE with the Ministry of Education in 2013 were the two watershed events that defined the transition across the third, fourth, and fifth eras.

ERA 1: 1959–1969

The establishment of the autonomous campus of the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur in 1959 marked the beginning of higher education in Malaysia. Prior to this, the University of Malaya was the only university in Malaya but based in Singapore. This university was established in 1949 through the merger of King Edward VII Medical College of Medicine and Raffles College. By 1962, the autonomous campuses in Kuala Lumpur and Singapore became the University of Malaya and University of Singapore, respectively.

As typical in many former colonies, there was only one university in a country (Morshidi 2014). The role of the university was geared toward the need of a post-independence nation, particularly in preparing the human resources for administration and civil service. Higher education was highly elitist at that time, as reflected by the small number of students enrolled into the one and only university in Malaysia, which increased from 323 in 1959 to 4560 in 1967 (Selvaratnam 1985). As the sole university, the University of Malaya was autonomous in this period of time. There was minimal state intervention in the governance and administration of the university where the focus of this newly independent country in terms of education was at the primary and secondary levels. Despite such minimal intervention, the university was supported financially by the state and financial support was channeled into the development of infrastructure facilities and the hiring of academic staff to cater for the increasing number of students.

The first formal state intervention into higher education began with the establishment of the Higher Education Planning Committee in 1967, which was tasked “to review the arrangements [in Malaysia’s higher education] and to make recommendations for the development and improvement of such education in the light of the foreseeable needs and financial resources of the country” (Malaysia 1967, 163). The Committee made five major recommendations: (1) an existing technical college to be converted into a College of Technology (with a status comparable to a University) and to offer courses leading to professional qualifications in architecture, surveying, town and country planning, and engineering; (2) the Faculty of Agriculture should be expanded (as agriculture was the major sector in the Malaysian economy at that period); (3) a university college should be established in Penang, which began admitting students in 1970; (4) more Arts, Science, and Technology courses to be offered using Malay as the medium of instruction, in addition to courses in English; and (5) expand facilities to provide training of high-level manpower in accountancy, library and archival science, veterinary science, forestry, fisheries, and journalism (Malaysia 1967, 208). These five recommendations set the direction for the next phase of development of Malaysia’s higher education; the

most obvious examples being the establishment of Universiti Sains Malaysia (briefly known as University of Penang) in 1969, the upgrading of the Faculty of Agriculture in the University of Malaya to become the full-fledged Universiti Pertanian Malaysia in 1971 [the Agricultural University of Malaysia] (now known as Universiti Putra Malaysia), and the upgrading of a technical college to become Universiti Teknologi Malaysia in 1975.

ERA 2: 1969–1996

However, before many of the recommendations could be carried out, a racial riot broke out on May 13, 1969, which changed the course of history in Malaysia including the development of its higher education system. Ethnic socio-economic disparity was attributed by the Government to have been the underlying cause leading to the unrest. Hence, in response to the most monumental event in Malaysian history, the New Economic Policy (NEP) was introduced with the objectives to eradicate poverty and to restructure society by redressing the economic imbalances among the ethnic groups (Milne and Mauzy 1978). Under the NEP, higher education was identified as the main vehicle to redress the divisive ethnic disparities. A major initiative was the implementation of an ethnic-based quota for admission into the public universities through the provision of Article 153 of the Federal Constitution. The ethnic-based quota of a 55:45 ratio of *Bumiputera* and non-*Bumiputera* was implemented in every single program offered by the public universities, and the admission of students was handled by a centralized unit setup in the Ministry of Education. This affirmative action was crucial to the development of higher education in Malaysia as it marked the explicit intervention by the state that resulted in the public universities losing control over the selection and admission of students into their institutions.

Besides losing the autonomy to select students, the aftermath of the racial riot has also led to the introduction of the Universities and University Colleges Act (UUCA) in 1971. This legislation was notably the first passed in Parliament that aimed to govern the higher education sector. UUCA 1971 has been instrumental in restricting institutional autonomy of universities, and eroding academic freedom as well as refraining campus politics and student activism (Morshidi and Sarjit 2010). The erosion of academic freedom was attributed to the fact that under UUCA 1971 all academics were to be considered as civil servants and therefore are required to adhere bureaucratically to the various rules and regulations that govern the civil service (Morshidi 2010).

Apart from the strong state intervention through legislation, the higher education sector of Malaysia in this second era was also characterized by the changing nature of the public universities. This era was the beginning of the shift from an elitist form of higher education to a mass system. Previously, the primary role of universities was to prepare a small group of civil servants and administrators to govern and manage the newly independent country. But since then the universities have broadened their roles to supply skilled human

resources for the rapidly expanding economy as well as to remove the ethnic disparities in employment and economic opportunities. In other words, higher education does not only have an economic role to play in the development of Malaysia, but an even more important and essential role in nation building and addressing socio-economic inequality.

Therefore, to ensure that higher education plays more effective role, a concerted effort was undertaken to expand the higher education sector by increasing the number of public universities and student enrollments in each university. While there was only one public university before 1969, there were five by the end of 1980. Furthermore, by the end of the second era in 1995, another four public universities were established to make up a total of nine. Student enrollments in public universities have also increased significantly such that by the end of the second era there were 190,000 students in the public universities, as compared to a mere 2,000 at the beginning of this period. However, what is more interesting and a prelude to the next era was the fact that there were also 130,000 students studying in “private” HEIs in Malaysia and another 50,000 Malaysian students studying abroad (Lee 2004).

ERA 3: 1996–2004

The third era of Malaysian higher education was marked by a series of legislative reforms of the sector. In the mid-1990s leading up to these reforms, the Malaysian economy was relatively weak following the major economic crisis of the late 1980s in Asia. On the one hand, the increased demand for higher education had increased the financial burden on the state. On the other hand, the weak economy and unfavorable exchange rate of the Malaysian currency hindered many students from furthering their studies abroad. The cumulative effect of these economic problems was a major factor that prompted the legislative reforms. In addition, the early 1990s was also a period during which globalization began to impact on education with the emergence of neoliberal ideology. The underlying thinking of this ideology promotes reducing the role of the state and encouraging the influence of market forces. With “privatization” as one of the major economic reforms of this period, Malaysia embarked on transforming its economy by privatizing various public utilities and national industries through multiple forms of public divestment of ownership (Gomez and Jomo 1997). The aim was to deregulate the economy, reduce state intervention, and curb state funding and the higher education sector was not exempted from this reform, which was sweeping across the Malaysian economic sectors.

At the global level, higher education was also undergoing massive restructuring especially among the developed economies. It was during this period that higher education worldwide witnessed the increasing pressure on universities to demonstrate their efficiency, accountability, and productivity. Cuts for public higher education funds were common. Universities were under pressure to diversify their sources of funding, as they were urged to become more entrepreneurial and adopt corporate managerialism forms of operation. Of the

many drastic reforms taking place during this period perhaps the most drastic was to begin charging full tuition fees in the UK and Australia. Equally drastic was the move in many developing countries to introduce university tuition fees, which was previously unheard of before.

In this changing context, two major developments, which took place in 1996, became the watershed moment in ushering Malaysian higher education into the third era. The first development was a series of legislative reforms, with the most explicit outcome that of recognizing private HEIs, an action that signaled the beginning of a dual system in the sector. The second development was a move to corporatize all public universities.

In 1996, the Malaysian Parliament amended and introduced six legislative acts relating to higher education. The newly enacted legislation included the Private Higher Education Institutions Act (PHEIA), the National Council on Higher Education Act (NHECA), the National Accreditation Board Act (NABA) Education Act, and the National Higher Education Fund Corporation Act (NHEFCA). In addition to this new legislation, the UUCA was amended to lay the framework for the corporatization exercise of public universities.

Following the introduction of PHEIA, private HEIs were officially recognized and that marked the beginning of the fastest growing sub-sector in the Malaysian higher education system. While 130,000 students were registered in private institutions in 1995, which made up about 35 percent of total tertiary student enrollment, five years later in 2000, the number had increased to 203,000, which accounted for 53 percent of the total higher education student population (Tan 2002). The number of private HEIs also increased from 156 in 1992 to 707 in 2002 (Lee 2004). Importantly, the recognition of the private HEIs through PHEIA 1996 denoted another form of privatization in Malaysia whereby the state was no longer the sole provider of higher education. The private HEIs were required by law to be registered as business entities under the Companies Act and in doing so some became for-profit entities while others adopted the non-profit model. This privatization exercise had multiple goals including meeting the increasing demand for higher education, reducing the spending of the state, and also curbing the outflow of Malaysian currency that results when students are sent to study abroad. The impressive growth of the private higher education sector has led to a dual system where public and private HEIs co-exist with elements of competition and complementarity in terms of students, academics, and programs offered (Wan 2007). But it is important to note that competition takes place mostly among private HEIs rather than between the public and private HEIs because private HEIs were intended to complement the public higher education sector rather than compete with it.

Along with the privatization of higher education, the state also embarked on another form of “privatization” by corporatizing the public universities. The amendment of UUCA in 1996 laid the foundation that enabled a public university to engage in market-related activities, such as business ventures, set up of companies to acquire and hold investments, and raise its own funds and

endowments. However, in practice, the corporatization was primarily focused on terms of governance, in which case the university court was abolished and existing university councils were replaced by boards of directors and Senates were downsized from 300 to 40 members (Lee 2004). The corporatization of governance has subsequently changed the academic culture in universities from being collegial in nature to being managerially driven. The state has continued to own the assets of public universities and to provide developmental funds for programs and expensive capital goods, whereas each public university was expected to incrementally shoulder the burden of a significant portion of its operating costs. The ways in which different public universities were allowed to “corporatize” differed one from another. To note a few important examples, the University of Malaya, which was corporatized on January 1, 1998, increased its tuition fees as a means of raising funds for its operating costs; Universiti Sains Malaysia, which was corporatized together with Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, and Universiti Putra Malaysia on March 15, 1998, chose to set up a holding company named USAINS to generate revenue for the university in which USAINS acts as the sole distributor and outlet for all the commercial activities of the university (Lee 2004).

As these economic imperatives were driving the development of Malaysian higher education in this era, internationalization became an increasingly important influence and determinant of the extent to which higher education could fulfill its role. The recognition of private HEIs paved the way for greater participation of foreign providers in the country. By the end of 1990s, numerous foreign universities had established branch campuses in Malaysia including Swinburne, Curtin, and Monash Universities from Australia as well as the University of Nottingham from the UK. As private colleges were not allowed to confer degrees, many of them overcame this constraint by collaborating with foreign universities to offer different types of degree programs. Hence, these international linkages in turn led to the emergence of transnational education programs, which can be considered quite unique to Malaysian higher education. The different types of transnational educational programs can be divided into: (1) twinning programs, (2) franchise programs, (3) double or joint degree programs, and (4) distance learning programs. Twinning programs, which are commonly known as 2+2, 2+1, or 3+0, are programs that allow students to study in a college or university in Malaysia for two or three years, with the remaining year(s) at a foreign university which will then award the qualification. Franchise programs are programs owned by foreign universities and delivered by local providers. Double/joint degree programs are those in which a student will receive either a dual or a joint qualification upon the completion of studies, which typically take place at a local institution. Distance learning programs are online programs owned and delivered electronically by foreign providers.

With the widening of access to higher education, there was a need to provide equality of educational opportunities to marginalized groups. To support students from low-income groups, the National Higher Education Fund

Corporation (PTPTN¹) was established through an Act of Parliament in 1997. PTPTN is a national body to disburse loans to needy students who have successfully gained a place in a HEI. Initially the program covered only students in public universities, but subsequently loan funds were also made available to students in private institutions. Based on parental income, the student would receive a partial loan (tuition only) or a full loan (tuition and living expenses). The loan amount also depends on the type of institution (public or private), level of study (diploma or degree), field of study (science or non-science), and modality of study (full- or part-time). On an average, 91 percent of the students who were given PTPTN loans received full loans (Russayani 2013).

As PTPTN provides a mortgage type of loan, in which students are required to repay the loan in fixed installments over a period of years after completing their studies, there has been problem of high default rates and this raises the question of the overall sustainability of the loan scheme. Furthermore, while such loans are intended to address the issue of equity, the amount of loan provided to students in private HEIs has exceeded the amount for those in public institutions. Many would argue that this is a form of government subsidy to private HEIs, for quite a number of such institutions would have ceased operation without the student loan facility. In 2010, MYR 3.5 million were provided to students in private institutions as compared to MYR 2.5 million in public institutions (Russayani 2013), and therefore the question about equity is raised for a larger sum of public monies has been used to support a smaller number of students in private institutions through the PTPTN. Regardless of the problems and questions raised about the student loan scheme, PTPTN has played a major role in providing financial support to students in financial need and it has become an important feature of the Malaysian higher education system.

ERA 4: 2004–2013

The fourth era is marked by the establishment of the MoHE in 2004. Prior to this, higher education was put under the purview of the Department of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education. The National Higher Education Council (NHEC), which was established under an Act of Parliament in 1996 and chaired by the Minister of Education, provided policy direction for the department. Hence, the establishment of MoHE underlined the importance of higher education in propelling Malaysia into the knowledge-based economy and for Malaysia to achieve its vision of becoming a developed nation. The unintended effect of the establishment of the MoHE with its policy formulation division is the subsequent seemingly “irrelevance” of the NHEC in terms of policy direction in relation to higher education.

Driven by the need of a national strategic direction for higher education, the first initiative of the MoHE, following its establishment was to develop a blueprint for making Malaysia into a regional hub for higher education. In 2007, MoHE launched the National Higher Education Strategic Plan (NHESP), which formulated the vision of transforming Malaysian higher education into

an international hub of higher education excellence and with the goal of producing first-class human capital (Ministry of Higher Education 2007).

Apart from the NHESP, this era is also characterized by the prominent role being played by global university rankings in influencing the development of higher education. At the end of 2004, the Times Higher Education Ranking positioned two Malaysian universities among the World's Top 200 institutions. The University of Malaya and Universiti Sains Malaysia were ranked 89th and 169th, respectively, in the inaugural ranking exercise. However, these positions were not true reflections of the standing of these institutions as there were elements of miscalculation in the proportion of international students and staffs. Therefore, in the subsequent year, the rankings of these two Malaysian universities have dropped. Furthermore, due to the increase in the numbers of universities being included into the ranking exercise, the positions of Malaysian universities on the whole have fluctuated. Regardless of this dynamic fluctuation of Malaysian universities across these numerous ranking exercises, the rankings in general have left a significant impact on the development of higher education in the country.

Higher education policies were designed to push Malaysian universities to become "world-class" institutions in terms of the rankings. Universities, in turn, developed institutional strategies to compete nationally and internationally in the ranking exercises. Along with these strategies, universities began to adopt performance management systems in the name of effectiveness and efficiency thereby creating a culture of academic scholarship that is assessed by quantitative measures (Morshidi et al. in press). These steps have two implications. On the one hand, they have altered the local academic culture by placing greater emphasis on research activities (Azman et al. 2012; Azman et al. 2014), and on the other hand, they have created unrealistic expectations across a variety of fronts that have become a major source of frustration among academics (Wan et al. 2014).

The importance of research in the ranking exercises has motivated the MoHE to earmark some public universities to become research universities. In the Ninth Malaysia Plan (2006–2010), one in the sequence of five-year development plans in Malaysia, four public universities were designated to become research universities with the aim that they would "be at par with world renowned universities" (Malaysia 2006, 258). A fifth university was granted the status in 2010. While five public universities are categorized as research universities, the other 15 public universities are classified either as comprehensive universities or focused universities. The status of a research university is accompanied by an annual allocation of between MYR 50 and 90 million for research, fellowships, training, equipment, and enhancing facilities. Since 2006, a total sum of MYR 1.863 billion has been invested in the research universities over a five-year period ending in 2011 (Ministry of Education 2014a).

Furthermore, the importance of research and the active involvement of higher education in this endeavor have prompted the MoHE to devote greater attention to strengthen research, development, and innovation activities in the

universities. Malaysia had 58.2 researchers, scientists, and engineers per 10,000 workforce in 2011 and 87 percent of the researchers were located in the public universities (Lee et al. 2013). The research and development expenditure for HEIs has increased significantly, from 17.1 percent in 2000 to 28.9 percent in 2011. In the Ninth Malaysia Plan, MYR 200 million was allocated to fundamental research and this allocation was channeled to the MoHE for disbursement through various grants such as the Fundamental Research Grant Scheme (FRGS), the Exploratory Research Grant Scheme (ERGS), the Long Term Research Grant Scheme (LRGS), and the Prototype Research Grant Scheme (PRGS). Interestingly, also in the Ninth Malaysia Plan, MYR 350 million was allocated to applied research through the Ministry of Science, Technology, and Innovation, but 80 percent of this allocation was eventually channeled to researchers in the public universities. Hence, public universities in general and research universities in particular can be considered the main hub of research activities and biggest recipients of government research funding in Malaysia.

Apart from research and the rankings chase, higher education of Malaysia in the fourth era is also characterized by the emphasis of making Malaysia a higher education hub of excellence. One of the major strategies outlined in the NHESP is to increase the number of international students, with the goal of having 100,000, 150,000, and 200,000 international students by 2010, 2015, and 2020, respectively. The growth in international students has been mainly driven by the rapid growth of private HEIs, in which 65 percent of international students have been enrolled in the private sector (Ministry of Higher Education 2012). Students from China, Indonesia, the Middle East, and Central Africa make up the bulk of international students in Malaysia. To further enhance the recruitment of international students, a series of Malaysia Education Promotion Centers were established in Beijing, Ho Chi Minh City, Jakarta, and Dubai, while the Education Malaysia Global Services was set up by the MoHE in 2013 as the official gateway for international student applications to study in Malaysia.

Higher education in Malaysia continues to develop with the strong presence and influence of the state exercised through the MoHE. Although there have been attempts to transform the roles of the state from a provider and regulator to that of facilitator, many structural and legislative challenges, particularly those concerning the governance of and funding to public universities remain a problem. For instance, to date, eight public universities have been granted autonomous status, which includes institutional, financial, human resource, and academic autonomies. However, without legislative and administrative reforms with regard to the status of the public universities, the ways in which leaders of universities are appointed and the status of academics who have remained as civil servants, such an autonomous status has no significant impact on the governance, independence, and academic freedom of these institutions (Fauziah and Ng 2015; Wan and Abdul Razak 2015). The reason for such slow progress in financial autonomy for universities lies in central agencies' trust and confidence (or rather lack of it) on the ability of public universities to be accountable.

ERA 5: 2013 AND ONWARDS

If the fourth era marks the explicit attention given to higher education policy, the fifth era underlines a shift from higher education policy to higher education politics. After the General Election of 2013, the two ministries that took charge of the different spectra of education were merged to establish the Ministry of Education. The rationale was to ensure that the entire spectrum of education is put under the purview of a single ministry so as to ensure continuity in planning and to provide proper coordination throughout the whole education system from primary to secondary to tertiary and higher education. This arrangement therefore marks the beginning of the fifth era in the development of Malaysian higher education, which is a critical point for determining the course into the future. There are a number of critical issues in higher education that are currently confronting the sector and are also crucial in shaping its future development.

First, universities and HEIs have become important but complex institutions that not only educate and train the future human resources for the economy but also citizens for the society. Universities' roles in creating and disseminating knowledge in a knowledge-based economy will be extremely important for Malaysia to transform itself from a middle- to a high-income country. For universities to become excellent and fulfill their full potential, several ingredients are necessary including institutional autonomy and academic freedom, governance, and accountability, as well as adequate funding and human talents. In the current context, Malaysian universities have to compete not only within the country or regionally but also in a truly globalized higher education landscape.

Second, the higher education sector in Malaysia is currently a dual system consisting of both public and private participation. Although enrollment of students in the two sub-sectors is equal, there have remained a number of discrepancies between these two sub-sectors. The two sub-sectors are governed by different sets of legislation (Zainal et al. 2013), and there is a lack of incentives given by the state to private institutions despite their growing prominence in the higher education sector (Wan et al. 2014). Most policies and incentives in higher education provided by the state were targeted at the public higher education sub-sector, and the role of private HEIs has been largely neglected in the NHESP (National Higher Education Research Institute 2013).

Third, the introduction of the much anticipated Malaysia Education Blueprint (Higher Education) 2015–2025 marks another significant milestone for the development of higher education development in Malaysia. In a way, this initiative has highlighted explicitly the shift from policy to politics, whereby driven by the need to have a continuous “blueprint” on education under one ministry, the newly launched blueprint was intended to replace the NHESP. Yet, it remained to be seen to what extent the NHESP and the blueprint can be linked in that much infrastructure has been put in place in the universities to implement the NHESP. Will the blueprint add another layer to the already overburdened and thickening structure in HEIs? The success of the

blueprint is also highly dependent on the buy-in of stakeholders and universities (Morshidi and Wan 2015).

On July 28, 2015, in a Cabinet reshuffle, higher education was taken out from the Ministry of Education and the MoHE was re-established.

CONCLUSIONS

Although the history of higher education in Malaysia is relatively short, the historical development is interesting and needs to be understood in moving into the future. Through the characterization of the five distinctive eras, we have been able to examine the overall development in a more systematic manner. More importantly, this analysis also provides adequate emphasis on the socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-historical contexts in each of the eras in shaping a more holistic understanding of the development in the higher education sector of Malaysia, particularly the dynamics of the state–university relationship. The dynamics of the state–university relationship will continue to evolve as long as the state sees public universities as fulfilling their role for the benefit of the state. Providing autonomy to some public universities is quite meaningless if major decisions affecting universities still need to be referred to central agencies. Even though the universities' Boards of Directors are empowered under autonomy to make various decisions, most would likely take the safe approach, which is to consult central agencies. Autonomy in the case of Malaysian public universities is all about the decentralization of certain decision-making process. When in doubt, universities are always encouraged to consult central agencies. After all, Vice Chancellors and some board members are civil servants and some board members have served the government. Their foremost concern is to protect and insulate the government.

NOTE

1. PTPTN the acronym for *Perbadanan Tabung Pendidikan Tinggi Nasional*.

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Pushing for Globalized Higher Education in the Philippines: Advances and Challenges

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INTRODUCTION

Skilled and knowledge-driven human resources matter in every society. The demand for a quality labor force has increased tremendously over the years due to the influx of new and complex technology, highly technical facilities, and complex equipment available in the market. Countries advancing from an agricultural economy to a technological and knowledge-driven economy recognize that an adequate supply of higher education graduates is a necessary pre-condition for achieving and sustaining advanced levels of development in this globalized, competitive, and fast-changing world (Ordonez and Ordonez 2008). Considering the opportunities and challenges for the twenty-first century, the Philippines is continuously undergoing reforms in the social, political, and economic spheres of life. Calls for improvement in higher education have been on the streets in the past decade forcing the government to consider the matter as a national concern. With the increased capacity of higher education institutions (HEIs) operating in the country, there should also be an increase in the capabilities and performance of graduates (Neubauer 2011). However, questions about producing quality and competent human resources through higher education in the Philippines still continue to exist. Without prejudice to Filipino graduates seeking greener pastures overseas, employers and the business community have warned that an inadequate supply of well-trained and prepared graduates is limiting the performance of the business system forcing a downward projection in expansionary plans. For example, leaders in the service outsourcing industry complain that out of every 100 applicants for call

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center positions, only two have adequate skills (Ordonez and Ordonez 2008). This case undoubtedly asserts issues of quality in higher education. From the higher education standpoint, quality may be defined as fitness for purpose, which means the alignment and consistency of outcomes with the institution's vision, mission, and goals (Commission on Higher Education 2012a).

Reconstruction of the Philippine education system is among the key reforms in place and legally instituted during the first decade of the twenty-first century. Reforms in national higher education are spearheaded by the Commission on Higher Education (CHED), the agency tasked by the government to facilitate and set standard policies and guidelines for the operation of institutions including all matters regarding higher education in the country. This is in response to the perennial setbacks in higher education such as poor quality of curricular offerings and oversupply of graduates (Nangpuhan 2015, 51–53).

STATUS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

As the population of the Philippines reaches 100 million, competition in terms of employment and educational qualification proportionately increase at a relatively equal rate. Enrollment rates are seen to be soaring higher than before as is the number of HEIs. At present, a total of 2374 HEIs are operating in the country of which 675 are public HEIs and 1699 are private HEIs (Commission on Higher Education 2015). Among the 16 regional clusters in the country, the highest concentration of HEIs serving a bulk of student enrollment is located in the national capital region (NCR) with more than 20 million Filipino residents. In addition, many students prefer to enroll in the central capital rather than in the outlying regions due to the perceived privileges and opportunities offered by highly urbanized cities. With the continuous reforms in place, it is expected that the huge enrollment in Metro Manila would slow as HEIs in other regions amplify reform measures and advertise their quality curricular offerings that are identical with those in the central capital region. It is also evident in previous years that the topnotch graduates in sciences, technology, engineering, agriculture, and mathematics or the so-called STEAM programs come from universities in the countryside and are not any longer the monopoly of those in the NCR. This equates to the fact that competitive universities are emerging outside the Metro Manila area.

HEIs are classified as public and private (Commission on Higher Education 2015). Public HEIs are the State Universities and Colleges (SUCs), the Local Universities and Colleges (LUCs), and the exclusive government institutions like the Philippine Military Academy (PMA), the officers' training school of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The 111 SUCs (563 including their satellite campuses) are mostly subsidized by the national government and their annual fiscal budgets are included in the General Appropriations Act (GAA), the annual budget of the government. In addition, SUCs are allowed to use their income from fees, rental of assets, and business activities to support their operation. The income generated by SUCs varies depending on their number

of students and engagement capacity in undertaking business endeavors. Each university can choose the kind of businesses it will enter into pursuant to existing rules and regulations. In fact, a number of SUCs are capable of sustaining their operational needs through the fees they collect and the various income-generating projects in which they are engaged.

Over the last decade, the scarce government support and other government policies forced the SUCs to expand their curricular programs in unprecedented proportions with some even going out of their mandates in their effort to entice more students—to the consternation of private HEIs. Some SUCs established linkages with other delivering institutions abroad and are now offering programs under various transnational education (TNE) schemes. Amid the absence of standard policies set in terms of tuition fees to be collected per student, with each SUCs deciding on the amount of tuition fee they impose to their students, the moral question of SUCs charging fees that narrow access to higher education for the economically disadvantaged students has surfaced. No less than the University of the Philippines, the state funded premier university charges fees of such proportions that it can no longer be called a university for the less privileged intellectuals as increasing numbers of students from families of higher economic status populate the university over those from less privileged ones. There is also a growing disparity in the amounts of fees being charged by SUCs that are well established and located in cities which usually charge higher fees than those that are newer and located in rural areas. One notable exception is the Polytechnic University of the Philippines, which was unable to raise its fees due to insurmountable objections from the students. Although CHED is tasked to supervise institutions established by the government, the power to entirely regulate a certain SUC/LUC is limited as both institutions are bound by their charters or policies laid down by their respective governing boards.

On the other hand, LUCs are established and operated by the local government units. For instance, the University of Caloocan City is managed and financed by the city government of Caloocan. Similar to SUCs, the 98 LUCs are collecting minimum tuition and miscellaneous fees and are allowed to enter into income-generating projects to finance their educational development. However, the present structure wherein the local government units, instead of CHED, directly control LUCs has proved problematic. Programs and policies of an LUC simply emanate from its governing board, which is chaired/headed by the local chief executive (city or municipal mayor) who undergoes the rigors and uncertainty of election every three years. A CHED representative simply sits as one of the many members of the board of regents/trustees. In fact, in the absence of effective regulatory powers, only few LUCs actually have permits to operate as a university/college based on the standards of CHED. CHED can only entice LUC compliance to standards through persuasive negotiation or in the form of dangling carrots (rewards).

Other than SUCs and LUCs, there are also exclusive HEIs established by the government (14 HEIs in 2013) that include the Philippine National Police

Academy (PNPA), the PMA, and the Philippine Merchant Marine Academy (PMMA). These institutions were established to support the interest of the government and the mandate of the agency to which they are attached. The PMA is the training corps for would-be officers in the Armed Forces of the Philippines while the PNPA is that for officers in the Philippine National Police and their attached branches.

For private universities and colleges, their operations largely depend on tuition and miscellaneous fees unless they have corporate support from their respective sponsoring agencies. In the absence of sponsors, the size of the enrollment carries a determinant weight for sustaining the daily operations of private HEIs. Similar to SUCs, private HEIs also do not have common equivalents in tuition and miscellaneous fees. Fees vary depending on the quality of curricular offerings, the popularity of the institution, and integrity of the university. Some private HEIs in the country such as the University of Santo Tomas (UST) and Ateneo de Manila University (ADMU) were established even before the existence of SUCs and LUCs in the 1900s, hence their long years in operation into the present is a proof of their good quality education.

Records from CHED reveal a steady increase in enrollment to public HEIs. In 2003, enrollment in public HEIs was only 0.829 million (34 percent) while 1.591 million (66 percent) attended private HEIs. But in 2013, enrollment in the public institutions reached 1.538 million (43 percent) as compared to 2.024 million (57 percent) students enrolled in private institutions (Commission on Higher Education 2015). This shift may in part be accounted for by the increasing number of course offerings from public HEIs in which they closely compete with private ones in their areas of operation. Possible reasons for this trend are financial capability, as many students currently cannot afford to enroll in private HEIs, and the improved overall performance of public HEIs when compared to the private HEIs. A reasonable conclusion from these data is that many universities and colleges (both public and private) are now offering good quality programs, a fact that is reflected in that they are duly certified by the various accrediting bodies within and outside the country.

Reforms to ensure quality programs offered in higher education were reinstated by CHED in 2012 which laid down policies and standards to enhance quality assurance through an outcomes-based and typology-based quality education (Commission on Higher Education 2012a). Typology-based quality education determines the appropriate type of HEI to be labeled variously as a university, college, or professional institute, as well as autonomous, deregulated, or regulated institution. The first three types are based on the functional differentiation of an HEI (horizontal typology) while the last three are based on institutional quality and program excellence (vertical typology). Each typology as determined by CHED has its own equivalent rewards and incentives. The policy indicates that while HEIs are enjoined to shift to outcomes-based education, the responsibility for enhancing quality assurance is also vested in them. One way of measuring the quality of programs offered by HEIs is through external accreditation. In the Philippines, six accrediting bodies have

been established although most of their operations differ on the basis of the classification of the HEI. They are as follows: (a) the Philippine Accrediting Association of Schools, Colleges, and Universities (PAASCU)—an accreditation body for Catholic-led institutions established in 1957; (b) the Association of Christian Schools and Colleges Accrediting Agency (ACSC-AA)—intended for Protestant-led schools established in 1977; (c) the Philippine Association of Colleges and Universities Committee on Accreditation (PACUCOA)—also formed in 1977 and which mainly accredits non-sectarian schools; (d) the Accrediting Agency of Chartered Colleges and Universities of the Philippines (AACCU)—incorporated in 1987 focusing on accreditation to SUCs; (e) the Association of Local Colleges and Universities Commission on Accreditation (ALCUCOA)—accreditation focused to locally funded schools; and (f) the International Distance Education Accreditation League (IDEAL)—newly established in 2009 which accredits HEIs offering distance education and cross-border programs. The many accrediting bodies in the country substantiate the existence of conflicting views on the criteria and methodologies of accreditation although all of them complement the needed reforms for quality education. To unify accreditation efforts, it is fortunate that CHED has issued guidelines to align the different criteria into the roadmap for higher education reforms.

At present, four universities consistently emerge in top rankings: University of the Philippines, Ateneo de Manila University, UST, and De La Salle University-Manila. The first one is a government-funded university while the last three are Catholic church-led institutions. However, these universities have fared poorly in world rankings as compared to its neighbors in Indonesia, Vietnam, and Taiwan. With the rapid growth of technologically driven courses performed by borderless institutions, only a few universities in the country have fully embraced this trend. In spite of this, it is hoped that moves to modernize HEIs by providing competency-based policies ensuring attainment of quality education for all universities and colleges in the country will address the issue. One promising strategy is the provision of an additional financial package to performing HEIs and implementing austere regulation of underperforming HEIs (Ngohayon and Nangpuhan 2015). This policy forces HEIs to perform and achieve their mandates as a delivering institution. Another promising strategic measure of CHED is the conduct of regular monitoring and evaluation of all HEIs in the country to check compliance to minimum standards set by the agency. A complication is that HEIs may need to employ additional employees to work on several documentary forms needed by CHED and other agencies given that these forms have definite timetables and are required from time to time.

CHALLENGES IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The booming world schemes in higher education include the advent of massive open online courses (MOOCs), TNE, and cross-border education. These emergent trends are putting significant pressure on smaller universities in the

Philippines as they try to strategize the means to expand their operational coverage. In the case of large universities, the focus is more on maintaining the status quo while at the same time enhancing capabilities to be able to compete with top universities in the world. Along with the expansion of higher education, global universities continue to enhance their engagement in the field of research. Again, smaller universities have adopted research as one of their core functions since it is a pre-condition for their operation by CHED (Ngohayon and Nangpuhan 2015).

The Philippines, as part of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), has taken bold steps in addressing national vis-à-vis global challenges. The ASEAN quest for a united economic community committed to be achieved by the ten-member countries aims to transform the region with the free movement of goods, services, investment, skilled labor, and free flow of capital by 2015. The ASEAN-member countries include Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam. Each country's role in achieving the goal of the ASEAN Economic Community for an open exchange of resources includes the following: develop a national skills framework, promote greater mobility of students, support greater mobility of skilled workers within the region, develop competency-based occupational standards acceptable in the ASEAN region, and encourage the development of a common set of competencies for vocational and secondary education (ASEAN Secretariat 2008). These key points are feasible to be achieved but how to operationalize them will take enormous efforts not only from HEIs but also from the government. Most HEIs in the country have expressed preparedness for the ASEAN integration, but have yet to concretize clear strategies insofar as integration per se is concerned.

In the local mainstream, while CHED lays down the typology-based quality assurance models, several HEIs need more time, effort, and resources to comply with them. As per the rationale advanced by CHED, horizontal and vertical typologies will establish more appropriate quality assurance mechanisms and development interventions for specific types of HEIs (Commission on Higher Education 2012a). An educational institution is determined to fall under the horizontal typology using the following criteria: (a) qualifications and corresponding competencies of graduates; (b) nature of degree programs offered; (c) qualifications of faculty members; (d) types of available learning resources and support structures; and (e) nature of linkages and community outreach activities.

Using the criteria under the horizontal typology, an HEI may either be a professional institute, a college, or a university (Commission on Higher Education 2012a). All of these horizontal types contribute to nation building as a whole. Differences arise only in their specific functions including the kind of programs they offer and the target students they serve. For professional institutes, they exist to develop adults who will have the technical and practical know-how to staff the various professional sectors that are required to sustain the economic and social development of the country and the rest of

the world while keeping in mind their respective areas for innovation. On the other hand, colleges provide educational experiences to holistically develop adults who have the thinking, problem solving, decision-making, communication, technical, and social skills needed by the direct community they serve. Finally, universities, as a combination of both professional and college types, provide highly specialized educational experiences to train experts in the various technical and disciplinary areas and by emphasizing the development of new knowledge and skills through viable research and development programs. This categorization of HEIs into the three types is hoped to correct the wrong impression that achieving university status in the Philippines gives an added advantage to higher standards of learning in terms of quality and excellence.

Philippine private HEIs are categorized vertically according to the three elements of quality as follows: (a) alignment and consistency of the learning environment with the institution's vision, mission, and goals; (b) demonstration of exceptional learning and service outcomes; and (c) development of a culture of quality. The first element is related to the horizontal type of the HEI while the last two are related to the level of program excellence and institutional quality. Program excellence is manifested through accreditation, international certification, or having a program considered as a center of excellence (COE) and/or a center of development (COD). Institutional quality refers to the HEI as a whole as determined through institutional quality assessment (ISA), accreditation, or other acceptable evidence showing an institution's compliance to the standards of quality. With these conditions of quality, an institution may be categorized in a vertical sense as an autonomous, deregulated, or regulated HEI upon careful evaluation of its performance.

Autonomous HEIs demonstrate exceptional institutional quality and enhancement through internal quality assurance systems. They have a high proportion of accredited programs, establishment of COEs or CODs, and international certification. In particular, they have outstanding performance consistent with their horizontal type such as research and publications for universities, creative work and relevant extension programs for colleges, and employability or linkages for professional institutes. On the other hand, deregulated HEIs have very good institutional quality and enhancement as measured through internal quality assurance systems. They particularly show evidence of very good performance consistent with their horizontal type. Finally, regulated HEIs are those that still need to demonstrate good institutional quality and program outcomes. As per higher education indicators, only 63 HEIs are evaluated as autonomous and deregulated out of 2374 institutions of higher learning in the country. In the case of chartered SUCs and LUCs, their autonomy is already mandated by virtue of legislation.

In a general higher education perspective, challenges are still visible such as under-investment in the sector, mismatches between programs and societal needs, mismatches between graduates and labor market needs, and the low research output of the universities. In terms of research, most universities in the Philippines are significantly behind target as compared to other countries

due to a number of factors including faculty credentials, time constraints, and budgets. Indicators reveal that among HEIs in the country, only 12.66 percent of the faculty members have PhD degrees while 41.44 percent have finished a master's degree (Commission on Higher Education 2015). The data strongly imply that only a relatively few faculty members are capable of producing quality research output since educational attainment is correlated with the ability to do research. On the other side of the coin, one systemic weakness in maximizing the research involvement of faculty members is the ethical implications of allocating teaching loads and the number of hours in doing actual research. Added to general time constraints is the lack of research staff to assist professors in doing research, a shortcoming directly related to the lack of financial capability offered by universities and colleges. Only the very large universities in the Philippines have made workload provisions for faculty research endeavors. In addition, the larger universities have their own research partners involving private individuals and companies; hence they are assured of external research funding. The government has also put in place additional funding for research but only a few scholar/researchers have the capability to avail themselves of the fund. Furthermore, academicians in the country are responsible for teaching over 3.03 million students enrolled in both public and private HEIs (Commission on Higher Education 2015). Thus, the lack of capable human resources to be actively involved in research is still a problem nationwide.

Nevertheless, the increasing enrollment rates in the post-graduate HEIs over the years ascertain that universities are considered as prime movers in strengthening the economic and social development of the Philippines. This is driven by high expectations from the local stakeholders for the preservation of indigenous knowledge, culture, and environment while keeping pace with foreign pressures. Reform measures have been instituted for the previous years but more needs to be done to level up even with the top players in the ASEAN region.

HIGHER EDUCATION ROADMAP

In response to various regionalization efforts, the Philippine government initiated a unified agenda of reforms from 2011 onwards. The Philippine Development Plan covering a period of five years pursues the roles of higher education in national development to eliminate poverty and to be a vehicle for a technologically driven economy in the near future. The Plan was conceptualized by the various sectors of the society with the vision for inclusive growth—a growth that is sustained, creates massive jobs, and reduces poverty (National Economic and Development Authority 2011). The major role of higher education in the realization of the Plan is to ensure quality assurance and accountability in all HEIs across the country. This role, if carried out effectively, will contribute to inclusive growth since HEIs exist to educate the Filipino people. As such, creating quality human resources is the main mover of development and how to mold them becomes the burden of higher education through CHED.

On the part of publicly funded HEIs, the Roadmap for Public Higher Education Reform was put in place in response to the Philippine Development Plan. It outlined four objectives of the government in addressing the challenges facing the higher education sector so as to enhance delivery of quality education. The first objective is to improve efficiency by rationalizing the public higher education system. Strategies under this objective are as follows: (a) downsizing the number of universities and colleges; (b) implementation of typology in program offering to avoid duplication of programs being offered by neighboring universities; and (c) maximize resource generation capabilities of universities through the Normative Funding Formula (NFF). The NFF is being used to judiciously identify budget allocation per state institution according to its performance indicators set forth to support national development and address issues confronting higher education in the country.

The second objective is to upgrade the quality of public higher education with the following strategies: (a) strengthen quality assurance through intensive monitoring and evaluation efforts; (b) provision of more scholarships to upgrade qualification of faculty members; and (c) strengthen leading universities to be at par with international standards. At present, the University of the Philippines (UP) is the only public HEI consistently included in top world rankings. While other public HEIs have started to make their presence felt in the Asia-Pacific region, they have yet to establish their names globally.

The third objective is to enhance access to quality higher education. Two strategies are identified, such as to modernize the facilities in developing universities and strengthen student financial assistance programs. Various scholarship grants have been strengthened over the years to ensure access in higher education. Recently, the controversial Priority Development Assistance Fund (PDAF) was allocated directly to the budget of SUCs intended for student scholarships. Such funds were given to Congressmen and Senators in the legislative branch for several decades for their infrastructure projects, but this practice was abolished after it was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the Philippines.

Lastly, the fourth objective is to initiate an executive development program so as to strengthen the managerial capability of HEIs and regularize an executive career system for all leaders in the higher education system. An initial step as per CHED is to require all incoming presidents of SUCs to undergo leadership training. This would better prepare HEI executives to put into operation the vision, mission, and goals of their institutions.

In conformity with the reform roadmap, the CHED is slowly strategizing its mandates by easing its regulating functions to universities whose performance ratings are consistently high. Measures of performance depend largely on the capability of an HEI to spend its finances judiciously while improving its output in terms of employability of graduates, number of research publications, and presentations in international and national conferences, community benefits to include outreach programs, among others.

NEW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

A piece of landmark legislation for the upward restructuring of the educational system is Republic Act No. 10533 or the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013 that requires every student to finish 12 years of basic education before he/she is qualified to enter tertiary education (Congress of the Philippines 2013). As such, it is now compulsory for every Filipino child to study and finish kindergarten education for one year, elementary education for six years, and secondary education for another six years. This is such a remarkable educational reform considering that the Philippines had maintained ten years of compulsory basic education for a long time. Another distinguishing feature of the law is the preparation of the student for higher standards of learning by executing the teacher–learner interaction using the mother tongue of the learners. This is significant given the different regional languages existing in the Philippine archipelago wherein each region, province, municipality, or island has its own unique language variability. Similar to the educational system of other countries, the additional years added in basic education are designed to better prepare students for employment after basic education or to pursue higher education. It is also the intent that this reform measure will address qualification standards needed by employers and the business community.

To ensure participation of all sectors in the educational reforms, the Philippine Qualifications Framework (PQF) was launched in 2012 aligning the country’s qualifications with that of its fellow ASEAN neighbors. The PQF stipulated the qualification levels that each graduate is expected and entitled to after completion of certain years of schooling. For example, a graduate of Grades 11 and 12 is expected to have acquired knowledge and skills equivalent to Level 1 and 2 qualifications, respectively, as required by certain job markets. The framework also clarifies the link and relationship between basic education under the responsibility of the Department of Education (DepEd), the diploma and training programs under the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority (TESDA), and that of higher education programs under the regulation of CHED (Philippine Qualifications Framework 2011).

STRATEGIC PLANS TO LEVEL UP QUALITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION

The new structure of compulsory basic education in the Philippines puts pressure on the entire range of HEIs. CHED has instituted strategic policy programs and projects including job-skills matching by encouraging the offering of courses that are in demand and responsive to the needs of both domestic and international industries (Commission on Higher Education 2012b). The Commission also instituted relevant responsive research, development, and extension programs with the aim of generating, adapting, and applying new knowledge and technologies. This effort would promote productivity, livelihood, peace, women empowerment, environmental protection, disaster

reduction, and poverty alleviation. To address issues of inequality, CHED has implemented gender and development programs by advocating gender sensitivity especially to women.

As previously mentioned in this chapter, the Commission finds it difficult to regulate state-owned HEIs due to the nature of its scope to supervise chartered institutions that are established by law enactments. However, it has initiated typology and mapping activities to classify HEIs based on their mandates and functions vis-à-vis national development goals. Mapping policies have included the establishment of a Geographical Information System (GIS) to track the monthly and quarterly records of the HEIs. In addition, efforts are underway to amalgamate HEIs and course offerings by restructuring state and local HEIs including other government schools into a Regional University System (RUS). The objective of RUS is to improve efficiency in the delivery of quality programs, minimize duplication, and promote complementation. Furthermore, the sharing of facilities, equipment, and resources among HEIs under the RUS is an advantage for smaller universities/colleges. In the case of the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR), a land-locked region located in the northern part of the country, amalgamation initiatives started to operate with all of the six SUCs in the region willing to set standards for its course programs and complementation of facilities (Gonzales and Nghoyon 2015).

Another means of reform implemented by CHED in terms of quality assurance is by strictly monitoring the implementation of policies, standards, and guidelines through the Institutional Quality Assurance Monitoring and Evaluation (IQuAME) program. The move includes overseeing compliance to international standards, phasing out of non-compliant programs, and the implementation of continuous accreditation initiatives from external bodies. Also, there is an increased budget allocated for faculty scholarships that would help improve the overall faculty profile and increase individual capability for more research output. More training workshops for HEI executives and managers have also been instituted. Other initiatives from CHED in consultation with stakeholders include the establishment of research centers, the identification of program COD and COE, strengthening agriculture and fishery programs through the National Agriculture and Fisheries Education System (NAFES), and providing assistance to basic education especially in kindergarten education and the transition to Grades 11 and 12. It is worth mentioning that the Philippines still values its vast agricultural economy thus, agricultural programs in higher education are still given much priority and importance.

With the seamless ASEAN economic integration efforts, fiscal spending for higher education is slowly getting in place with CHED and the Department of Budget and Management (DBM) jointly implementing the guidelines in the utilization of SUC's income that features transparency and accountability. These initiatives, coupled with improving linkages of local HEIs with their international counterparts, can sustain the development momentum of quality higher education in the country.

FUTURE PROSPECTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

With the increasing complexities of the higher education landscape, HEIs in the country along with CHED are strategizing policy approaches for enhancing the delivery of quality education. In a holistic sense, most of the Filipino people rely on the acquired knowledge and skill gained through education to gain the means to live a better life. Prospects for student mobility are high especially when the ASEAN 2015 starts operating in full force. Hence, HEIs and CHED might decide to agree on common reference points in the future to enhance quality under the pressures of TNE.

One way for CHED to actively engage HEIs into a united vision for higher education might be the legalization of its regulating powers and easing the autonomy given to institutions by legislation or ordinance. But this move is impossible to achieve in the current Philippine political system wherein corruption and red tape still exist in all the branches of government, be it in the executive, legislative, or judiciary. It is challenging to note that despite widespread knowledge about the commandments of the Divine Almighty, some leaders and managers in the Philippines continue to exercise mandatory and discretionary powers that sometimes lead to inferiority instead of quality.

Despite these realities, our hopes in the past still linger to be our hopes in the future until we achieve the kind of life we want for this world and for higher education in particular. Global pressures to improve quality in higher education along with the advent of an open market system may deliver desired change in the long term. Efforts for equivalency in standards with neighboring nations through continuous accreditation and modernization of educational facilities may be realized.

One encouraging development is the passage in Congress of Republic Act 10650, or the so-called “Open Distance Learning Act” in December 2014. It manifests the Philippines’ acceptance of innovative learning models that are currently being practiced by HEIs all over the globe in their effort to reach out to greater numbers of learners. It also shows the country’s determination to regulate such teaching–learning approaches to ensure compliance to standards and produce quality graduates (Congress of the Philippines 2014).

CONCLUSION

Higher education in the Philippines is undergoing reconstruction by diversifying its functionality to adopt and surmount new challenges in both local and international milieus. Competition between and among universities will continue to be at the forefront. The government may institute wider avenues where universities, colleges, or professional institutes can focus on their particular mandates to increase their capacity. One positive outlook in higher education is the amalgamation of universities wherein the RUS concept is perceived to boost partnerships, maximize the sharing of resources among universities and colleges, and encourage student mobility for cross-cultural interaction.

Research is still a challenge for the Philippine higher education system. More participation from the government, academe, and industry needs to be facilitated and strengthened to increase impactful research outputs. Massive participation from all sectors can be a key element toward successfully achieving the goals set by the government and cascaded down into the strategic plans of CHED and HEIs. It is hoped that the present reforms bring forth holistic development for the Filipino people benefiting graduates, employers, business community, and the whole world.

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Situating Higher Education in China: From Universal History to the Research Paradigm

Yuan Xun

INTRODUCTION

It is a reality that China has become one of the two most powerful economies in the world, a fact which stems largely both from the reform and open-up policy initiated in 1978 and from the booming growth of the global economy over the past three decades. However, it is also well known that over 100 years previously, compared with those modern countries which had their colonial interests in China; China was comparatively somewhat backward. From the 1840s on, most Chinese historians held the view that China has experienced a slow but complex process to shape or reshape a modern state-nation, which has been created and then developed based on Western state models in existence in one form or another since the seventeenth century. Consequently, China has been gradually developing into a modern state-nation equipped with modern cities, factories, transportation, communication, electronic productions, and so on. Throughout this process, a modern educational system was being established.

Since the 1980s, under the influence of modernization theory which was developed by Western scholars in the 1960s as a new research paradigm for interpreting and analyzing worldwide societal evolution since the seventeenth century, then broadly used by economists, socialists, and historians and introduced into China in early 1980s, most Chinese scholars interested in educational

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history prefer to view the history of modern higher education in China as one part of China's modernization process, and believe that education not only has been composed of but facilitated China's modernization since the 1840s. In a variety of literature on the changes of China's society and education, such concepts as "evolution," "development," and "progress" have become keywords and self-evident ideas which influence the public's, especially researchers' thought patterns.

This chapter provides a brief description of the history of modern higher education in China, and seeks to analyze how the contemporary modernization paradigm influences their views on the relationship between traditional Chinese and its modern version.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE CHANGES IN HIGHER EDUCATION SINCE THE 1840S

It is well known that there was no typical Western style instance of higher education in ancient China. However, high-level educational institutions emerged very early and existed for nearly 3000 years. According to Chinese historical records, the first imperial college, named Piyong, was founded in the early Zhou dynasty (BCE 1123–265), where young boys of the Emperors' and capital officials studied language, handwriting, arithmetic, and military skills. During the Han dynasty (BCE 202–ACE 8, ACE 25–220), a more formal imperial college—Tai Xue was established in BCE 124, where Confucianism was identified as the unique official knowledge. In the late Tang dynasty (ACE 618–907), a kind of new high-level academic institute, Shuyuan, emerged and bred Neo-Confucianism, which was developed continuously and confirmed as official knowledge in the Song dynasty (ACE 960–1276). Because of the implementation and improvement of the Imperial Examination System since the Tang dynasty, the educational function of these higher education institutions (HEIs) weakened gradually. As a result, during the Ming dynasty (ACE 1368–1644), Tai Xue was replaced by Guozijian, which acted as a testing agency rather than a HEI. Although teaching and learning were controlled by imperial governments, and the students' intentions were to get official positions by passing special school examinations before the Tang dynasty and through the Imperial Examination after the Tang dynasty, ancient China's HEIs still maintained two distinct educational traditions partly inherited by modern China's higher education: the first one is that educational activities focus on moral and political indoctrination; the other one is that free discussions are encouraged within the knowledge range of Confucianism, especially in Shuyuan since the Tang dynasty.

In a manner different from the development of European university education, ancient China's HEIs developed independently until the introduction of Western scientific knowledge which Vatican missionaries brought into China and which was accepted gradually by some traditional Chinese intellectuals in the late Ming dynasty period (ACE 1368–1644) and the early years of the Qing

Dynasty (ACE1636–1911). In the early years of the Qing dynasty, Emperor Kangxi (ACE1661–1722) appreciated Western scientific knowledge so much that he not only established an astronomic and an arithmetic school in the Forbidden City, but learned scientific knowledge himself from those missionaries living in the Capital (Liu and Wu 1995, 84, 111). Unfortunately, this process, which was called the first “Eastward Transmission of Western Sciences” in late the Qing dynasty was interrupted in the early eighteenth century. In 1720, an edict issued by Emperor Kangxi announced that Christian missionary activities were to be prohibited and illegal in China. The reason for this action was a ban issued by the Vatican in 1704 which forbade Chinese Christians to offer sacrifices to their ancestors, an action that made Emperor Kangxi believe that the Vatican was challenging cultural traditions obeyed and protected not only by ordinary people but by imperial rulers over thousands of years in China. At the same time, the process of industrialization initiated and accelerated in Europe coupled with the kinds of worldwide colonial expansions that followed on from Columbus’s arrival in the New World in 1492 and which were dominated by advanced European countries such as the UK, France, Spain, and Portugal not only changed the world’s economic and political landscape, but also transplanted the Western education paradigm into comparatively undeveloped Asian, African, and Latin American arenas, spreading highly developed scientific knowledge from Europe to the world.

As a result, especially benefiting from Christian missionary activities around the world, a series of ideas were developed by various Western historians for describing and interpreting this dominant “civilizing process” in the world (Mattelart 2001, 9). The most important viewpoint is that every country’s history fits into a worldwide process of dynamic homogenization which is oriented by Western civilization, and which perceived undeveloped regions are mandated to follow as the pathway to “development” that Western countries have created and experienced. In part, this can be viewed as a kind of academic reaction to the fact that some main Western countries indeed dominated the process of globalization based on the universalism of Christianity, the expansion of what would become forms of commercial capitalism, and the development of global trade since the seventeenth century. Such a focus on universal history implicates a form of human intention and an ambition to understand the world and human beings in a common way. Historians of this persuasion believe that human destiny should be dominated by the same axioms and natural law, and that the end of history should be a common civilization shared by all people in the world (Palmer and Colton 1988, 409).

If the first positive interaction between the West and the East in the late seventeenth century was owed to the active attitudes of Chinese officials and intellectuals, the second interaction 100 years later involving economic, cultural, and ideological engagements between the West and the East was not so friendly. Chinese officials and intellectuals were actually forced to accept the fact that the development of science and military technology in European countries had proceeded far in advance of China. Obviously, since the 1840s, some Chinese

traditional intellectuals such as Wei Yuan, Lin Zexu, Guo Songtao, Wang Tao, and Yan Fu, accepted in part the presumption about possible homogeneity of civilization from their exposure to the Western world from books of Western geography and history, or by visiting Western countries as ambassadors, scholars, and overseas students. A well-known formula proposed by Wei Yuan and Lin Zexu was that China had to learn from “those western barbarians” in order to subdue them. Lin Zexu, known for his campaign to suppress opium, which brought about the First Opium War (1840–1842), invited Wei Yuan to help him gather Western geographical, economic, military, and political information for editing books to serve the Qing Dynasty’s policy making. Although defeat in the First Opium War made China lose Hong Kong and over 21 million Liang of silver and forced it to legitimize foreign commercial activities in five cities, Lin Zexu and Wei Yuan’s efforts were still ignored by most traditional Chinese scholars and officials over the next 20 years, until defeat in the Second Opium War forced the central government of the Qing Dynasty to implement a reform policy that encouraged local senior officials to establish some modern military factories and HEIs. Finally, a slow and gradual reform was launched in China beginning in 1862.

Along with economic reform, the Chinese government also began to establish various modern educational institutions such as the Imperial College of Translators (Jing Shi Tong Wen Guan) and Foochow Arsenal Naval College (Fu Zhou Chuan Zheng Xue Tang) for training students in language and modern military knowledge. Because the effect experienced by defeat in the First Sino-Japan War (1894–1895) impacted China so significantly, it became widely accepted that it was vital and urgent to renovate the old education system and establish modern schools to meet the political goals of national survival and self-strengthening. As a result, in the late nineteenth century, a number of modern Chinese HEIs such as Peiyang University (1895), Nan Yang Public School (1896), and Imperial University of Peking (1898) were gradually established and granted the title of university. Almost all of them were the predecessors of Chinese top universities today. Alongside the term “university” which carries a rich legacy of history in Europe and North America (Hayhoe 1994), some ideas from Western models of higher learning were introduced by Chinese scholars and integrated into China’s own patterns of scholarship.

Contrasting to the slow emergence of new style schools founded by Chinese officials and intellectuals, initiated with the Ying Wa School’s establishment in Hong Kong in 1843, missionary schools developed gradually and boomed from 1860s to 1890s in China. According to the record, 462 Christian missionary schools, which recruited 8522 students, had been established in China when the first General Conference of Christian Missionaries was held in China in 1877. Before the second General Conference of Christian Missionaries held in 1890, 16,836 had enrolled in missionary schools, and enrollment further increased to 0.22 million in 1912 (Li 1997, 759). As to higher education, starting with the establishment of the Vanwadoo English Specialized College in Shanghai in 1879, which was developed into one of the most famous mis-

sionary universities—Saint John’s University—different churches began to found high-level educational institutions. When governments of the Republic of China requested missionary HEIs to register with the Minister of Education in the 1930s, there were over 20 missionary HEIs with over 7000 students in China, including 16 universities such as Saint John’s University, Cheeloo University, Yenching University, the University of Nanking, and Soochow University (Li 1997, 778–779).

Since 1901, through the New Reform initiated by the Qing Government, a nationwide modern educational system including three-tiered educational institutions and corresponding regulations were established, mostly taking examples from Japanese and German educational systems, and some Chinese traditions such as an emphasis on students’ loyalty to the Emperor, and a focus on reading Confucian Classics, were strongly reconfirmed again (Zhu 1987, 78). According to the Regulation on the Institute of higher learning of 1904 Educational System (GuimaoXuezhì), an Institute of Higher Learning was gradually established in each province and then developed into provincial universities in 1910s and 1920s. The Imperial University of Peking was restructured and some of its single-discipline universities were established in advance (Zheng 1995:60–61).

However, the Revolution of 1911 led by Sun Yat-sen broke out and this gradual reform process was interrupted. Some radical changes occurred and a new educational system mostly unrelated to the Chinese traditional education was established with Confucianism no longer viewed as the core knowledge of the school curriculum. In higher education sectors, a new Regulation of University was issued in 1917 and some single-discipline universities were established again (Zheng 1995, 140–141). In the same year, based on his understanding of the model of the German university, Cai Yuanpei initiated his reform in Peking University for recreating a real academic community rather than a Yamen (government office in feudal China) which had been inherited from the Imperial University of Peking. Due to Cai’s efforts at recruiting the best professors and reorganizing the disciplinary and curriculum structures, when Cai left office in the early 1920s, Peking University had become the best university in China (Zheng 1995, 127–132).

From 1919 on, John Dewey was invited by some educational organizations and his Chinese students to travel around China and preach his philosophy and educational thoughts. As a result, a new educational reform movement sprang up, led by some eminent scholars who had got their PhD or master degree from American HEIs such as Columbia University, Harvard University, and Yale University (Huo 1999, 137–138). Therefore, American education was recognized as a model and Dewey’s educational thought was put into practice in school curriculum design and instruction. Tsinghua University, the former Tsinghua School, which was established as a prep school of American universities funded by the American refund of the Boxer Indemnity in 1909, quickly became a top university with an international reputation in the 1930s, only ten years after the establishment of its undergraduate program in 1925. Because

of the close relationship with the USA, Tsinghua University was regarded as a model of American university in China (Huang and Ma 1995, 26).

At the same time, along with the reform process of education systems from late nineteenth century to mid-twentieth, a new academic system and its knowledge paradigm were also established, mostly based on conceptions, theories, methodology developed by Western scholars such as Adam Smith, Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer, Thomas Huxley, Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Hegel, and John Dewey, whose works were gradually translated into Chinese beginning in the late nineteenth century. As a result, the development of subsequent Chinese modern education and knowledge pedigrees is naturally viewed as part of worldwide educational progress, which is definitely dominated by some primary Western countries such as America, Britain, Germany, and France. In historical research areas, because of the usage of theories and methods related to the universal history paradigm developed by Western scholars, the history of modern China was also fitted into the globalization process of Western civilization. This situation continues into the present. Obviously, based on plentiful historical records, some Chinese intellectuals have retrospectively reconstructed the historical trial of ancient HEIs and focused on the transformation from traditional higher education to modern higher education which came into being in the late Qing dynasty and early period of the Republic of China. They have tried to legitimize the Western paradigm of higher education as part of China's modern society but make some elements of traditional higher education such as classification learning, knowledge centeredness, and an emphasis of moral cultivation and practice become certain parts of its traditional cultural inheritance. Undoubtedly, most who hold this position believe that it is a reasonable choice for China to get involved in the process of globalization that has been dominated by Western countries. Because the modern school system has been verified as having potential and real possibilities to facilitate economic, social, and cultural changes in Western countries, a salutary lesson can also cultivate China's young generation to obtain necessary capabilities to save and strengthen their own motherland, just as those Western countries did successfully, and it will be helpful for changing the backward situation China has encountered since the 1840s.

MODERNIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION: A PARADIGM RISING SINCE THE 1980s

As is well known, from 1952 on Chinese higher education was reorganized according to the Soviet patterns, which placed its institutions in relatively closed environments. However, since 1978, China's market society has begun to play roles that provide both a dynamic and the resources for the remarkable transformation of higher education. Different from the description of educational history research areas, higher education has developed into an independent academic discipline including the historic research for which it has been responsible.

In the early 1980s, along with the reform and open door policy, most people believed that everything should be restored after the ten years' of destruction resulting from the Cultural Revolution. The reform of education was regarded as a priority. As a result, along with all HEIs being reverted to normal trials, an Institute of higher education was established in every Chinese higher education institution and some educational scholars were gathered together to do some advising research for the university authority's policy making. At the same time, under the Academic Degrees System restored in 1981, some universities and colleges got the right to grant a master's degree in higher education, and then higher education was developed to be a formal discipline which is along with an academic system established through development of professional association, publishing activities, editing of professional journals, and curriculum design. As one basic part of teaching and researching content in the higher education sector, the history of Chinese modern higher education was developed into an important research area; some books that describe and interpret the origin and development of modern Chinese higher education were published. Certainly, the history of higher education is still an important part of educational history research.

Meanwhile, as a new research paradigm, modernization theory was introduced into China by various scholars one of whom is Prof. Luo Rongqu, Director of the Center of World Modernization Process at Peking University, who organized the first research group on modernization and edited the first series of books on the theory and history of modernization. From early the 1980s on, many books about Western modernization theory were translated into Chinese and it became very popular in Chinese academia, including as an educational research area.

Under the influence of modernization theory, the establishment of the modern Chinese higher education system since the 1840s was interpreted as a modernization process. Actually, there are two kinds of standpoints focusing on the relationship between traditional and modern Chinese higher learning. The dominant position is that modern Chinese higher education is an exotic item, only partly inheriting some valuable factors from traditional higher learning (Gu 2001). A radical point is that modern Chinese higher education is a typical process of transplanting from one culture to another and there is a clear boundary to be found between Chinese traditional higher learning and its modern pattern. That means the formation of modern Chinese higher education including its system, institutions, and curriculum is completely a result of learning from Western universities so that it is like being built up relatively overnight (Wu and Yan 1997, 549–552). Zheng (1995) has described in detail the historical development of Chinese higher learning institutions and the educational system as well as the histories of some famous universities. Although he has tried to describe it with many more facts and materials, the fundamental hypothesis is that since the 1840s, the Western model has been successively simulated and has become the destiny of Chinese higher education. Qu (1993) has paid more attention to traditional Chinese higher learning institutions,

however, he ignores the functions of traditional higher learning when the new higher education system was built up gradually. It is Zhu who has cared more about the intrinsic connection between these two aspects. He was trying to figure out whether there are some connections and what they are, especially under the circumstance of the spread of Western learning to the East. However, his research result is unsatisfactory. His idea of viewing China as a late-developing exogenous country influenced by modernization theory has led him to think that the traditions of ancient Chinese higher learning have completely vanished (Zhu 1996, 1–2).

The other point of view has highlighted how the education traditions of ancient China influenced the modernization process of higher education. Several scholars hold that some ancient higher learning institutions such as Guozijian (the Imperial College) and Shuyuan (Ancient Academy) played a role during the systematic transformation toward modern higher education. Li in a detailed way described the Shuyuan's transformation into Universities or Higher Learning Institutions in the late Qing Dynasty. He holds that the transformation of Shuyuan was not only an adaption to reform in the late 1890s and the first ten years of the twentieth century, but that the process also passed some various heritages along to the new higher education system (Li 1994, 948–949). Bastid also mentions that the development of modern Chinese education before 1902 was on two paths: one was to add some language and science content to the traditional curriculum in Shuyuan and the other one was to establish some different and new types of special schools to teach knowledge borrowed from the West. She thought that most historians have ignored the development of the first kind of educational reform. The fact was that some of the best Shuyuan such as Nanjing Shuyuan and Lianchi Shuyuan added modern knowledge into their curricula, and there was even an observatory established in Nanjing Shuyuan (Hayhoe and Bastid 1990, 7). The argument that early Chinese tertiary learning, such as the Shuyuan, has deep roots, elements of which can be seen today in what be called a hybrid model, has been persuasively made elsewhere (Hawkins 2013; Xun 2013).

Obviously, mainstream opinions related to modernization theory on the whole have totally denied the values of ancient education, which in some degree determined the Chinese people's moral and spiritual life. However, it is fortunate that those eminent scholars were still concerned much more about the educational traditions inherited from ancient China when modernization theory was viewed as a dominant interpretative paradigm in the 1980s and 1990s.

Of course, since 1978, with the economic transition in China, a new educational reform movement sprang up. Impacted by modernization theory, it is still hard to accurately define or interpret the relationship between modern Chinese higher education and its historical predecessor. Nevertheless, different voices make the question go deeper. There are some key issues to be solved, including how to evaluate high-level learning in ancient China and whether those educational institutions such as Imperial College, Shuyuan can be viewed as a kind of HEI. In order to get definite answers, three points should be emphasized.

First, one of the facts should be confirmed that some HEIs such as a university, college, and graduate school first emerged and then developed in some Western countries. Along with the colonial expansions by some Western countries, these HEIs were founded in every corner of the world by colonial governments, church organizations, and missionaries. As a result, modern higher education systems established subsequently in every country in the world became relatively homogenous to some degree. In other words, modern higher education systems around the world have the same model and origin—higher education system from some major Western countries.

Second, the diverse origins of economy, society, and culture in different parts of world have created splendid scenes where the languages, customs, institutions, and governing orders are so different around the world that every country has its own unique living style, cultural, and spiritual characteristics. Undoubtedly, the Western countries' colonial activities indeed tried to eliminate many of these differences and erase ethnic, cultural, and religious characteristics through transplanting Western political institutions, economy, culture, religion, and education into those colonial countries where people were perceived as barbarous, uncivilized, and impure to those colonists' and missionaries' eyes. Therefore, it is easy to understand why in most undeveloped and colonized countries, most of the traditions their ancestors formed gradually over the past thousand years vanished or were abandoned so quickly in one or two hundred years. And China is no exception. China had never been totally colonized by any Western countries; however, Western ideology ultimately prevailed after Confucian knowledge was eliminated from school and university curricula in 1911. It was very hard for ordinary people to find something similar between the new style schools, universities, and imperial colleges as well as the Shuyuan. Furthermore, better chances of getting a job with a high salary after graduating from modern schools and universities also made young generations flock to enroll into these new education institutions, which caused traditional education institutions to lose their relative value.

Third, the patterns of how people treat different ethnicities, nationalities, countries, and cultures largely determine how they identify social, cultural, and educational traditions in non-Western countries. Since the 1950s, an increasing number of scholars have realized that keeping cultural diversity around the world is very important to the daily life of local inhabitants as well as to the shaping of global civilization under the background of a globalization of economies, trade, and culture. People both in the West and in the East have begun to believe and emphasize constantly that every civilization in the world should deserve respect, and all kinds of material and spiritual phenomena that originated and has existed for a long period in those non-Western countries also have their unique value. Educational traditions are no exception. When we focus on those high-level educational institutions emerging in ancient China and Chinese educational traditions mostly developed in those high-level educational institutions, one of the facts to be underscored is that those high-level educational institutions really existed and functioned for a very long time.

Even after more and more modern HEIs were established after 1840s, their organizational structures, teaching and learning methods, knowledge genealogy, and so on, summarized in one word “education traditions,” still impacted every young person’s learning activities and the development of every school and university in different ways. So any kind of attempts to deny a rich kind of internal continuity between ancient higher education and modern higher education should be unacceptable and unforgivable.

As to answers to the two questions posed above, the first point should be emphasized that Confucianism had been the main legitimate resource of thought and knowledge not only for officials and intellectuals but for ordinary people for over 2000 years in ancient China since it was confirmed as official knowledge in the Han dynasty. Until the end of the Qing dynasty, every traditional intellectual and official had to experience a long period and strict academic Confucian training. For example, in the Imperial College and Shuyuan, guided by Confucian teachers, young scholars learned the Confucian classics such as the Book of Poetry, the Book of History, the Book of Rites, the Book of Change, and the Spring and Autumn Annals step by step over a period of six to eight years. At the same time, they had to strictly obey Confucian moral principles such as benevolence, righteousness, manners, wisdom, and credit, and were requested to reflect on themselves at any time and practice Confucian moral principles in their daily lives, not only for achieving their ideals of becoming saints in the manner of Confucius but for guiding them to establish harmonious relationships with their family members, relatives, and others. With the edification of Confucian education over 20 years or a much longer time, some scholars would be appointed to imperial official positions by emperors after they passed the Imperial Examination, and then they were requested to be ideal Confucian officials to achieve Confucian political ideals that built a harmonious society, country, and world with the governance of an enlightened emperor. The second point comes then, that as high-level educational institutions, some elements such as instructions based on classical books and rules, classification learning, and a strict examination system can also be found both in Western universities and in the Imperial College and Shuyuan. When we confirm that a modern higher education system originated in some major European countries, we also need to identify that some kinds of high-level learning institutions indeed emerged and existed for a very long time in non-Western countries, especially in China, and have similar educational structures and functions as Western HEIs.

DISCUSSION

It is easy to understand that under the pressure of possibly being colonized by Western countries, which was recognized as the biggest crisis China had faced over the past over 3000 years, Chinese governments and intellectuals in different periods have viewed developing a modern school education as a

way of national salvation, that is, practicing an idea brought forward by those Enlightenment thinkers and carried forward by rationalists in Western countries from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. However, it is regretful that since the 1910s, Confucian moral standards and knowledge which have dominated and influenced Chinese people's spiritual world and daily life for more than 2000 years have gradually been eliminated from school curricula, and most of such educational traditions have vanished along with much more modern education characteristics emerging. For many years, all these have been criticized by some scholars with so-called conservative opinions.

It is difficult to interpret and evaluate the development of Chinese modern education from 1840 to 1949. When we review its changing process, there are actually two important powers determining China's attempt of remodeling. The first one is capitalism itself, which has been developed in Western countries as a producing mode with some key dominating factors such as the big machine production, market exchanges, global trade, finance, and consumption. Actually, capitalism is not only a mode of producing, but also a ubiquitous power, which has created and recreated a new society in the West. It also has brought out some extraordinary ideas and thoughts such as Mercantilism, Marxism, and Individualism idea systems that were put forward by some great Western scholars and spread to every corner of the world together with capitalistic expansion throughout the world. Undoubtedly, China is no exception.

The other one is that of China's own traditions, which have been sustained and developed by Chinese for over 3000 years. Before being involved in global processes, China's economic system was based on traditional agriculture, so it still looked like a typical ancient country when those Western colonialists observed it closely after the 1840s. At the same time, being the core part of the Chinese traditional knowledge, Confucianism still acted as a dominant ideology, which disciplined all traditional intellectuals' daily life and spiritual world, from emperor to tutors teaching in old-style private schools. When reforming attempts such as the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861–1895), the Hundred Days' Reform (1898), and the New Reform (1901–1911) were undertaken in order to reconfirm its traditions against the invasion of Western ideology as well as develop its modern economic and educational institutions were testified as unsuccessful, China finally gave in and tried to create a modern nation in which some Western countries were selected as models. And then, as a result of radical programs of institutional change and economic modernization, Chinese education and knowledge system were transformed into a new pattern, which is characterized by modern Chinese language and scientism.

So, it is apparent that the development of China society since the 1840s meandered on two deeply entangled ways: first is that the inertial logic of traditional society which is dominated by the Confucian orthodoxy made China keep trying to respect its historical honor and recreate a prosperous and powerful country based on its established tracks. The second is that some Chinese scholars and officials who visited or studied in Western countries began to

accept Western learning as ideology, thought, and knowledge and tried to establish a dialogue system between the East and the West, for the sake of solving China's own problems such as national survival and self-strengthening.

Even for these minority Chinese scholars, there is also a dilemma to deal with, that is, what kind of relationship between Western Learning and Chinese Learning should be developed so that these two different things can parallel each other without interference. A formula which was developed by the late Qing instrumentalist Zhang Zhidong (1837–1909) based on Confucian epistemology (Hayhoe and Li 2010) was widely accepted in the late nineteenth century, that is, “Chinese learning as essence and Western learning for its practical utility” (Zhong xu wei ti, xi xue wei yong). It is unfortunate that this formula was abandoned after 1911 and replaced by full acceptance of the Western Learning model. Traditional knowledge was disassembled and developed into different disciplines such as history, literacy, philosophy, and science.

In conclusion, throughout history, from the Imperial College of Translators (Jing Shi Tong Wen Guan), Foochow Arsenal Naval College (Fu Zhou Chuan Zheng Xue Tang) to Peiyang University (1895), Nan Yang Public School (1896), and Imperial University of Peking (1898), then to Peking University and Tsinghua University, finally to thousands of modern universities and colleges today, traditional Chinese higher education indeed has experienced a long road of transformation. Political upheavals, such as Opium Wars, played a great role in initiating educational reform, such as the New Reform in 1901 and 1904 Educational System (Gui mao Xue zhi), which established fresh new educational institutions and corresponding regulations. In addition, notwithstanding these efforts, the effect of learning from Japanese and German educational systems, or turning to the American universities under the influence of John Dewey, from the late nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century, established a new academic system and knowledge paradigm for China.

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Thai Higher Education

Ekaphong Laubathiansind and Nongnuch Chunbundit

INTRODUCTION

At present, Thailand has a total of 260 higher education institutions (HEIs). Among this number are 81 public HEIs consisting of 19 autonomous universities, 15 conventional closed-admission universities, 38 Rajabhat Universities (formerly teacher training colleges), and 9 Rajamangala Universities of Technology, together with 72 private HEIs and 21 Community Colleges. The HE student population exceeded two million in 2013 and 2014. The total number of student population decreased to around 1.8 million in 2015. The number of students will continue to decrease due to the effect of policy on birth control two decades ago. In addition to HEIs under the jurisdiction of the Office of the Higher Education Commission (OHEC) of the Ministry of Education (MOE), specialized HEIs have been established under the auspices of other ministries. For example, 37 nursing colleges are under jurisdiction of the Ministry of Public Health, 18 military academies under the Ministry of Defense, 18 physical education colleges under the Ministry of Tourism and Sports, 12 police academies under the Royal Thai Police Headquarters, and one university under the Bangkok Metropolitan authority.

Thailand's policy on HE provision puts primary priority on enabling universities to produce and develop a quality workforce for the labor market, strengthening HE capacity in creating knowledge and innovation to enhance Thailand's competitiveness, and fostering sustainable development of

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communities through greater collaboration and utilization of networking of HEIs based on the principles of academic autonomy, diversity, and unity as well as public and private partnership.

Currently, participation in Thai HE has almost reached 40 percent of the 18–22 year age group, which situates Thai HE at a crossroads of quantitative and qualitative dilemmas. To tackle these, OHEC has sought to reposition the Thai HE system to be responsive to emerging needs of the society and economy. The categorization of the Thai HE system had been designed to reflect strengths and aspirations of HEIs in four sub-systems: research and postgraduate universities, specialized study including science and technology and comprehensive universities, four-year universities and liberal arts colleges, and community colleges.

Each sub-system would serve national priorities and strategies as well as addressing global, national, regional, and local demands with the goals of enhancing national competitiveness, and serving as prime movers for the development of workforce capacity in manufacturing and service sectors. The long-term goals of the plan are to promote the decentralization of governance, continuing and lifelong education, and social and economic productivity improvement—this latter as basic as equipping migrant workers with requisite skills and knowledge.

Research and postgraduate universities focus on providing postgraduate degree programs, especially the doctorate, and the conduct of research at both graduate and post-doctoral levels. Graduates from these universities will lead national development. Research and postgraduate universities play important roles in developing Thai HE's academic excellence by generating new bodies of knowledge and technologies appropriate to the country's needs.

Specialized science and technology and comprehensive universities provide comprehensive study programs in their respective fields such as physical science, biological science, social sciences, humanities, and technology. These universities may focus on producing researchers and those with particular workforce skills. They also have a crucial role in developing the manufacturing and service sectors. Specialized and comprehensive universities may also focus separately on postgraduate and undergraduate degree programs.

The main role of four-year universities and liberal arts colleges is to provide high-quality bachelor's degree programs by producing well-educated workforce candidates equipped with advanced knowledge and skills needed by large-scale business entrepreneurs which are the most important driving force for national overall economic development. These institutions may also deliver postgraduate degree programs.

Community colleges in Thai HE focus on offering degrees lower than a bachelor's degree, equipping and retraining employed workforces with requisite skills and knowledge to add value to manufacturing and service sectors. They also play a crucial role in improving their respective communities in terms of lifelong learning and local, social and economic development.

Furthermore, in order to promote capable universities to produce more research crucial to the development of Thai HE's academic excellence, and the manufacturing and service sectors, OHEC has initiated the National Research University Initiative. OHEC selected nine public universities that meet the criteria for establishing national research universities and for which an additional budget allocation will be made for their overall upgrading. These research universities are to focus on conducting research projects that genuinely benefit the country's economic and social development to improve people's quality of life. The research projects conducted by the national research universities will focus on areas that can truly benefit the country's development, and in areas related to development of the industrial sector, agriculture or others which may be approved by the Cabinet.

NATIONAL STRATEGIC POLICY FRAMEWORKS ON HE

Over the past ten years, the National Policy Frameworks on HE (including strategic plans/blueprints or policy innovation for the development of HE) have represented a major transitional period in the decentralization of Thai HE administration, as the administrative authority for HE management has been transferred from OHEC to the institutional level. In 2003, the three main governmental agencies holding authority over national education, the MOE, the Ministry of University Affairs and the National Education Council, were merged to form the new MOE, an amalgamation proceeding from the National Education Act (1999) and the overall bureaucratic reform in Thailand. The new MOE consists of five core agencies: the Office of the Permanent Secretary, the Office of the Education Council, the Office of the Basic Education Commission, the Office of the HE Commission, and the Office of the Vocational Education Commission.

This reform affected HEIs primarily in the areas of governance and university personnel management. The Thai Government had encouraged public HEIs to transform their status to those of "autonomous universities" in order to increase efficiency. Autonomous universities are funded by the Thai Government and are managed as if they were private entities, that is, with limited government oversight. In addition, the government chose not to establish any more conventional bureaucratic public universities. Consequently, public universities established after 1990, such as Suranaree University of Technology, Mae Fah Luang University, and Walailak University, were at their inception established with autonomous status. Since 2006, the Thai Government has taken further action to transform public universities into autonomous universities and from this decision 19 additional public universities attained autonomous status. These included: King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi, Chulalongkorn University, Chiang Mai University, Thaksin University, Burapha University, Mahidol University, King Mongkut's University of Technology North Bangkok, King Mongkut's Institute of Technology Ladkrabang, Mahamakut

Buddhist University, Mahachulalongkornrajavidyalaya Buddhist University, the University of Phayao, Navamindradhiraj University, the Princess Galyani Vadhana Institute of Music, and Suan Dusit University.

In alignment with the National Strategic Policy Framework on HE, OHEC launched two subsequent HE policy initiatives including the roadmap for HE quality development and the Second 15-Year Long Range Plan on HE (2008–2022). (For extended treatment of each of these endeavors, see: Muangkeow 2009, Bhumiratana 2013, and Kaur et al. 2014). The roadmap for HE quality development has a prime objective of producing good quality graduates and researchers who will contribute to the country's social and economic development. It focuses on the improvement of HE in four aspects: (1) quality of graduates, (2) quality of faculty members, (3) quality of research, and (4) quality of education provision. The roadmap had been enforced during 2005–2008 prior to the launching of the Thailand Qualifications Framework for HE in 2009.

The Second 15-Year Long Range Plan on HE focused mainly on quality issues within Thai HE. (Office of the Higher Education Commission, 2007). The overall design for such a system emphasizes the production and development of graduates of quality capable of lifelong work and adjustment. It anticipates major outcomes that emphasize the development of knowledge and innovation that are basic and critical to the country's competitiveness and supportive of sustainable development of all sectors. The quality system evoked would be achieved through management mechanisms and measures of good governance, financing management, HE standards, and university networking. The foundation for these outcomes is built on the principles of university academic freedom, diversity and unity of the system. The Long Range Plan on HE discusses nine issues of Thai HE development, which in turn are based on seven scenarios of global, regional, and local socio-economic environment. These focus on demographic change, energy and the environment; future employment, decentralization of the country and development of local administrative bodies, peaceful conflicts resolution and violence, changes occurring in the post-modern/post-industrial world, and His Majesty the King's initiation on a "Sufficiency Economy".

It is expected that these seven scenarios will have an impact on social and economic development, as well as Thai HE development. Nine issues have been identified as critical to meeting these challenges.

Articulation of the University System with Basic and Vocational Education

The primary need has been to upgrade the quality of basic and vocational education, especially in Thai and English language competencies, basic sciences, and mathematics, in order to supply competent students to HE. To assist in meeting this aim, HE will attempt to develop programs leading to

the improvement of university teacher education, the establishment of study programs for gifted and talented students, and encouraging universities to provide flexible education and training programs for employed workers.

Reforming the HE System

To address weaknesses in HE, such as the quality of education, limited staff and resources, and the declining performance of school students, a variety of proposals is being advanced including addressing education assessment, education standards, and resource allocation. To achieve these intended goals Thai university sub-systems are being developed for research and graduate universities, specialized as science and technology and comprehensive universities focused as four-year universities and liberal arts colleges, and as Community Colleges, all of which reflect the differentiated missions of HEIs.

Good Governance and Management

University governance would be strengthened by delegating authority to university councils and university executives who would be more accountable for the management of universities. A new focus on lessons learned and good practices of governance and management of renowned overseas universities is to be explored and adopted. OHEC encourages universities to set up fulltime university council secretariats to promote effective university governance.

Universities and National Competitiveness

From strong research structures, universities are expected to be prime contributors to national competitiveness. The plan envisions the creation of national research universities, the systemization of research funding and funding agencies, and linkage mechanisms between research and relevant socio-economic sectors. Mechanisms for demand-led research will be encouraged. In addition, programs such as the Research Assessment Exercise will be explored and developed for assessing university research capacities and potential, while supporting review among peers.

University Financing System

Public financing of Thai universities is still inadequate and not well focused. To reach the full-funding goal requires an effective policy instrument, especially one focused on education quality and capacity strengthening. A process needs to be created that can result in the activation of different stakeholders, such as the public, students, and parents, and discrete beneficiaries of university outputs (such as graduates, and recipients of research, and services).

University Staff Development

Traditionally, academic development has been viewed in terms of obtaining postgraduate degrees and academic promotion through research. New dimensions in staff development are to be sought such as mentoring in teaching, learning, and university management; development of university leadership; research capacity strengthening; and awarding of successful academics.

Networking of Universities

The sharing and consolidation of academic programs and teaching activities to build up mutual trust among different elements of staff, and investing in common HE infrastructure is an important goal. Other significant elements for pursuing quality include reducing the duplication of academic programs, increasing efficiency, and building up critical mass for research, with appropriate legal instruments in place to allow full exploitation of the research. An attendant goal is the consolidation and federalization of HEIs both in the medium and long term. One vehicle for engendering greater quality throughout the system is to provide incentives for existing universities of stature and reputation to help strengthen new universities, and provide supporting mechanisms for university networks of various dimensions to be developed, such as those focused on learning, staff development, and/or community service.

HE Plan for Southern Thailand

Southern Thailand constitutes a special situation given the existence of conflict and violence and correspondingly requires a HE plan that meets its particular needs. The plan focuses on the need for cultural understanding and tolerance, and the recognition and cultivation of values among Thais that acknowledge its multi-faceted nature and is constituted of multi-culturalism. In this regard, the plan indicates that inward and outward mobility for students and youth should both be promoted. Building up and providing access to quality education at all levels is viewed as a means to ensure good and meaningful employment within and outside the southern Thailand region, and extending opportunities throughout ASEAN and the world of Muslim communities.

Development of Learning Infrastructure for University Education

The plan emphasizes that university infrastructure covers “humanwares”, “learningwares”, and physical infrastructure. An essential learning infrastructure for successful outcomes of education is a curriculum responsive to current social and economic demands and one that is proactive toward recognizing and adapting to world dynamism. Contributing factors to the need for learning infrastructures are an information-based society, the knowledge-driven society,

the system underpinning lifelong education, and the general learning environment. The plan emphasizes that universities must educate students for life and prepare students for employment.

THE LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT

Perhaps unique in the Thai context is that the establishment of each individual institution requires the promulgation of its own law. Being directly administered by the Thai governmental bureaucracy had prevented public universities from enjoying autonomy and flexibility in their management such as those enjoyed by universities in developed countries. Under such bureaucratic control, it was difficult for Thai universities to meet their goals of providing better knowledge, academic excellence, and freedom, and to fully focus on education in response to the needs of national social and economic development. As a result, numerous attempts had been made by faculty members and university administrators to develop an exclusive university administrative system separate from the conventional bureaucratic system. Under this new administrative system, some Thai public universities have been designated as “autonomous”. At present, the government has promulgated 19 Acts to safeguard the operation of autonomous universities. Consequently, these institutions are empowered to establish, oversee, and execute their overall administration including personnel, financing, academic content, and other required university management systems under the delegated authority of a university council. These universities also receive a regular budget allocation from the government, and their employees are entitled to similar privileges as other government officers.

In addition to these public university-governing acts, the government has passed additional legislation affecting personnel management and internal administration in order to empower these institutions to manage their internal affairs independently and efficiently.

These Acts include the University Personnel Act of **2004** and Its Second Revision of **2008**, promulgated to motivate university personnel to gain the knowledge and capability required for effective HE administration. The Act also provides for universities to develop their administrators, faculty staff, and personnel in ways that would further enhance their morale, ethical values, and professional ethics. The goal of this legislation was to enable university personnel to carry out their duties and responsibilities with quality, to allow institutions to retain them effectively and to encourage personnel to successfully adapt to these changes, even as they sought to decentralize authority to universities under the jurisdiction of OHEC and allow them to formulate their own rules and procedures. The range of delegated authority included personnel management, the provision of academic tenure, the recruitment of personnel on the basis of merit and equity in conformity with the university’s mission and philosophy, and the principles of academic freedom and excellence. According to these acts, a University Personnel Committee is authorized to lay down policies, standards, principles, and criteria to be applied for each such HEI.

The promulgation of the Second Revision of the University Personnel Act of 2008 was required because the first version of the act had resulted in inconsistencies and did not align with the needs of the subsequent situation. The revision of the Act allowed universities to extend the retirement age of lecturers/academics with tenure at the ranks of Associate Professor and Professor from 60 to 65 years so as to benefit overall university needs for teaching, learning, and research. However, this procedure has needed to be implemented in line with the overall criteria and conditions set up by the University Personnel Committee. In addition, the Act also allowed statutory authority to raise the salary of the University President, and for better remuneration of university personnel in general.

The Administration of Higher Education Institution Internal Affairs Act of 2007 gave authority to public universities to establish their own internal agencies with budgetary support from their generating activities (Yilmaz 2010). The internal administrative affairs and management system had been enhanced so as to allow Thai public HEIs to acquire better flexibility and good governance. The law focused on transparency, ethical behavior, and accountability on the part of universities, while also providing power to universities to handle their internal affairs, such as the entitlement of the head of the university unit with rights and privileges equivalent to that of other heads of government organizations.

THE PRIVATE HE INSTITUTION ACT OF 2003 AND ITS SECOND REVISION OF 2007

On the other hand, the establishment of private HEIs created a need to comply with the Private HE Institution Act. A private HE institution has the right and authority to deliver HE equivalent to that of public universities. However, private HEIs are not entitled to receive national budgetary support from the government. Financial support for institutional operations comes from their own revenue and their licensees. The government has defined holistic monitoring and evaluation mechanisms to oversee private HEIs more stringent than those for public universities. At the early stages, the practice of close monitoring of private HEIs was intended to gain public confidence in the process.

However, established private HEIs experienced increased inflexibility in their management. They, therefore, demanded equal treatment with public universities. To this point in time, private HEIs had enjoyed a certain autonomy and authority to manage their institutions with periodic performance reviews conducted by OHEC.

The Private HE Institution Act provides a framework for their administration and to examine quality evaluation and educational standards. As with public universities, private HEIs could now operate independently and develop a flexible administrative system while having academic freedom under the supervision of the University Council. OHEC became responsible for scrutinizing

and proposing policies, development plans, and educational standards in a more appropriate manner that ensured secured development and enhanced the expansion of private HE administration more effectively. The judicious enforcement of this Act is crucial so that public and private HEIs are subject to supervision and quality evaluation by the same educational standards.

However, according to the Act, some specific actions need to obtain the approval from the HE Commission, including:

- The amendment of university regulations regarding the institution's name and type; objectives; location and plans showing land area and buildings; capital received from the licensee and any expenditure plan, and the university seal, insignia or symbol, gowns, and pins;
- Receipt of financial assistance, educational equipment or other benefits from any person, the amount or value of which exceeds that specified by OHEC;
- Borrowing of money that cumulatively exceeds 25 percent of the present value of the assets of the private university;
- Lease of assets for fees exceeding the amount specified by OHEC; and
- Purchase or hire-purchase or disposal of assets exceeding the amount specified by the OHEC.

THE IMPACT OF NATIONAL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURE ON HEIs

Over past decades Thai HE had continuously played an important role in the social and economic development of the country with clear evidence of discrepancies of achieved social status between college graduates and non-college graduates. Early in their national history, universities were established to serve as a driving force for national development including regional universities, which were established throughout the country to accelerate rural development. Moreover, the government also encouraged the private sector to take part in HE provision in order to increase access to HE for the population at large.

As indicated above with the National Education Reform Act in 2003, the Ministry of University Affairs was amalgamated with the MOE and renamed the OHEC. All HEIs, that is, Rajabhat Institutes (formerly focused on teacher training) and Rajamangala Institutes of Technology (formerly focused on technological education) under the jurisdiction of the MOE were upgraded to full-fledged university status, and transferred to the supervision of OHEC. Over the past several decades community colleges had also been established, and subsequently, came under the jurisdiction of OHEC as well. Again, as indicated above, these major structural changes, constituting a high degree of diversification, have resulted in 81 public HEIs, 72 private HEIs, and 21 Community Colleges under the supervision of OHEC.

Earlier public universities had a status equal to a government department, and were allocated an annual operating budget. Personnel, financing, and general administration of the public universities had to entirely comply with the bureaucratic system. Along with other government agencies, public universities were allocated funds from the Bureau of the Budget and audited by the Comptroller General's Department, Ministry of Finance. A university president received privileges equivalent to those of a director-general, the chief executive officer at the departmental level, although the tenure of the university president was specified as 3–4 years.

The Royal Decree on Criteria and Procedures for Good Governance for Government Agencies, State enterprises and Officials was issued to lay a solid groundwork for public administration to meet targets on institutional responsiveness (Thai [Laws.com 2015](#)). These included result-based management, providing effectiveness and value for money, lessening unnecessary steps of work, reviewing missions to meet changing situations, providing convenient and favorable services, and regular evaluation. Within the context of public administration, the mission of a government agency is to be carried out in good faith, with transparency and accountability, in response to public needs, and at both national and local levels. Moreover, to respond to current global changes, the Thai Public Sector Strategic Development Plan (2008–2009) was launched by the Office of the Public Sector Development Commission (OPDC) focused on improving mechanisms and creating an evaluation system of the planning process of the agencies funded by the national budget.

Public sector planning had to incorporate necessary features for good governance such as organizational missions and characteristics together with key indicators suitable for measuring outcomes at both organizational and individual levels. The underlying principle of Public Sector Development is to encourage government agencies, including public universities, to be transparent and more accountable for the management of their organizations, as well as extending links to the Government Fiscal Management Information System for the monitoring and evaluation of performance with set key performance indicators (KPIs) together with auditing reports.

As specified in the Royal Decree on Criteria and Procedures for Good Governance, each Thai HEI, with the exception of the 19 autonomous universities, must conduct a review of their implementation processes in order to achieve the designation as a high performance organization. They are encouraged to conduct self-evaluations according to the KPIs set by the OPDC, and are required to formulate short- and long-term development plans toward their targeted goal with approved KPIs.

When the Thai Public Sector Development Strategic Plan (2008–2012) was promulgated, the OPDC, the Bureau of the Budget and the Comptroller General's Department, the Ministry of Finance, and the Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment were obligated to jointly prepare

the Legislative Plan consisting of regulatory details to be enforced for the 19 autonomous universities to improve their performance, and ensure transparency and accountability.

Concurrent with the State Administration Act, the Second 15-Year Long Range Plan on HE (2008–2022), pinpointed seven major scenarios to which universities need to adapt. One of these scenarios is a decentralization of authority. It also singled out factors and internal attributes of Thai university education affected by HE financing. The key theme of the Long Range Plan is an effort to eliminate persistent problems of Thai HE financing in order to establish appropriate directions for HE development, lessen duplication, upgrade quality, and enhance efficiency. One of the key measurements to achieve this purpose is the categorizing of HEIs into their four distinct groupings and to address problems of HE diversity and redundancy by categorizing HEIs by discrete definition of their roles, missions, and service areas. This led to the now familiar groupings by Research/Graduate Universities, Specialized/Comprehensive Universities, Liberal Arts Universities, and Community Colleges. Each group of HEIs is charged to excel in accordance with its mission, and will receive governmental budgetary support commensurate with it. With clear supervision of these distinct differences and roles, the supposition has been that this will frame and impact policy formulation especially with regard to quality and an upgrade of standards, resource support, and the monitoring and evaluation of HEI performance. With this differentiation a ‘one size fits all’ policy is no longer viable and accordingly managerial adjustments and the quest for collaboration on HE development in the same direction for all institutions are not desirable.

Accordingly, HE financing reform has been based on the principles that:

- The allocation of performance-based budgets should be responsive to manpower development policies and accepted country development directions.
- Balanced and connected supply side and demand side financing are to be established through block grants.
- For supply side financing, a block grant budget will be allocated to students through Income Contingent Loans, adopting a market-driven approach. However, for some programs that need to be maintained to create essential societal knowledge, students will be granted full scholarships regardless of market needs.
- Block grant budgets will be directly allocated to HEIs according to specific policy frameworks, for instance, considerations of infrastructure development, faculty development, and research and development.
- Budgets will come from a specific-purpose HE development fund in the forms of grants, loans, partial loans, or endowments.
- Financial autonomy is the basis for financial management of HE institutions to pursue autonomy, flexibility, and accountability.

ACKNOWLEDGING THE KNOWLEDGE-BASED SOCIETY AND REGIONAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Thai government has given prime importance to the goals of engendering a creative economy through human capacity building, producing research output with high value-added components and the utilization of local wisdom, all of which are viewed as factors to achieve social and economic development within a knowledge-based society that enhances national competitiveness. Both public and private HEIs pursue the promotion of a knowledge-based society by creating new bodies of knowledge and transferring these to the community, strengthening R&D activities, promoting lifelong learning and utilizing Information and Computer Technologies (ICT) in continuing education programs.

This goal of establishing and developing a knowledge-based and learning-based society is also one of the three main standards for Thai HE emphasized by the MOE in August 2006, in standards for the quality of graduates, the administration of HE and the development of a knowledge- and learning-based society. All public universities have been required to develop knowledge management systems for research and innovation and institution development leading to their transformation into a learning organization.

NATIONAL RESEARCH UNIVERSITIES

In October 2009, nine flagship public universities were selected for an upgrade as national research universities including Chulalongkorn University, Thammasat University, Mahidol University, Kasetsart University, King Mongkut's University of Technology Thonburi, Chiang Mai University, Khon Kaen University, Suranaree University of Technology, and Prince of Songkla University. These universities will be provided additional government funding to fulfill their research mission. The purpose in creating these national research universities is to distinguish a group of universities with good records of research capability, and to produce research output and manpower in advanced fields of study that can serve the community and national demands, including enhancing the country's competitiveness, creating new bodies of knowledge and innovation that can contribute to social and economic development, improving the quality of life, and promoting the country as a regional education center.

CENTERS OF EXCELLENCE

A further initiative has been the creation of Centers of Excellence to further promote HEIs in strengthening R&D activities (Sinhaneti 2011). The project has established various postgraduate academic consortia to become R&D centers of excellence with a view to strengthening postgraduate education and research in

cooperation with industry and the private sector as a means to building a strong foundation for research and development in 11 priority science and technology areas. Consequently, centers have been established for Innovation in Chemistry; Toxicology, Environmental Health, and management of Toxic Chemicals; Environmental and Hazardous Waste Management; Petroleum Petrochemicals and Advanced Materials; Energy Technology and Environment; Agricultural Biotechnology; Post Harvest Technology Innovation; Mathematics; Physics; Biological Diversity; and Medical Biotechnology.

RESEARCH AND INNOVATION FOR TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER TO THE RURAL COMMUNITY

Apart from promoting advanced research development in science and technology, since 2003 OHEC has implemented the Research and Innovation for Technology Transfer to the Rural Communities Project, which aims to encourage participation and foster linkages between universities and the rural community in order to strengthen capacity within the grassroots economy. At present, eight networks exist throughout the country linked with OHEC as an administrative network for research for rural development concepts. Each network organizes its research by collaborating with local communities or stakeholders such as a local governor or administration, leaders of local wisdom, and farmers. Research topics should be related to the strategies, problems, or needs of the rural communities.

UNIVERSITY BUSINESS INCUBATOR

A University Business Incubator or “UBI” has been implemented to foster linkages between universities and industry as well as to equip students with entrepreneurial skills. UBI is categorized into key clusters targeted in the country’s development plan to ensure that the project will make a significant contribution to the country’s economic competitiveness. Initiated in 2004, UBIs were established with proven high potential that could be further developed to create startup companies in joint ventures from the private sector. Currently, UBI units have been established in 53 public universities and three private universities.

THAILAND CYBER UNIVERSITY

The Thailand Cyber University or “TCU” was initiated in 2005 to extend educational opportunities and to promote lifelong learning. The mission of TCU is to promote and support dissemination of knowledge including advanced technology and local knowledge in the form of massive online courses for non-formal e-learning. TCU has also served as a knowledge and education center

by using the latest technologies to provide further education for all, for both formal and informal learners.

As of this writing, TCU provides 834 online courses and 17 programs of study. A self-pack learning program, certificate programs, a Bachelor's degree program in Tourism Industry, and a Master's degree program in Social and Administrative Pharmacy are examples of these online courses. 204,807 learners were registered with TCU in 2015 from different social groups enrolling in online delivery courses that include 541 teachers. TCU has also created academic and research cooperation in distance education via a network system with 46 universities/organizations including overseas partners in Japan and the USA.

NATIONAL POLICIES ON STAFFING, PUBLIC FUNDING, AND QUALITY ASSURANCE

Staff development is one of the nine issues discussed in the Second 15-Year Long Range Plan on HE (Office of the Higher Education Commission, 2015). It focuses on new dimensions of staff development that include activities such as mentoring in teaching, learning and university management, and strengthening research capacity. Although universities are the main actors in staff development, OHEC operates two staff development projects: the Strategic Scholarships Fellowship Frontier Research Networks and Masters, Doctoral, and Research Scholarships. This project focuses on developing university staff and upgrading their qualifications in every discipline by providing advanced degrees and research scholarships. The Students and Staff Mobility project focuses on short-term student and staff exchanges, credit transfer, and mutual recognition of degrees. Currently, the OHEC operates three short-term student and staff mobility programs including: University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP), Students and Staff Exchange with GMS Countries, and ASEM-DUO Fellowship Program.

In 2010, the OHEC in collaboration with the Indonesian Ministry of National Education and Malaysian Ministry of HE launched a new project entitled the Malaysian, Indonesian, and Thailand Student Exchange Program (MIT), aimed at fostering harmonization of HE in the three respective countries in five disciplines through the exchange of students. Since 2013, the mobility program under the MIT has been renamed the ASEAN International Mobility for Students (AIMS) and expanded to include other countries in East Asia such as Japan. Under AIMS, students participate in exchange programs in the fields of agriculture, food science and technology, international business, hospitality and tourism, language and culture, economics, and engineering.

NATIONAL POLICIES ON UNIVERSITY FINANCING

Similar to the issue of staff development, university financing is also covered in the Second 15-Year Long Range Plan. Universities are encouraged to design

a scheme to mobilize more financial support from stakeholders, such as the public and students and parents, as well as to generate income from products of university endeavors such as research and academic services.

The long range plan also calls for performance-based financing of universities while the supply-side financing is still in place, including setting up a contribution scheme for university beneficiaries and benefactors and a university development fund scheme. While annual budgets are used for normal operations, the development fund supports staff development and facilitates universities to answer national socio-economic priorities such as creating linkages with economic sectors including productivity improvement and retraining of labor forces, development, management, and commercialization of university intellectual property.

The plan suggests the establishment of a buffer organization between the State and universities to engage them on issues of effective planning and operation such as strategic planning, budget development/funding advice/allocation, and academic program review. Rapid economic development and the corresponding proliferation of large numbers of HEIs led in turn to efforts to supply resulting manpower needs. This occurred with inadequate planning, a lack of proper funding, cohesion, and direction among public agencies concerned and the linkages with the economic sector employing HEI graduates.

NATIONAL POLICIES ON QUALITY ASSURANCE

As Thailand has moved through various stages of development and sought to provide quality HE, OHEC has played a key role in promoting quality assurance in both public and private HEIs. A variety of policies have emphasized:

- Development of a QA system and mechanisms to maintain HE institution academic standards,
- Encouragement of HEIs to develop their own indicators for internal quality assurance that fit institutional missions and goals,
- Formulation of guiding principles and directions for the startup of QA procedures, and
- Provision of mechanisms for quality audits and assessment at institutional and faculty levels.

NATIONAL HE STANDARDS

The initial critical movement toward establishing and implementing HE standards took place in 2003 when the MOE announced a new set of national HE standards specifying clearer quality requirements. Three standards are used for the promotion, protection, ensuring, evaluating, and assuring of quality within Thai HE:

Standard 1: Desirable characteristics of Thai graduates as good Thai and global citizens,

Standard 2: Education delivery modes, and

Standard 3: Guidelines for the establishment of a learning organization within a knowledge-based society.

Each standard is related to national education standards so that it can fulfill the purposes and principles of the national education administrative program. Beyond this, OHEC has set additional requirements such as standard criteria for a HE curriculum, standard criteria for student affairs, criteria for submitting permission to offer and manage degree programs in a distance education mode, and a HE qualifications framework. These are intended to assist HEIs in developing their academic and professional capacities and in promoting the pursuit of international standards.

QUALITY ASSURANCE SYSTEM

Thailand established a full-fledged quality assurance system in line with the National Education Act of 1999, with the creation of the Office for National Education Standards and Quality Assessment (ONESQA) as a public organization to perform external quality assessment for HEIs on a five-year cycle.

Whereas HEIs are responsible for conducting internal quality assurance, which comprise quality control, quality audit, and quality assessment in the form of a self-assessment report, OHEC serves as a coordinator with ONESQA by providing Internal Quality Assessment (IQA) guidelines to HEIs, support for knowledge sharing, ensuring effective communication flows, and follow-up on further corrective actions after external assessments are completed. ONESQA performed the third cycle of external quality assessment started during the period 2011–2015.

Accreditation is applied at both institutional and program levels. The University Council through the Academic Board is accountable primarily for the approval of study programs. Pre-accreditation of public universities is determined by OHEC, whereas for private universities post-accreditation is also carried out by HE standards committees appointed by OHEC.

Currently, OHEC is in the process of establishing an accreditation system applicable for both private and public HEIs. In the future, every HEI will be accredited under the same standards, covering (1) standards for potentiality and capability of HE, and (2) standards for implementation according to the mission of each HEI. Standards of curriculum and program delivery provided by all HEIs will be subjected to the standard criteria set up by OHEC for each degree level.

THAI QUALIFICATIONS FRAMEWORK FOR HE

OHEC has begun development of a Thai Qualifications Framework for HE (TQF: HE) intended to allow Thai universities to transform existing policies and put into practice HE Standards created since 2003. In July 2009, the MOE issued the TQF: HE 2009, which aims at assuring the quality

of graduates, credits, degrees, and qualifications received from HEIs. Key concepts of the TQF include creating a better and common understanding of the quality assurance system, with the goal of facilitating the mobility of faculty members and students, as well as the adoption of a common credit transfer system that will lead to regional mutual recognition of degrees and qualifications.

In this connection, OHEC has developed an implementation handbook describing the standards for learning outcomes to be achieved in each domain for each qualification. It has conducted a pilot project in eight disciplines, that is, Science, Logistics, Biotechnology, Tourism and Hotel Management, Computer, Nursing, Education, and Agro-Industry as well as trained pioneer teams to be National Qualification Framework (NQF) trainers. In the next stage OHEC will support HEIs in using TQF to develop curricula and improve the quality of teaching and learning to ensure better learning outcomes for graduates. One portion of the TQF, the Professional and Organizational Development Network or “POD Network” has been created to improve the quality of teaching by creating a platform for consultation and mutual support, and the dissemination of good ideas through workshops, conferences, and other mechanisms for communication and assistance.

NATIONAL POLICY/AWARENESS OF HE HARMONIZATION IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The Thai Government has tried to ensure that Thailand makes its full contribution to the region’s peace and prosperity. As a member of ASEAN, it is imperative that Thai citizens are aware of ASEAN’s development toward the ASEAN Community initially proposed for 2015 and take part in this important regional integration. Once the ASEAN Community is realized, there will be greater mobility of students, teachers, academics, professionals, and labor force participants among ASEAN member countries and delivery of cross-border education should increase. Yet again, it is recognized that Thai youth deserve quality education that can be recognized internationally and equipped with necessary skills required by the global marketplace.

The ASEAN Education Ministers and the SEAMEO Council have reaffirmed the vital role of education in the promotion of ASEAN’s identity and an ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community. To fulfill such a goal, HE plays a major role in enhancing human resource development in all sectors of the country through quality education, upgrading of skills and capacities, and training to ensure that an ASEAN workforce will be suitably prepared, and benefit from regional economic integration. In addition, The Cha-Am Hua Hin Declaration on Strengthening Cooperation on Educational to Achieve an ASEAN Caring and Sharing Community, adopted in October 2009 agreed to strengthen the role of “Education” in the three ASEAN’s pillars: Role of Education Sector in Socio-Cultural, Economic, and Political and Security.

In terms of regional HE movement, Thailand and ASEAN member countries now seek to learn from European experiences on implementing the Bologna Process in order to support regional integration and HE harmonization. The European Credit Transfer System has become the model for member economies of the University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP) to develop its UMAP Credit Transfer Scheme (UCTS) fostering exchange programs and harmonization among member economies. ASEAN also followed the Bologna Process in establishing the ASEAN HE area.

In 2009, OHEC, in cooperation with the European Union Delegation to Thailand implemented the project on “Diversity and Regional Integration in HE Sector-Bologna Process, Qualification Framework and Credit Transfer (DIRECT)”. The DIRECT Project was implemented during the period March to September 2009. The European Commission had sent a European consultant to work with a Thai working team. Activities under DIRECT included the arrangement of workshops on National Qualifications Frameworks, Subject Benchmarking and Credit Transfer, Degree Supplement, and Credit Accumulation. In August 2009, the Thai working team visited universities and EU authorities on the implementation of European HE harmonization in Belgium to study the Bologna Process in practice.

Realizing the importance of promoting harmonization of HE, OHEC is now in the process of drafting a Thai HE strategic plan for promoting an ASEAN HE common space, which will target the production of quality graduates with the goal of instilling ASEAN awareness and a strong sense of belonging among ASEAN youth and seek to enhance closer academic collaboration among HEIs in ASEAN member countries. The plan will incorporate measures that focus on maximum utilization of credit transfer and mutual recognition of degrees and qualifications. OHEC plans to work hand-in-hand with its strategic alliance between the ASEAN University Network and SEAMEO RIHED, both of which Thailand hosts.

Apart from its own efforts to achieve this prime regional agenda, OHEC has continuously pledged its full support to an important SEAMEO RIHED initiative, *A Framework for Regional Integration in HE in Southeast Asia: The Road towards a Common Space*, which was endorsed by the SEAMEO Council at its 43rd Conference. The project aims at putting in place regional processes for HE development and policy harmonization including the establishment of a common space in HE in Southeast Asia.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

In recognition of HE’s critical role in the country’s social and economic growth, the missions of the Centers of Excellence have focused on producing competitive research output contributing to addressing the country’s major problems, and enhancing economic viability and commercial benefit, wherein the nine national research universities have focused primarily on creating pre-competitive knowledge and innovation that contribute to

enhanced productivity and are responsive to national social and economic development along with addressing global issues, that is, climate change, disaster management, the aging society, and the digital economy.

A MEGA PROJECT: THAILAND EXCELLENCE 2030

For HE's role as one of the key engines driving the country's inclusive growth, in 2014, OHEC charted the roadmap "Thailand Excellence 2030" which calls for increased investment in HE. OHEC has proposed a mega project to the government for endorsement and funding support (Office of the Higher Education Commission 2014). The ultimate goal of the project is to strengthen the HE system, increase HEI's critical role in contributing to the knowledge-based economy, and helping the country escape from the "middle income trap". "Thailand Excellence 2030" is comprised of the World Class University Project, the Project on HE Human Resources Development to Cope with the Changing Global Context, and the Project on Standard Development of a New Group of HEIs and Preparation for the ASEAN Community.

WORLD CLASS UNIVERSITY PROJECT

The World Class University Project under its five-year plan has an estimated budget of 25 billion baht with short-, medium-, and long-term goals focusing on forming sustainable university consortia; strengthening collaboration among universities and industry including Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) so as to produce high technology and green innovation derived from internal R&D, together with the implementation of "Lean Manufacturing" aligned with an effective response to the changing trends of international HE; establishing a real time and validated national database for Thai universities that can be utilized effectively for quality control and benchmarking; creating a Thai university ranking system which suits the Thai HE structure, and serving as a driving force for positive change. It is expected that Thai universities with administrative strength will come to possess world-class academic disciplines and be ranked in the world university rankings.

PROJECT ON HE HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT TO COPE WITH THE CHANGING GLOBAL CONTEXT

With regard to HE human resources development, OHEC has targeted to provide 16,000 doctoral and post-doctoral scholarships under a 15-year plan with an estimated budget of 44 billion baht for the purposes of increasing the production of PhD faculties, capacity building of university faculty members to become professional researchers, and strengthening of academic and research consortia in areas necessary for the country's competitiveness and socio-economic development.

PROJECT ON STANDARD DEVELOPMENT OF NEW GROUP OF HEIs AND PREPARATION FOR THE ASEAN COMMUNITY

Realizing that diversity and differences among Thai HEIs have brought about a development divide, OHEC has planned to allocate 68 billion baht for a five-year plan to enhance the capacity of the new group of HEIs including Rajabhat Universities and Rajamangala Universities of Technology by upgrading the quality of their education provision, strengthening their administration, and capacity building of their academic staff to meet national standards and align with the direction of the country's development. In this connection, the role of Rajamangala Universities of Technology focuses on providing education in various fields of technology and operations while Rajabhat Universities place emphasis on teacher production and community engagement.

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Higher Education in India: Against the Backdrop of the Evolving Political Economy

Shyam Menon

INTRODUCTION

India has a large system of higher education, comprising about 20 million students enrolled in 634 university-level institutions and about 33,000 colleges with a combined faculty strength of about 817,000 (Tilak 2013, 2), yet not large enough perhaps for a population of over 1.2 billion. The system is complex and has a variety of higher education institutions (HEIs). Universities are of many kinds: central and state, affiliating and unitary, conventional and open, large (with more than 100 affiliated colleges and 100,000 students), and small (mostly unitary universities with less than 2,000 students), public, and private. Similarly there are a variety of colleges: undergraduate and post-graduate, professional and liberal, affiliated and autonomous, those established and funded by government, those established by private entities but aided by government, and those established by private entities and funded through student fees. Then there are institutions of national importance and research institutions. Some HEIs have been upgraded as deemed universities (mostly in the private sector). Within the private sector too, there is considerable variety. There are institutions promoted by religious denominations and community groups, large and small industrial houses, entrepreneurs, philanthropic organizations, and families.

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This chapter attempts to make sense of the growth, diversification, complexity, and flux that characterize higher education in India today. This needs a historical overview against the backdrop of India's evolving political economy and public policy. The chapter initially dwells briefly on the colonial origins of Indian higher education and moves on to describe the manner in which the system has grown and diversified, using an analytical framework based on study of the evolving political economy of the country. Finally, the chapter discusses a few issues that concern higher education in India today.

The Colonial Origins

Although higher education has had a long history in India, right through the ancient and medieval times, the genealogy of HEIs in India today is much more modest and does not trace all the way back to those traditions. Their origins are in the colonial system of higher education established in the nineteenth century. The colonial purpose of erecting the edifice of higher education in India (with very little organic rooting in her cultural and intellectual past) was therefore merely to enable a small minority of the urban and the relatively privileged to be acquainted, albeit superficially, with European scholarship and the English language, enough to create a thin crust of cultural intermediaries essential to run the colonial operations. This thin crust was unevenly spread over the sub-continent with enclaves around the presidency towns (Raza et al. 1985, 102). Considering that the superstructure of the colonial education system was constructed avoiding carefully the foundations of the indigenous educational traditions (Dharampal 1983), it made sense that alienation from the past and the rest of the society was part of the intended profile of the class of *babus* (clerks) that the system produced. Also hardwired in most of them was an uncritical deference to European culture, perhaps partly because their training emulated only the external features of the British higher education, not its inner strengths of critical scholarship (Basu 1991).

The colonial period was largely one of economic stagnation for India (Nayyar 2013a, 22). The colonial education policy was subservient to the British imperial economic policy for its colonies (Tilak 2013, 1), and therefore, higher education in pre-independence India being “an integral element of colonial underdevelopment,” was mediocre, located predominantly in metropolitan enclaves and largely focused in undergraduate liberal studies, constituting an “anemic, distorted, and dysfunctional” (Raza et al. 1985, 100) system that was bequeathed to the newly independent India in 1947.

Post-Independence Period

Independent India gave herself in 1949 a Constitution that provided for a union of states. All levels of education except higher education were state subjects (and it remained that way till 1976). Higher education on the other hand was on the “concurrent list” of legislative powers, which rendered it a

joint responsibility of the union government and the state governments. The union government's responsibility is to formulate broad policies, to extend developmental assistance to the entire system of public HEIs including those maintained by the states and to maintain standards in higher education in the country. The bulk of the system is within the domain of the states (Agarwal 2009, 3). Much of the public expenditure in higher education is incurred by the states by way of maintaining the state HEIs (Agarwal 2009, 122). The union government on the other hand supports development, reform, research, and so on, besides maintaining those institutions (like central universities) established and financed exclusively by it. This preamble is perhaps necessary to comprehend the complex story of higher education in India.

In 1950, India (with a population of about 350 million) had a fragile and minuscule system of higher education comprising about 100,000 students enrolled in 25 university-level institutions and about 700 colleges with a combined faculty strength of about 15,000 (Thorat 2008, 2). Most of these institutions were in the public sector or were under the grant-in-aid. Most of the students were in liberal arts undergraduate programs in colleges affiliated to universities that also had postgraduate departments. Over the past more than six decades, the system has grown enormously: the number of universities multiplied 25 times, colleges 47 times, faculty 55 times, and students 200 times (Thorat 2008, 2; Tilak 2013, 2).

THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

One can attempt to make sense of this remarkable growth story, both its strengths and its weaknesses, only by juxtaposing it against the manner in which the newly independent India, although caught in a vortex of underdevelopment and extreme inequality, chose consciously to define herself as a political democracy (unlike several other former colonies), and how the dynamics of economy and polity and their dialectics with public policy evolved in the first six decades in the life of the Republic. Deepak Nayyar in his seminal essay, "Economic Development and Political Democracy: Interaction of Economics and Politics in Independent India," tried to bring about a synthesis between the two vast, yet distinct, bodies of literature, one on India's economic development and the other on her political democracy (Nayyar 1998). For doing this, he set out an analytical framework that divided the five decades after independence into three phases, 1947–1966, 1967–1990, and beginning in 1991. The first phase, 1947–1966, is when "the strategy of development was shaped by a political consensus and characterized by a long term perspective." The second phase, 1967–1990, "witnessed a qualitative change in the interaction of economics and politics [where] economic policies and economic development were strongly influenced by the compulsions of political democracy." The third phase, beginning in 1991, is "characterized by an absence of consensus and a presence of short-termism, in which the economics of liberalization and the politics of empowerment seem to be moving the economy and the polity in opposite directions" (Nayyar 2008, 344–372).

Viewing through this analytical prism enables a nuanced and differentiated understanding of the growth story of higher education in post-independence India. The discontinuities in the growth curve become gradually visible. One begins to see clearly the nature of growth and the forces that propel it in each of these three phases. The backdrop of the economic growth and the changing public policy environment that the analytical framework offers enables us to make sense of the dialectics between the transformative processes in higher education and its evolving societal context.

Phase 1: Independence to the End of the 1960s

Nayyar characterizes the first phase, 1947–1966, with the key phrase “nationalism and development.” The initial part of this phase was characterized by the lingering fervor of the national movement and the idealism that went with it. India invented itself as a liberal democracy. But the soil of Indian society had not been readied sufficiently to receive the seeds of democracy, so the State had to perform a critical role, albeit with limited success (since the State itself was “substantively an alliance of the industrial capitalist class, the land-owning class, and the educated elite,”) of mediating “between political democracy and economic democracy” and “between economic development and social needs” (Nayyar 2008, 351). The priority was to put in place long-term strategies for development and social transformation. The vision encompassed an imagination of the future of the society, economy, and polity: (1) eradication of poverty and move toward industrialization, (2) social transformation through constitutional democracy, and (3) doing away with the caste system and sectarianism—both religious and linguistic (Nayyar 2008, 350–355).

This was a period of building national institutions. Much of the energy was focused on creating structures and conventions for governance through democratic processes involving the three levels of government, the union, the states, and local self-government. The intent was to create a planned process of development (through the five-year plans) that was led from the front by the State. The five-year plans in this phase were focused on creating infrastructure for the development of agriculture, community development, and heavy industry, largely in the public sector. The foundation for India’s mixed economy was laid where the State and the public sector retained the “commanding heights” of the economy. Attaining self-sufficiency and minimizing imports were the key phrases that characterized this period, which in some sense gave India certain characteristics of a closed economy (Nayyar 2008, 260).

In this scheme of things, the policy for higher education during this phase was to create an institutional infrastructure within the country for generating knowledge and trained human resources and to respond to “firstly, the need for import substitution in the field of the intellect, and building up of a self-reliant academic structure; secondly the projected needs of planned economic development; and thirdly, the pressure from those denied higher education for centuries and their perception that a university degree was a passport to

the comfortable world of white collar jobs” (Raza et al. 1985, 148–149). To paraphrase the recommendations of the University Education Commission 1948–1949 (Ministry of Education 1962), the priorities for higher education were: (1) to establish a strong institutional foundation for training and research in science, technology, and agriculture, (2) to set up a national system of funding, coordination, and maintenance of standards of universities, and (3) to create legislative safeguards for equity and social justice.

Between 1950 and 1963, five Indian Institutes of Technology (IITs) were established as institutions of national importance through active international partnerships. Professional education and research in agricultural sciences also received a major fillip during this phase in terms of strengthening the Indian (earlier Imperial) Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) and the establishment of a number of agricultural universities. The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) received enormous support and five laboratories were made functional under its domain in 1950. The Tata Institute of Fundamental Research was established in 1957. Two Indian Institutes of Management (IIMs) were established in the early 1960s.

Developing higher education largely through institutions in the states could not be accomplished without substantial assistance from the union government, and their development thus far had been sporadic and unplanned and needed considerable efforts at coordination and ensuring acceptable standards. The University Grants Commission (UGC) was therefore constituted (along the lines of the University Grants Committee in the UK) in 1956 through an act of Parliament. Its task was allocation of central funds placed at its disposal for development of all universities, maintenance of central universities, and promotion, coordination, and maintenance of standards of university education in the country (Sharma 2013, 40).

The huge inequalities in Indian society had been addressed and responded to both in colonial India as well as in the erstwhile princely states through policy initiatives of affirmative action, particularly in terms of quota (reservation) system for education as well as for jobs in the government sector for people of the marginalized social groups. This got incorporated in the Constitution of India thus creating a statutory framework for quota-based affirmative action in public HEIs, for recruitment of students to begin with and subsequently for hiring of faculty as well. There has also been financial assistance for people from such social groups to pursue higher education. This undoubtedly sowed the seed for transformation of the social composition of HEIs.

Phase 2: End of the 1960s to the End of the 1980s

The second phase, 1967–1990, is characterized by the key phrase “development and democracy” (Nayyar 2008, 355–363). The nationalist idealism of the earlier phase and the political consensus as regards development had waned considerably by 1967. Political formations with regional and sectarian power bases had begun to grow in prominence. The two wars of the 1960s and a

third in the early 1970s, successive droughts compelling large-scale imports of food, the successive devaluations of the currency, persistent recession that the industrial sector got caught in—all these had proved to be too heavy a burden on the economy. There was endemic unemployment even among the educated. The late 1960s and the early 1970s witnessed increasing instances of youth unrest particularly on the campuses. Leftwing militancy became rampant in some states. The political democracy and its compulsions thus began increasingly to stress the economy.

This period saw an enormous quantitative growth in higher education. The number of colleges and student strength increased about four times between 1960 and 1986 (Saraf 1988, 284). These were either government institutions or were private ones taken on under the grant-in-aid by the government, “in its enthusiasm to be seen as a welfare state” (Agarwal 2009, 21). Populist pressure for mass opportunities for post secondary education led to “the mushroom growth of undergraduate colleges, with infirm infrastructure and teachers having doubtful competence as well as students with doubtful motivation” (Raza et al. 1985, 149). Given the economic stagnation, high levels of unemployment, and the prevailing atmosphere of youth unrest in the late 1960s and the 1970s, the herding of young people into undergraduate colleges, even of unacceptable quality, must have at least served the limited purpose of containing them in a controlled environment and also deferring by a few years their flooding the job market.

“The deterioration of quality was most glaring at the state universities in general and at undergraduate level in affiliated colleges in particular ... These [programs were] performing an extended ‘babysitting’ function [particularly because of] the relatively low unit cost of running [them] and the fact that the students [paid] far less than [what] students in private sector primary schools [did]” (Jayaram 2007, 77). In the name of fighting the “malignancy” of the “college-explosion” and “the boom in the teaching shop industry,” “centers of advanced studies” and “departments of special assistance” were created within some universities. This also provided a rationale for “an increasing diversion of research funding from the blighted universities towards institutes and government departments [which] led to the emergence of a few enclaves of excellence with an ocean of retrogression and to the widening of the gap between such centers and the rest of the system” (Raza et al. 1985, 150). Although the Education Commission (1964–1966) had recommended selective support to a few “major universities” from among the existing ones, “to make first class postgraduate work and research possible ... comparable to the best institutions of their type in many parts of the world” (Ministry of Education 1971), this recommendation found favor neither among the political and the bureaucratic nor among the academic actors largely on “the rhetorical ground ... that it was elitist and antithetical to the egalitarian ethos of a socialist democratic polity” and therefore this proposal was dropped from the first National Policy on Education of 1968 (Jayaram 2007, 76).

On the other end of the spectrum, the quantity–quality discourse generated new ideas in the 1970s that led to the establishment of open universities at the state and the national levels in the 1980s. In spite of the growth, there remained grossly inadequate opportunities and startling disparities in accessing these. It was becoming clear that given the constraints for public funds for any further expansion in the conventional mode, solutions for greater access needed to be explored in non-conventional low-unit-cost models of mass higher education with acceptable quality (Menon 1990, 41–53). The success of the newly established Open University in the UK opened up new imaginations and new possibilities, and this led to the union government and several of the state governments establishing open universities with a separate institutional structure at the national level for coordination and quality control (Reddy 1988, 110–113). Besides, the open university model must have struck the policy makers as a safe strategy (in the light of the many instances of campus turbulence) for managing mass aspirations for higher education without necessarily effecting large congregations on campuses.

Phase 3: Beginning the Early 1990s

The third phase that begins in 1991 is characterized by “liberalization and empowerment.” It coincides with the external debt crisis and the consequent major policy shift toward economic liberalization. Clearly, this was the turning point when “India moved from a quest for State-led capitalism to a world of market-driven capitalism,” a movement that is still subject to much contestations in the absence of the development consensus of the first phase. Policies toward alleviation of poverty and inequality could not be set aside, “but such concerns about equity were subsumed in the pursuit of growth on the premise that it [was] both necessary and sufficient for an improvement in the living conditions of the people. [It also meant] a conscious decision to substantively reduce the role of the State in the process of economic development and rely far more on the market” (Nayyar 2008, 363–371). This is seen by many scholars as an unfair abdication of a legitimate role of the State. “[With] the adoption of new economic policies, since the early 1990s, the development approach has taken an about-turn with the enhanced role of the private sector and the diminishing role of the State. Such an approach appears to be threatening the goals of social justice, equity, and cultural diversity” (Prakash 2007, 3249).

The shift of priority from higher and technical education to school education had begun with the National Policy on Education 1986 (Tilak 2013, 4). The extremely adverse balance of payment situation and the underlying acute fiscal crisis of 1991 was responded to by the government by “[setting] in motion a process of macroeconomic stabilization combined with fiscal adjustment and structural reform [in] conformity with orthodoxy of the IMF and the World Bank” (Nayyar 2008, 363–364). As a part of the social safety net that went with this structural readjustment, the priority was for elementary education. “It was ... widely held that the goals to do with elementary education

could be achieved only if there was a cap on the growth of higher education. This marked the beginning of a long period of ... virtual neglect of higher education” (Tilak 2013, 4).

“Public expenditure per student in higher education declined in real prices, the index falling from 100 in 1990–1991 to 84 in 1998–1999 [and this was] feared to be having very serious effects on the quality and equity aspects of higher education ... As a proportion of GNP, public expenditure on higher education ... declined from 0.55 percent in 1989–1990 to 0.39 percent in 1998–1999” (Tilak 2013, 337). Yet, the number of institutions and student enrollment increased steeply between 1991 and 2004, the number of university-level institutions by 80 percent, colleges by a whopping 130 percent, and the number students by 103 percent. This was mostly due to the mushrooming of institutions in the private sector (Agarwal 2009, 17).

The entry of the private sector forced the State to create some regulatory structures. The mid-1990s saw the establishment of three agencies for evaluation of quality and accreditation: the National Assessment and Accreditation Council set up by the UGC, the National Board of Accreditation of the All India Council for Technical Education, and the Accreditation Board set by the ICAR. The culture of accreditation and quality assurance is yet to take firm roots since these are not yet linked with any special incentives. Several reputed HEIs had initial reluctance to volunteer to get accredited (Agarwal 2009, 373–374). This may change, with the UGC in recent years taking a firmer position regarding accreditation.

In the mid-2000s, there was some rethinking on higher education under the auspices of a new committee on higher education and the National Knowledge Commission. As a consequence of these deliberations, about 16 new central universities were established in 2008 with the purpose of creating pace-setting institutions in each state directly supported by the union government. There was also much deliberation on an empowered and more autonomous national regulatory body to replace the UGC and all existing statutory bodies. However, given a general lack of bipartisan consensus in the Parliament and between the union and the states, these initiatives could not be brought to fruition. As N. Jayaram puts it somewhat skeptically, “[considering] the economic and political cost of wholesale overhauling, and in view of the compulsions of coalition politics now, radical reform proposals are sure to remain on paper only” (Jayaram 2015, 213).

Parallel to these developments, and because of political compulsions, in the mid-2000s the union government enhanced the reservation quota for marginalized social groups in admission to central HEIs. Complying with a judicial directive that such an increase in quota should not bring down the number of seats available to students of the “non-reserved” or “general” category, the student intake in each HEI supported by the union government was increased by 54 percent in three years, arguably without adequate enhancement in faculty strength or infrastructure, although some financial allocation had been made for this purpose. This created much chaos even in those institutions that were

known to provide reasonably high-quality programs, since this came precisely at the time when they were being invoked to wake up to a new market reality of having to compete with private and foreign HEIs. These pulls in opposite directions that public HEIs seem to face is in line with the nature of the post-1991 phase where “the economics of liberalization and the politics of empowerment [move] the economy and the polity . . . in opposite directions, without any concerted attempt at a reconciliation or a mediation” (Nayyar 2008, 371).

SOME ISSUES

Higher education is impacted by India’s drastic shift toward becoming a market-driven economy and its continuing tension with the dynamics of the political democracy. This throws up several issues. We will now examine a select few of these that are indicative of the complexity and flux of higher education in India today.

Quantity, Equity, and Quality

As we saw earlier, the edifice of India’s higher education was built on the enormous social inequality to which it may have added new dimensions. Even with the considerable growth of higher education since independence, it is at present accessible to only about 15 percent of the age-specific population, which compares poorly even with many developing countries (Tilak 2013, 6). There is a perception that those who have had access to higher education have benefitted most from India’s economic growth since 2000. Aspiration for higher education has therefore soared in an unprecedented manner in recent years, seeing it as an important vehicle for upward mobility. This is particularly the case among those outside the core of the economy and formal sectors of employment (which accounts for only 7 percent of India’s workforce) and who, because of the recent expansion of school education, see themselves as ready to avail of such an opportunity. In a political democracy, a mass demand for opportunities for upward mobility cannot but be seen as responded to. We saw the proliferation of undergraduate colleges and open and distance learning and also unplanned expansions of existing HEIs (Agarwal 2009, 1–38). Expansion has been “without due consideration of the resources available . . . Academic standards have been relaxed, abruptly and even arbitrarily, in the name of equality and justice” (Beteille 2013, 535). Unplanned growth and drastic measures to enhance quota (particularly to the extent of about 50 percent and introducing a quota system even for faculty positions) have raised much debate on “merit,” “quality,” and “excellence” (Indiresan and Nigam 1993, 334–363; Deshpande 2013, 76–87).

Higher education policy in India is at crossroads today. Globalization, as Suma Chitnis says, has thrust on India a new dilemma. “With the resources now available, the country must [choose to either] promote advanced technical and professional education and research to be self-sufficient and to remain in

the forefront of knowledge [or alternately] concentrate on providing a variety of vocational and technical courses to equip the population [for] the [growing] employment opportunities” (Chitnis 2002). It seems India has chosen the latter path, as evinced by the proliferation of institutions offering professional and technical education, the majority of which are in the private sector (Agarwal 2009, 22) and are arguably of unacceptable quality. “Many of India’s impressive number of engineering graduates, up to 75 percent according to a McKinsey report, are too poorly educated to function effectively in the economy without additional on-the-job training” (Altbach 2009).

There have always been talks of establishing new institutions of excellence, “world-class” universities and “innovation universities,” that, in the words of the then union minister of higher education, “are positioned to be at the cutting edge of research fostered through the teaching-learning process” (Sibal 2011, xv). These are still castles in the air. The problem in fact has been the reluctance on the part of successive governments to invest in existing universities and in raising the level of quality of the entire ecosystem of public HEIs. Just as in the case of the “major universities” of the 1960s, there is still mistrust and impatience to work with existing institutions whatever be their credentials, and a preference to opt for creating new ones.

Wherever the State had stayed invested in its support for particular institutions, they have through time attained some level of excellence, as in the case of the brand IIT that has acquired considerable international reputation (Jayaram 2011, 167–193), and also the brand IIM. It has been a policy for successive governments since the 1990s to seek to replicate a “success story” thus attempting to put together clones of “good” institutions in many parts of the country. Ten more IITs have been established since the 1990s. The IIM system has grown considerably since the 1990s; there are 13 IIMs at present and 6 more on the anvil. In the process, there is a definite risk of dilution of whatever credibility the brands IIT and IIM have acquired over decades. Even the new set of 16 central universities of 2008 has been sought to be molded in a standard cast. This approach is essentially a bureaucratic one of standardization that lacks an understanding of how institutions grow in an organic manner rooted in the socio-historical context in which they take birth.

The root of the quantity–quality dichotomy perhaps traces all the way back to the initial years after India’s independence. The decision to locate research in the CSIR and ICAR laboratories as opposed to strengthening the universities for this purpose and to promote technical–professional training in a new set of institutions like the IITs instead of promoting existing faculties of science and engineering in some of the better known universities seems to be based on the unquestioned assumption in India’s higher education policies that universities and their ecosystem are primarily equipped only as “retailers of knowledge” (Jayaram 2007, 72), and institutions mandated to pursue excellence in terms of research and professional training of quality must necessarily have to be sequestered from that ecosystem.

Public Versus Private

There was almost a moratorium on growth of public investment in higher education post 1991. Yet, the higher education system had to grow, because with economic liberalization, the market for technical skills grew considerably and with that a more vociferous demand for programs in engineering, business studies, law, and so on began to be heard. Abdication by the State created a vacuum that was only too readily occupied by the private sector. Private colleges of engineering and business had already come up in some states in the earlier phase. This trend continued in the 1990s and spread to other states as well. In the 1990s and 2000s, some of these institutions were accorded autonomy as “deemed-universities.” In addition, several states through due legislative processes created full-fledged private universities.

The private sector fulfills a major function of catering to the growing and apparently insatiable demand from the newly emerging Indian middle class which has now the disposable income for “spending on purchases that improve economic prospects and quality of life [like] better-quality education, university degrees, and study-abroad programs” (Beinhocker et al. 2007, 51–61). The proportion of private unaided institutions increased from 25 percent in 2001 to 43 percent in 2006, and their students from 22 percent to 31 percent in the same period (Agarwal 2009, 91). Altbach attributes the sudden mushrooming of institutions in the private sector to the “complexity and lack of overall direction relating to aspects of higher education policy making in India” (Altbach 2009).

Most of the professional programs are offered through private institutions since the turn of the millennium (Agarwal 2009, 88). The heterogeneity among the private HEIs is immense. Some are of considerable repute, but a large number of them are not more than teaching shops often associated with inadequate, incompetent, and ill-compensated faculty, unscrupulous commercial practices, and sometimes non-provision of the required facilities and resources. This reflects on the inadequacies of “the complex and often dysfunctional regulatory framework for higher education in India” (Altbach 2009), and also arguably a possible unholy nexus in certain quarters between some private providers and the political class. The influence that the private sector wields in policy forums has increased considerably in recent years, judging from their significant presence in the UGC, the Association of Indian Universities, and so on. Almost all private universities and colleges are registered as not-for-profit entities and enjoy the benefits that go with it. But, “[the] large majority of these institutions are for-profit or quasi for-profit, and many are family owned” (Altbach 2009).

The public institutions have their own woes. A large number of faculty positions are left vacant because of lack of funds or for bureaucratic reasons. The financial policies are so tightly controlled by the government that public institutions find it difficult to raise funds from other sources. They have little freedom to exercise flexibility in offering better compensatory packages to attract

good faculty. The large size of a majority of public universities and their affiliating structure make it difficult for them to keep renewing their curriculum and bring in innovations in academic processes. Micro-politics within public HEIs often reinforce their inertia and resistance to institutional renewal and compromise their dignity and autonomy (Beteille 2000, 168–169). There is enormous political interference particularly in the governance of public HEIs. One fundamental problem is that the State actors seem to want to control everything. Acts and statutes of new universities often reveal this “control freakiness.” Despite this, at least a subset of public institutions, both professional and liberal, have earned much credibility over the years as evinced by the high demand ratio for admission, not merely in IITs and IIMs, but also in several liberal undergraduate and graduate programs.

The public and the private sectors have their distinct roles clearly defined. Therefore, an increasing participation of the private sector does not give the State an alibi for rolling back its responsibility for providing affordable higher education of quality and relevance. Just when the first generation school graduates (the beneficiaries of the recent expansion of school systems) begin to aspire for higher education of acceptable quality, India’s political democracy would find it impossible to let the State be seen as abdicating its responsibility toward equity and social justice. The downward shift in the economic profile of students of higher education makes continuing support by the State an imperative.

Cramming and Cracking Examinations

The bane of the mainstream Indian education system is its dependence on an information-based curricula and examination system. The education system is largely about sorting and selecting, and there are successive hurdles of public examinations that a young person needs to cross to pursue the higher education of one’s choice. High school students invest four or five years being coached through intense drills outside of their schooling to crack the entrance examinations to institutions like the IITs. Similarly, a good proportion of students in undergraduate and professional programs undergo coaching outside of their colleges for admission tests to IIM, for aptitude tests for studies abroad, for the civil services examination for government jobs, for the National Eligibility Tests for faculty positions, and so on. They negotiate these two parallel trajectories quite deftly with the help of private coaching centers and cram-books which are formidable edifices scaffolding the main superstructure of higher education in India. These public examinations have made deep inroads into the culture and curricular-pedagogic practices in HEIs, leaving them largely didactic and devoid of any originality or creativity.

Globalization and Internationalization

Located in a culture of self-sufficiency associated with a closed economy, Indian HEIs had grown in relative isolation from international exposure. Unlike their

peers in the pre-independence period many of whom had British degrees, the bulk of Indian academia in the post-independence era was homebred. The momentum of international collaboration that had gathered from independence to the early 1960s when the IITs were established had not sustained much longer; in any case, such collaborations did not go beyond the premier institutions. By the 1970s, Indian higher education had become somewhat inward looking and insular. All the same, there was always a steady flow of Indian graduates mainly to the USA and the UK. A few of them returned after studies, a small subset of whom joined the HEIs as faculty. There was also a modest presence of international students mostly from Asia and Africa in those decades.

Since the 1990s, things have started to change at least in some HEIs. The emerging Indian middle class aspires to go global. They perceive a market value for higher education abroad (Beinhocker et al. 2007). Therefore, there is much motivation particularly in the private sector for twinning programs, student exchange, dual degrees, short-term study abroad, and so on. Greater student movement to foreign destinations is prompting adoption of international standards and practices in curriculum, instruction, evaluation, and certification. Private HEIs are keener than their public counterparts to attract international students for additional revenue. A few Indian HEIs have set up campuses abroad. Meanwhile, draft legislation to enable foreign universities to establish offshore subsidiaries in India has been on the anvil for some years. But there are apprehensions about “unfettered markets” without effective regulators allowing “substandard institutions” with “high fees” and “poor education” to sneak in (Nayyar 2013b, 470).

The government imposes restrictions on hiring international faculty. However, a recent initiative attempts to facilitate only premier HEIs to host international scientists as short-term faculty. Some senior academics however have taken a dim view of this unequal partnership involving “‘fly-by-night’ rapid-fire igniting of the Indian students’ minds” (Amin and Mahajan 2015).

EPILOGUE

The destiny of India’s higher education seems to be tied securely to the destiny of its middle class, which is both its product and its major consumer. The growth of the private sector in higher education is correlated with the upward mobility of this class. A McKinsey study of the new Indian middle class conducted in the mid-2000s when India was going through a period of high economic growth predicted that the social segment (5 percent at that time) that can afford to purchase higher education will multiply eightfold by 2025 (Beinhocker et al. 2007, 51–61). With decelerated economic growth since, this class may not grow to the extent predicted. Yet, a steep rise in demand for marketable higher education is still quite likely. Meanwhile, judging from the political developments since 2014, the State will probably continue to roll back from higher education and the private sector will continue to grow in size and

influence. The indications are that the union government is increasingly likely to focus its support on the central HEIs and wriggle gradually out of its constitutional responsibility toward higher education nationally, thereby deepening the “caste-divide” between the central and the state HEIs.

Through its more than 150 years of history, Indian higher education has been a pacesetter. It was built on India’s inequality, which it may have exacerbated further. It was designed to create cultural intermediaries to support colonial administration, but its graduates constituted independent India’s leadership, not merely in politics, but in most of its modern institutions. Undoubtedly, the university is the vanguard of modernity in India, which, unlike its counterpart in the West, is “in advance of society” (Beteille 2013, 530). The project of modernity is far from over in India, and higher education has its unfinished roles to play.

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Singapore: A Small Nation with Big Dreams of Being a Global Schoolhouse

Eng Thye Jason Tan

INTRODUCTION

Singapore's higher education system had its origins during the British colonial period. The colonial government opened a medical college in 1905 in response to a petition from local community leaders. The college, which served Singapore and Malaya, was named the King Edward VII College of Medicine in 1920. Further pressure from the local Straits Chinese British Association, as well as the threat of an American-sponsored tertiary college, spurred the government into planning a college of higher education (Wilson 1978; Turnbull 1989). Raffles College, established in 1928, offered diplomas in arts and science to students, most of whom found jobs after graduation as teachers or as junior civil servants.

Amid moves by the colonial government during the immediate post-World War II years toward self-government, the Carr-Saunders Commission recommended the merger of the King Edward VII Medical College and Raffles College to form the degree-granting University of Malaya in 1949. The university served the needs of Singapore, Malaya, and the Borneo Territories for the following decade. Two autonomous divisions of the university, one in Singapore and the other in Kuala Lumpur, were established in 1959. Subsequently, two separate national universities were formed, and the University of Singapore was set up in 1962.

Meanwhile, in response to the colonial authorities' apathy toward Chinese-medium education and declining enrollments in Chinese-medium schools, prominent local Chinese merchants started making plans for a Chinese-

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medium university as early as 1950. The Nanyang University was officially established in 1956 with three colleges in arts, science, and commerce. From its inception, the university faced problems such as difficulties in recruiting quality academic staff and low academic standards (Wilson 1978). In 1980, the Nanyang University Council accepted the then prime minister's proposal to merge their university with the University of Singapore to form the English-medium National University of Singapore (NUS).

After the formation of the NUS, the English-medium Nanyang Technological Institute was set up on the Nanyang University campus in 1981. In 1991, the government accepted the recommendation of a British academic, Sir Frederick Dainton, to convert the NTI from an engineering university into a comprehensive university, the Nanyang Technological University (NTU). The Institute of Education, the sole teacher-training institution, was renamed the National Institute of Education and became an autonomous part of the NTU. Over the course of the next two decades, the NTU began offering degrees in accountancy, business, arts, science, education, and communications. The third publicly funded university, the Singapore Management University (SMU), was set up in 2000 as a private company. It was modeled after the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, and offered degrees in business, management, accounting, and the humanities.

In addition to the universities, there are also five diploma-granting polytechnics. The Singapore Polytechnic, which began enrolling students in 1958, was the first of these, modeled along the lines of British polytechnics. It offered English-medium instruction leading to diplomas in engineering, accountancy, architecture and building, and nautical studies. From the late 1960s on, the government determined the role of this polytechnic as being the provision of middle-level technical personnel to support the government's industrialization program. The Ngee Ann College was established in 1963, in much the same tradition as Nanyang University, as a private college founded by a Chinese community clan group. It initially offered degree courses, conducted mainly in Chinese, in arts, science, and commerce, and faced problems similar to those of Nanyang University. Internal reforms led to the college ending its degree programs in favor of diploma courses in engineering and commerce. The college became a public education institution in 1968 and was renamed the Ngee Ann Technical College. It assumed its present name, the Ngee Ann Polytechnic, in 1982, by which time it had become a wholly English-medium institution.

As part of its expansion plans for higher education in the late 1980s, the government opened two new polytechnics in rapid succession. The Temasek Polytechnic opened in 1990, followed two years later by the Nanyang Polytechnic. The fifth polytechnic, Republic Polytechnic, enrolled its first students in 2003. All five polytechnics, which cater largely to students who have finished secondary school, offer a wide spectrum of courses, including those in health sciences, hospitality, and biotechnology, far beyond those first offered by the Singapore Polytechnic in its early years.

At this point, it is important to point out that right until the late 1980s the Singapore government maintained a relatively cautious approach to increasing higher education enrollments. For instance, the age-cohort enrollment rates in local universities and polytechnics were merely 8 percent and 14 percent, respectively, in 1985 (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1996, 76). It was only in the late 1980s that this rate began inching above the 10 percent mark to reach 20 percent in 1995. Contrary to practice in the UK, Australia, and Hong Kong, the Singapore government refused to convert diploma-granting polytechnics into full-fledged degree-awarding universities, choosing instead to channel 37 percent of the age cohort to polytechnics in 1995 (*ibid.*, 76). The latest plans are for 40 percent of the age cohort to be enrolled in polytechnics. Despite recent relaxation of university admission requirements to allow polytechnic graduates to enroll in local universities, these graduates still find themselves competing for a smaller number of places vis-à-vis their counterparts who have completed pre-university schooling. As a result of the relatively limited enrollments in local universities, a substantial number of students (comprising those who have secondary or pre-university qualifications, and including a number of working adults) chose to enroll in overseas universities or in external degree programs run by a variety of providers (Tan 1997).

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, Singapore's government expressed its ambition to turn the country into an international education hub. This intention was justified primarily on economic grounds: boosting economic competitiveness within the knowledge-based economy, and adding to the pool of local talent. This chapter begins by outlining the beginnings of the ambitious cross-border "global schoolhouse" project, which was launched in 2002 by the Ministry of Trade and Industry, with an ambitious target of recruiting 150,000 international full-fee-paying students by the year 2015. The government also hoped to attract a number of top-tier foreign universities to establish campuses in Singapore, which would then form the apex of a three-tiered pyramid of universities. Its intention was to keep abreast of other countries' attempts to take advantage of the burgeoning transnational higher education market. The chapter then analyzes the socio-political context within which the global schoolhouse project was formulated. Among other things, the project illustrates the impact of globalization and marketization at work in a state that believes in a highly interventionist approach to higher education (Mok and Tan 2004). Next, the chapter highlights the various challenges faced in the implementation of this project. These include a few embarrassing high-profile episodes involving foreign universities changing their minds about setting up campuses in Singapore. In addition, the global schoolhouse project fell victim to a heated anti-immigration backlash among many locals. This chapter illustrates many of the key points mentioned in earlier parts of this book. In particular, it highlights the interaction of global influences and national responses, while suggesting the limits to success of state ambitions.

THE GENESIS OF THE “GLOBAL SCHOOLHOUSE” PROJECT IN SINGAPORE

The Singapore Ministry of Trade and Industry first used the term global schoolhouse in a 2002 report. The report had its beginnings in the 2001 economic recession that affected Singapore. The committee behind the report claimed that Singapore needed to move away from low-cost, low-income economic strategies (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2002). Among the many sub-committees was a Services sub-committee, which examined, among other things, the education industry.

This sub-committee said that Singapore enjoyed a reputation as “a hub of educational excellence,” along with “excellent infrastructure, business hub standing, and cosmopolitan society” (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2002, 1). Singapore was therefore well positioned to compete in the estimated US\$2.2 trillion world education market. It quoted INSEAD professor Arnaud de Meyer, Chairman of the Education Workgroup, who had claimed that “[h]elping private providers to grow, facilitating partnerships between institutions, and attracting new players into the market would create a ‘global schoolhouse’ that offers a comprehensive continuum of learning experiences” (ibid., 1). In addition, Singapore was strategically located within eight hours’ flying time of 2.8 billion people and, in particular, major source countries for international students such as India, Malaysia, and the People’s Republic of China.

The sub-committee further suggested increasing the education services sector’s contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) 3 to 5 percent in 10 to 15 year’s time, which would be comparable to “established education hubs such as the UK and Australia” (ibid., 1). It also proposed increasing the number of international full-fee-paying students from the then 50,000 to 150,000 by the year 2015. Several advantages for pursuing this vision were outlined. First, the increase in institutional spending and the foreign students’ spending would fuel economic growth and create high-paying jobs. Secondly, the foreign students would contribute human capital to existing and projected industry needs. Thirdly, some universities would engage in knowledge-based activities such as research and development, patent generation, and enterprise development, edging Singapore closer to its vision, first announced in the mid-1980s, of becoming a knowledge-based economy. Furthermore, the growth in the number of universities would help meet burgeoning domestic demand for higher education, which was then unmet. The resulting outflow of local students to overseas universities might be stemmed somewhat with the introduction of more institutions and a diversity of choices. Next, the sub-committee claimed that the interaction between domestic and international students would “promote societal and community development” (ibid., 1). The international students would also boost Singapore’s talent pool, and would form an influential network of alumni around the world.

The report recommended a three-tiered system of universities to be the core of the global schoolhouse. At the apex would be “world class universities,”

which would mark Singapore as a “premier education hub” (*ibid.*, 5). These universities would concentrate primarily on postgraduate education, and would be “niche centers of excellence” contributing to research and development. The second tier would be the three publicly funded universities—the NUS, the NTU, and the SMU—the so-called “bedrock” universities that would carry out research and development activities, supply the bulk of domestic university-educated manpower needs, attract regional students through scholarships, and fulfill the notion of education as a public good. At the base of the pyramid would be “additional private universities.” These institutions would focus on teaching and applied research, and cater to the majority of the additional 100,000 foreign students envisioned in the global schoolhouse. Besides providing diversity to the higher education landscape, the sub-committee thought the universities in the third tier could vary in their modes of operation. They could be either domestic or foreign in origin, with stand-alone campuses or campuses operated jointly with local partners. However, they should be of good reputation such as the NUS and the NTU in order to maintain Singapore’s brand name.

The sub-committee provided enrollment projections for the three tiers as follows: 1000 undergraduates and 2000 postgraduates for the top tier, 50,000 undergraduates and 20,000 postgraduates for the second tier, and 60,000 undergraduates and 12,500 postgraduates for the third tier. These figures were based on Ministry of Education plans to increase the university cohort participation rate from 21 percent in 2002 to 25 percent by the year 2010 (*ibid.*, 6). The authors of the report hoped the increases in enrollments would help retain some of the approximately 8000 local students who went overseas annually as well as working adults who wanted to obtain university qualifications.

Besides setting out enrollment targets, the sub-committee also recommended supporting mechanisms. Among these was the provision of competitive land pricing for prospective universities. Yet another was the establishment of a quality assurance system. The sub-committee suggested too that the Economic Development Board (EDB) (a state-affiliated investment promotion agency) and the Ministry of Education co-manage an Education Promotion Agency with overseas branches in order to attract international students. The Singapore Tourism Board subsequently began promoting Singapore as an education destination on its website.

WAS THE “GLOBAL SCHOOLHOUSE” A TOTALLY NEW IDEA?

The global schoolhouse vision was by no means a totally new idea, but the latest in a host of government-initiated policy initiatives that reinforced the key role played by education in supporting national economic competitiveness. For example, almost two decades earlier, the Trade and Industry Ministry had published a report in the aftermath of the 1985–1986 economic recession. The report had identified education as one of 18 services sectors to be promoted as possible growth sectors (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1986). Similarly,

a 1991 Ministry report had stressed the need for Singapore to develop into an international center of learning in order to use “global resources, global technology, and global talent” (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1991, 59). In 1996, the then prime minister announced the government would turn Singapore into the “Boston of the East,” with Harvard University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology serving as role models for the NUS and the NTU to develop into world-class institutions (Goh 1996). Subsequently, the 2002 report on the global schoolhouse was an expansion of an EDB drive, which was launched in 1998, to attract at least ten world-class universities to establish campuses in Singapore within the following decade. This drive managed to attract prestigious institutions such as Johns Hopkins University, the University of Chicago, and INSEAD.

The global schoolhouse rhetoric was symptomatic of the Singapore government’s long-standing obsession with monitoring and capitalizing on international economic trends. It is interesting that the report made no mention of the civilizing effects of education or the benefits of a liberal education. Rather, Singapore was urged to stay ahead of competitors such as Australia and Malaysia in the education hub market (Ministry of Trade and Industry 2002, 5).

Enrolling foreign students was also not a new idea in Singapore higher education either. In the mid-1980s, the government had announced a target of 20 percent for foreign undergraduate enrollments in local publicly funded universities. In response to concerns among parliamentarians that foreign students might displace local students, it had stated that local students would be accorded priority for admission. Foreign students would have to satisfy more stringent entry requirements than local students.

The government’s rationale for admitting foreign students was pragmatic. First, these students would have to sign a bond to live and work in Singapore for at least three years after graduation, thus adding to the limited local talent pool. Admitting these students represented a prime investment, since Singapore would tap into their talent without having had to pay for their prior education. Secondly, Singapore students would benefit from interacting with foreign students. This interaction would help local students in their future job-related contacts with foreigners. Thirdly, when foreign students returned to their home countries, there would be a network of Singapore-friendly alumni holding key posts in key private and state sectors. Toward this end, the government had, since the 1970s, been awarding scholarships to students from Southeast Asia (and subsequently Hong Kong, India, and the People’s Republic of China) to study in secondary schools, pre-university institutions, and universities. In the late 1990s, the former prime minister had urged top independent secondary schools to maintain a 20 percent enrollment figure for foreign students, claiming that local students would benefit from the added competition (Fernandez 1997).

Besides its obsessive concern over economic growth, the ruling People’s Action Party (PAP), which has enjoyed uninterrupted power since 1959, has long been preoccupied with the issue of “talent.” The issue of “talent” was

highlighted in 1989 by the then Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, who expressed alarm at the rapid decline in population growth. Lee had hoped that the events of Tiananmen Square that year would lead to Singapore attracting 25,000 skilled migrants from Hong Kong (*The Straits Times* 1989). Echoing Lee's views, the Ministry of Trade and Industry claimed that the relatively low educational attainments of the workforce would frustrate Singapore's dreams of becoming a knowledge-based economy (Ministry of Trade and Industry 1991, 2003). A Ministry of Trade and Industry report (2003, 173) claimed that:

[t]alent has become a key resource in a globalized world. The appeal and receptiveness of cities like Boston and San Francisco to talent, whether indigenous ... or from the rest of the world, is a key reason why these cities thrive. Today, even emerging economies like China and India also compete for global talent ... To sustain our economy in this environment and indeed to maintain the standards of living, which we have achieved as a first-world country, we must do the same. While there are many talented Singaporeans, our indigenous talent pool is not deep enough. We must therefore seek talent from around the world, develop a healthy mix of indigenous and global talent, and encourage all our talent to identify with Singapore.

It is worth pointing out that the global schoolhouse vision was an attempt by the Singapore “entrepreneurial state” (Ziguras and McBurnie 2015) to enter the “Third Generation” of cross-border higher education (Knight 2014). This generation, the establishment of education hubs, builds on the first and second generations (people mobility and program and provider mobility, respectively) (Knight 2014, 50):

An education hub is a concerted and planned effort by a country ... to build a critical mass of education/knowledge actors and strengthen its efforts to exert more influence in the new marketplace of education ... a country's plan to position itself within the region and beyond as a reputed center for higher education and research.

Knight highlights three categories of hub. The first is “student hub,” where the key activity is the education and training of local and international students. There is also a focus on attracting foreign higher education institutions (HEIs) to set up branch campuses or offer franchised or twinning programs. The second is a “talent hub,” where the focus is on the development of a skilled workforce and encouraging foreign students to remain in the host country after graduation. Next, the “knowledge/innovation hub” aims at building capacity in the production and distribution of knowledge and innovation.

The global schoolhouse was also part of a string of reforms in the university sector in Singapore, evidence of the long-standing dominant interventionist state role in education (Tan 2004). Besides two official reports within the space of five years on reforming the university admission system (Ministry of Education 1999, 2004), there had also been two reports in the years 2000 and 2005 recommending that the NUS and the NTU become autonomous universities along the lines of the SMU, even while the Ministry of Education retained strong governing and regulatory powers over them (Ministry of Education 2000, 2005).

The announcement of the global schoolhouse came amid the continuing inability of the local publicly funded universities to cope with growing social demand for higher education. This demand has been fueled by improved secondary and pre-university examination pass rates since the 1980s, growing aspirations on the part of polytechnic graduates (who form 40 percent of each age cohort) and pre-university graduates (who form 25 percent of each age cohort) for a university qualification (Ministry of Education 2007), as well as a persistently strong positive link between educational attainment and employee remuneration. It is important to remember, as mentioned earlier, that in the mid-1980s Singapore still operated a highly elitist system, with a mere 8 percent of the age cohort being admitted to undergraduate studies. In 2008, the Ministry of Education revised upward the earlier Ministry of Trade and Industry university enrollment target of 25 percent of the relevant age cohort. The new target was 30 percent by the year 2015. Within a few years, another Education Ministry report recommended a target of 40 percent by the year 2020 (Ministry of Education 2012). In part, the massification of higher education was an attempt “to retain more of the brightest students in Singapore” (Ministry of Education 2008, 11). In the past decade, three new local universities have been established since the publication of the global schoolhouse report: the Singapore University of Technology and Design (a publicly funded university set up in 2010 in collaboration with the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Zhejiang University), the Singapore Institute of Technology (a publicly funded institution established in 2009), and the UniSIM (established in 2005 as a privately funded university). These three universities were additions to the bedrock layer of the three-tiered pyramid mentioned in the global schoolhouse report.

Another feature of the global schoolhouse—the use of economic lenses to view education—was not new. Since the mid-1980s, the primary and in particular secondary and pre-university sectors of schooling have been inundated by what Tan (2010) has termed the marketization of education. The use of terms such as “diversity,” “choice,” and “competition” have become commonplace. The 2002 report’s emphasis on the need for Singapore to beat competitors in the international higher education marketplace was further symptomatic of the marketization and commodification of education (Mok and Tan 2004).

SETBACKS IN THE GLOBAL SCHOOLHOUSE PROJECT

The global schoolhouse initiative was plagued with various difficulties right from the beginning. First, there were some rather embarrassing high-profile cases where foreign universities lost their initial enthusiasm for establishing campuses in Singapore, decided to withdraw their campuses and programs, or were asked to end their Singapore operations. For instance, Warwick University, which had received an invitation from the EDB in 2004, had planned to be one of the first foreign universities to establish a full-fledged branch campus offering courses in Singapore (*The Straits Times* 2005). However, it abruptly

changed its plans in 2005. Among the reasons given for this change was the university senate's vote against these plans because of concerns about academic freedom in the branch campus and the state of human rights in Singapore.

In July 2006, the government-funded Agency for Science, Technology, and Research announced that it would be closing Johns Hopkins University's biomedical research facility because the university had not recruited the anticipated number of doctoral students. Furthermore, despite having received more than US\$50 million in EDB funding since 1998 (Johns Hopkins University having been one of the universities that the EDB attracted to Singapore), the university had failed to meet 8 out of its 13 performance benchmarks, including the recruitment of senior faculty (Jaschik 2006; The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education 2007).

The third major debacle involved the University of New South Wales (UNSW), which had been the first to publicly declare its intention to establish a branch campus in Singapore after having received an official EDB invitation in late 2003 (O'Keefe 2007). It announced in April 2004 that the UNSW-Asia campus would begin classes in February 2007 with an initial intake of 500 students, and that enrollments would eventually reach 15,000. The Singapore government had arranged temporary government-owned premises for UNSW-Asia before its eventual move to a stand-alone campus, which would be built with the aid of EDB financial subsidies. Only four months after having opened, UNSW-Asia was closed in June 2007 because of low student enrollments (having managed only to recruit 148 students for the first semester) and worries over financial viability (The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education 2007).

In the last few years, Singapore's global schoolhouse has lost some of its luster as another three universities announced they would be closing their campuses. In 2012, the Tisch School of the Arts Asia, an offshoot of the main school affiliated with New York University, decided to end its masters courses in film, animation, media production, and dramatic writing. The branch campus had been suffering financial deficits for all five years of its existence despite having received about US\$17 million in financial subsidies from the EDB and additional funds from New York University. The Minister for Trade and Industry told Parliament in 2013 that "EDB provided Tisch Asia with a level of support that was commensurate with the anticipated benefits of having the school in Singapore" (Lim 2013, 2). Tisch said the campus, which was New York University's first degree-granting program outside the USA, would stay open until 2015 to allow students to complete their coursework (Ang 2012; Schlanger 2013).

In 2013, the University of Chicago Booth School of Business, yet another of the original group of world-class universities chosen by the EDB in 1998, said it was moving its executive education program from Singapore to Hong Kong. It hoped to capture a growing share of the Chinese market and build its reputation in North Asia (Bradshaw 2013; Gold 2013). That same year, the University of Nevada at Las Vegas, which in 2006 had set up a stand-alone

branch campus for a few years before running a joint Bachelor's program in hospitality management with the Singapore Institute of Technology, declared that it would terminate its contract with the Institute, citing financial viability as a reason (Redden 2013).

Another program mired in controversy was the Yale-NUS College. The College originated in an Education Ministry report in 2008, which commented on NUS proposals for establishing a liberal arts institution in Singapore. Established in 2011 as a collaborative venture between the two universities, it was criticized by some Yale faculty and human-rights advocates who claimed a liberal arts education dedicated to free inquiry was incompatible with an authoritarian state with heavy restrictions on free speech and assembly (Simon 2012).

Besides these high-profile controversies, a second issue surrounding the global schoolhouse initiative was that of quality assurance. The first decade of the twenty-first century saw several cases of fraud involving private for-profit schools closing down suddenly and leaving their students without any recourse to financial or academic redress. In one case, a private school managed to award fake Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology degrees for a few years before being exposed (Davie 2009). It took seven years from the initial announcement of the global schoolhouse initiative before Parliament passed the Private Education Act (Government of Singapore 2011). The Act enabled the Council for Private Education to regulate all private educational institutions awarding degrees, diplomas, or certificates.

The third challenge was a growing anti-immigration backlash from Singaporeans (see for instance, Curtis 2014). Amid widespread concerns that a liberal immigration policy (citizens formed 63.6 percent of the population in 2010, down from 74.1 percent in 2000 and 86.1 percent in 1990) (Department of Statistics 2014) had caused strains in national identity, along with pressures on public infrastructure and perceived competition for jobs and school places, the PAP suffered a reduced majority at the 2011 general elections. In 2015, a furor arose over foreign-born workers allegedly using fake degrees and those from so-called "degree mills" in order to secure professional jobs (Robert 2015). A Ministry of Trade and Industry report (2003, 174) had already warned that:

bringing in foreign talent is a sensitive issue in any society ... the reality is that keeping out global talent will not create more jobs for Singaporeans, while sending away foreigners who are already working in Singapore may cause the economy to spiral down further. Moreover, global talent may be attracted to competing cities in Asia, and this will have profoundly adverse impact on Singapore's aspiration to become a leading global city.

The PAP has responded to public indignation by tightening the reins on growth in immigration. This change in immigration policy direction is bound to have consequences for Singapore's dreams of being an education hub.

It has become increasingly clear that the global schoolhouse vision will remain a mirage. Davie (2014) reported that foreign student numbers fell

from 97,000 in 2008 to 84,000 in 2012 and 75,000 in 2014. In late 2014, Singapore fell 12 places from the 3rd spot to the 15th in the London-based educational consultancy Quacquarelli Symonds' annual rankings of the world's best cities for university students (Teng 2014). Furthermore, a Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation survey revealed foreign students' concerns over employment prospects and living costs in Singapore (Lee 2014). At the same time, public prejudice against degrees awarded by private HEIs (vis-à-vis those from public institutions) (Yeo and Ho 2014) will make it difficult for foreign students to remain in Singapore after they have completed their degree studies. Two years earlier, the Trade and Industry Minister had told Parliament in 2012 that the education sector contributed 3.2 percent of GDP in 2011 (Lim 2012, 1), which was still short of the 2015 target of 5 percent. He claimed that:

[s]ince 2009 the [g]lobal [s]choolhouse initiative shifted its focus towards building industry-relevant manpower capabilities and helping to attract, develop, and retain talent for our economy as global competition for talent has intensified ... while the education sector remains an important part of our economy, the [g]lobal [s]choolhouse initiative will emphasize quality of education and relevance to the economy, and not student numbers or GDP share. (Lim 2012, 2)

His statement was an implicit acknowledgment that the original target of 150,000 international full-fee-paying students was nowhere in sight. Instead of admitting that the original enrollment target was over-ambitious, the government has chosen instead to modify the objectives of the global schoolhouse initiative.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has illustrated many of the key points mentioned in earlier parts of this book. It has focused on the Singapore government's ambitious global schoolhouse initiative, first announced in 2002. In characteristically Singaporean form, the government couched the initiative in economic terms, citing three main benefits: economic growth, capacity building, and talent. A target of 150,000 international full-fee-paying students was set for the year 2015.

The chapter demonstrated how the initiative, while being new in terms of setting a concrete enrollment target, was not exactly novel within the Singapore context. There has been a long-standing history of the highly interventionist state harnessing higher education for economic ends, as well as of attracting foreign students, once again on economic grounds. Furthermore, the global schoolhouse fit in well with the government's concurrent need to meet growing domestic demand for university places, and also with the growing marketization and commodification of education.

A few major hurdles stood in the way of the attainment of the vision. There were a number of high-profile debacles involving foreign university campuses, such as the University of New South Wales, the Johns Hopkins University, and the Tisch School of the Arts Asia. These universities closed down their programs in Singapore. The reasons ranged from miscalculations over predicted enrollment figures, a lack of financial resources to sustain the running of the campuses after the initial EDB subsidies had been withdrawn, and disputes with government agencies over unmet performance targets. Next, there were teething problems with quality assurance. A third, and more devastating, challenge came in the form of a massive anti-immigration backlash from the local population. Just a few years before the arrival of 2015, and even as foreign student enrollments had begun falling, the government implicitly acknowledged that the ambitious target of 150,000 would be dropped. In this respect, it appears that Singapore has now chosen to focus more on what Knight (2014) has termed becoming a “talent hub” and a “knowledge/innovation hub” and less on becoming a “student hub.” The Singapore case is instructive in pointing to the practical limits to what can be achieved, even when there is a firm interventionist will to pursue big dreams and ambitious goals. A variety of issues, including both domestic as well as foreign politics, can conspire to hamper the best laid of plans.

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Higher Education in Indonesia: Contemporary Challenges in Governance, Access, and Quality

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INTRODUCTION

The largest archipelago in the world has a challenging higher education environment. Indonesian policy makers and educators confront the difficult task of meeting the needs of an enormous country with over 375 ethnicities, 700 languages, six officially recognized creeds (i.e., Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism), the greatest number of Muslim adherents, and the fourth highest population on the planet (i.e., 237 million people) scattered across 6000 inhabited islands (Ananta 2013; Indonesian Central Agency on Statistics 2010).

Tensions arise as Islam accounts for 87 percent of Indonesians and the Javanese ethnicity—which is almost entirely Muslim—constitutes 40 percent of the inhabitants, while wielding the majority of political power. Indonesia has the 16th largest economy in the world and the largest economy in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), but inequality is rampant with 43.3 percent of the population living on less than \$2 USD per day in 2012 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

Indonesia also has the fourth largest education system in the world, behind China, India, and the USA (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Higher education institutions (HEIs) have made remarkable advancements in their relatively young lives (Cummings and Kasenda 1989; Buchori and Malik 2004; Nizam 2006). However, they remain relatively peripheral (Welch 2012). For

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instance, no Indonesian university is highly placed among the rankings of world universities (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

Issues of availability, affordability, equality, quality, and relevance of education are a concern of the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), as well as international organizations such as the Asian Development Bank and the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The 1996–2005 third plan by the Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE) launched a “new paradigm” based upon five pillars of reform—autonomy, quality, accountability, accreditation, and evaluation (Koning and Maassen 2012). The DGHE long-term strategy of 2003–2010 highlighted again autonomy and quality along with access and equity. The 12/2012 Higher Education Act also covers key elements such as institutional autonomy, equitable access, the quality assurance system, as well as strengthening of vocational education and training (Moeliodihardjo 2014).

This chapter presents the development of Indonesian higher education since its origins, through Dutch colonization and post-colonialism, to its contemporary features. The focus is on the macro level, with closer attention to the controversial issues of governance, autonomy, access, equity, quality, and internationalization.

ORIGINS OF INDONESIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

International ties permeate the history of Indonesian higher education from its beginning (Buchori and Malik 2004). Around the second century, Hinduism and Buddhism reached the island of Java; by the seventh century, monasteries offered monks access to basic literacy and religious knowledge. In the thirteenth century, Islam arrived and advanced teaching for notable men started in the *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). Graduates either created their own *pesantren* or pursued additional training in the Middle East, such as at al-Azhar University in Cairo. Returning alumni often became *ulama* (Muslim scholar) who produced internationally renowned works.

In the colonial era (ca. 1500s–1942), the Dutch established the first formal and official universities in Java starting at the end of the eighteenth century. The medical school and law school in Jakarta, the engineering institute in Bandung, and the agriculture center in Bogor were founded to compensate for the shortage of Dutch experts, especially during World War I. Dutch was the exclusive language of instruction and served as an effective means of selection of male nobles across the thin numbers of high school graduates.

The student bodies reflected the colonial hierarchy, with the Dutch at the top and indigenous people at the bottom. In 1930, 106 university students were children of Indonesian parents (Buchori and Malik 2004); in 1938, their number rose to 200 out of the total 1000 students (Cummings and Kasenda 1989). Colonial universities were arenas of “social and cultural conflict” (Alisjahbana 1966, 26). On the one hand, indigenous people increasingly attached more value to education, because it appeared as the only opportunity

to climb the colonial hierarchy toward a higher social status and better jobs in their local communities. On the other hand, they feared that Dutch education could manipulate the youth, with consequential loss of their traditions.

POST-COLONIAL HIGHER EDUCATION

With independence, secular and religious universities were formally established (Nizam 2006). The first official Islamic university, Universitas Islam Indonesia, opened in 1945. The first Indonesian secular university with no colonial legacy, Universitas Gadjah Mada, was founded in 1949 (Buchori and Malik 2004). The 1961 Law Number 22 on Higher Education prescribed the establishment of at least one public university in each province of Indonesia to expand inclusive higher education (Mason et al. 2001).

Indeed, 23 new universities, institutes, and teacher training colleges were opened during that time (Koning and Maassen 2012). By 1978, there were 44 state universities and 324 HEIs (Rais 1987). Students in tertiary education increased from 6000 in 1950 to 184,000 in 1965 (Pardoen 1998), 385,000 students in 1978, and 805,200 in 1983 (Rais 1987). The sharp increase is a reflection of the population explosion, which took place in Indonesia from the 1950s. It was also allowed by the large oil revenues that became available in the 1970s and 1980s (Koning and Maassen 2012).

Since independence, the Indonesian educational system has aimed to advance knowledge, as well as character and religiosity, in order to benefit the country as a whole (Soedijarto 2009). Article 31 of the 1945 Constitution explains that the role of the government vis-à-vis education is to “increase the level of spiritual belief, devoutness, and moral character” and to “advance science and technology with the highest respect for religious values and national unity.” The Higher Education Law of 1961 is still in effect today and states that the purpose of education is to build a society that embodies the five principles of the Pancasila (i.e., belief in one God, internationalism or humanitarianism, national unity, democracy based on deliberation, as well as consensus, and social justice). Over the decades, the stress on national commitment translated in several variations of civic, religious, and service-based education (Logli 2015).

CURRENT HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

In Indonesia, tertiary education has a diversified structure. HEIs can be public or private, secular or religious, and of types of academic specialization—academy, polytechnic, college, institute, and university (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004; Moeliodihardjo 2014). The first two types of specialization are vocational, whereas the last three are academic. Vocational programs (D1–D4) lead to diplomas after one to four years of study, whereas a bachelor’s degree (S1) lasts four years, with a further two years for a master’s degree (S2), and additional three years for a PhD (S3) (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

Table 37.1 Number of Indonesian HEIs (Year 2012–2013)

	<i>University</i>	<i>Institute</i>	<i>College</i>	<i>Polytechnic</i>	<i>Academy</i>	<i>Total</i>
Public	52 ^a	7	1	–	36	96
Private	424	51	1383	1099	136	3093
Islamic ^b	99	44	502			645
Total	575	102	1886	1099	172	3834

Source: OECD/Asian Development Bank (2015, 187)

Note: ^aThe public sector includes one Open University; ^b data refer to 2011–2012

As indicated by Table 37.1, the number of private colleges is striking, because the rising demand for higher education cannot be filled by the public sector (Welch 2012).

Two interesting developments regarding the expansion of community colleges (*Akademi Komunitas*) and distance learning have recently occurred. In 2011, the Long-Term Development Plan for Higher Education requested the founding of community colleges in each district/city level by 2015 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). In 2012, the latest Higher Education Act confirmed the importance of graduates' qualifications, including through the introduction of community colleges in all districts (Global Business Guide Indonesia 2013). In 2012–2013, 35 community colleges were developed throughout Indonesia (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). The government aims to establish 500 community colleges within the next few years (Clark 2014).

Community colleges provide 1–2 year vocational programs beyond high school (Moeliodihardjo 2014), mainly in the areas of manufacturing, nursing, automotive technology, and other trades (Clark 2014). They are established upon permission by the ministry to ensure that they have a sufficient basis in terms of quality and finance (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). To ensure quality, they are supported by stronger institutions during their establishment phase. For instance, the Bogor Agricultural University has assisted the launching of four community colleges on different islands.

There is also a growing interest in distance education in both government and private sectors (Soekartawi et al. 2012). According to Jacob et al., “in Indonesia, increased access to higher education for previously underrepresented students cannot be achieved without mastering several forms of distance education” (2012, 228). The target groups of distance education are those who cannot attend regular schooling due to remote location, work schedule, or personal constraints. However, the promotion of higher education as vocational training is linked to political and market-driven rationales, especially in regards to standardization, efficiency, and technocracy of higher education (Mason et al. 2001). As a result, HEIs focus on relatively narrow, utilitarian aims rather than a more universal pursuit of knowledge.

Similar to the rest of Southeast Asia, in Indonesia distance education started in the field of teacher training, which is viewed as particularly impactful for national development (Soekartawi et al. 2012). Currently, five government institutions are responsible for the development and implementation of distance education. The National Center for Teacher Training and Development by Correspondence (PPPG) and the National Center for Technology and Communication for Education (PUSTEKKOM) were founded in 1950 and 1974, respectively, to provide distance education programs for teachers. The Indonesian Distance Learning Network (IDLN) and the Southeast Asian Ministries of Education Organization Regional Open Learning Center (SEAMOLEC) were initiated in 1993 and 1995, respectively, to support research, development, training, and sharing of resources in the field of distance education.

The fifth online institution, the Open University (*Universitas Terbuka* or UT), was founded in 1984 to absorb the bulk of senior high school graduates in remote areas. Yet, currently most of the students are working people who cannot leave their jobs to attend face-to-face classes. UT enrolls about 350,000 students and is one of the top 10 mega-universities in the world (i.e., having more than 100,000 students). It provides 700 courses in 44 departments across five collages—mathematics, natural sciences, economics, education, and social sciences.

In the past, the government authorized the UT to be the only university to offer distance education programs in Indonesia. Presently, other HEIs are allowed to offer such programs. As telecommunication infrastructures and university internationalization increase, the demand for distance education programs is expected to expand. To overcome students' isolation, most education institutions provide student support services, such as administrative consultation, academic tutorials, and interactive teleconferencing. Course materials are still largely print-based as information and communication technologies remain limited.

Quality Internet connections are not always available in even the best universities, let alone in remote HEIs (Jacob et al. 2012). Technology limitations also impact the access to electronic academic journals, virtual teaching platforms, and training for instructors and students on how to use available online tools. Other challenges in distance education refer to qualified personnel, effective coordination among educational institutions offering distance education programs, and the prevailing perception that conventional schooling is superior to distance education.

In general, distance education experiences in the ASEAN region indicate relatively successful endeavors. Although research on the quality of distance education in ASEAN is still limited, the few existing studies show that the alumni of open and conventional universities perform equally in the workforce, as well as in the entrance exam to graduate schools in Indonesia and overseas.

TENSIONS AROUND GOVERNANCE AND AUTONOMY

In recent decades, shifts in management and accountability have generated problematic and controversial results in Indonesia. Under the MoEC, the DGHE is responsible for general tertiary education (public and private), whereas the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) oversees Islamic institutions (public and private) (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Islamic institutions under MoRA are public Islamic universities (UIN) and public Islamic institutes (IAIN) (Asari 2007; Moeliodihardjo 2014).

Private HEIs are managed by either a foundation or a corporation (Welch 2012). In 1998, the government stopped issuing permits for the founding of private universities, due to issues of quality control as addressed below (NUFFIC 2015). Currently, private universities are established under strict conditions. The government has also encouraged smaller colleges to merge in order to create larger and better-quality institutions, but with limited success due to conflicting interests and the absence of parliament support (Moeliodihardjo 2014).

Additionally, various ministries supervise the institutes that supply them with technical human resources. For instance, the Military Academy is under the Ministry of Defense and the Institute of Accountants is under the Ministry of Finance (MoF). In most cases, students in these “service institutions” receive full fellowships and have to work as civil servants at the respective ministry for a few years after graduation.

Since the 1990s, the DGHE has supported university autonomy, as a result of external pressures by international agencies (Welch 2012). In 1999, a first legislative act in support of autonomy (Government Regulation No. 61/1999) stipulated that certain public universities were “State Owned Legal Entity Universities” (*Perguruan Tinggi Badan Hukum Milik Negara*, PT-BHMN or in short BH) with greater self-governance and financial independence than regular “public entities” (Jacob et al. 2012; Kusumadewi and Cahyadi 2013; Moeliodihardjo 2014; Sunarto 2015).

In 2000, the top public universities—University of Indonesia, Institute of Agriculture Bogor, Institute of Technology Bandung (ITB), and Gadjah Mada University—were selected to function as “Legal Entity guides” (Beerckens 2002). Later, the Legal Entity status was awarded to an additional three colleges—University of North Sumatera, Indonesia Educational University, and Airlangga University—and four other institutions are in the pipeline to be converted to autonomous universities—Padjadjaran University, Diponegoro University, Nopember Institute of Technology, and Hasanuddin University (Moeliodihardjo 2014). All BH universities are located in Java, except the University of North Sumatera and Hasanuddin University.

BH universities have a dual management system (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). On one hand, a university senate consists of campus faculty members and is the highest authority in academic matters. Compared to other HEIs, BH universities have a greater freedom to formulate their own

missions and development strategies. For instance, they can open and close study programs without having approval from the ministry.

On the other hand, BH universities have boards of trustees (*Majelis Wali Amanat*, MWA), which consist of both internal and external members (a majority in some of the institutions), namely, representatives from MoEC, the university senate, staff/student body, and society (Beerkens 2002). The board oversees the general operation, budgetary control, and appointment of the rector (Moeliodihardjo 2014). The rector selects the deans, after considering nominations from the respective departmental senates. Financially, BH universities receive block grants, reallocate money between budget lines, use their self-generated income, and accumulate reserves (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

The DGHE has also created “Public Service Agencies” (*Badan Layanan Umum* or BLU) with an intermediate degree of autonomy between the BH and all the other HEIs (Kusumadewi and Cahyadi 2013; OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). The autonomy of BLU institutions is limited to managing financial matters; they do not have trustees and the rector is appointed by, and reports to, MoEC after considering nominations from the respective university senate (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). This new status has been given to 21 institutions of a certain strength and size.

Criticisms target the dearth of BH self-governance. The ministry is represented in the boards of trustees (Beerkens 2002). Public universities have to comply with the regulations for all governmental offices, including on financial management under the MoF and on personnel management under the National Civil Service Agency (BKN) (Moeliodihardjo 2014). All institutions develop their own curriculum with reference to National Higher Education Standards (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). In addition, national regulations have not been adapted to BH guidelines and input from the government is still necessary on numerous matters (Beerkens 2002). The provincial policy continues to be centralistic, while autonomy regulations lack clarity and generate confusion for all parts involved (Sunarto et al. 2004).

Critics also condemn the push toward financial autonomy and privatization (Beerkens 2002; Jacob et al. 2012; Kusumadewi and Cahyadi 2013; Sunarto 2015). They find that the regulations harm low-income students, governmental responsibility to education, unbiased research findings, academic excellence, and collegiality (Susanti 2011). Over the years, the Indonesian Supreme Court has been requested to review the 2003 law, 2008 law, and 2012 Higher Education Act in order to stop the corporatization of higher education (Jacob et al. 2012; Moeliodihardjo et al. 2012; Sunarto 2015). As a result, the Indonesian Supreme Court revised a number of articles in the 2003 law, struck down the entire 2008 law as unconstitutional, but maintained the 2012 Higher Education Act in favor of private funding for public universities (Jacob et al. 2012; Kusumadewi and Cahyadi 2013; Sunarto 2015).

Empirical studies found that professors, administrators, and students, as well as the public at large, are concerned about limited governmental funding,

increasing tuitions, commercialization, and the problems that they cause in regard to quality, equity, and intellectual freedom in education (Jacob et al. 2012; Logli 2015, in press-a).

ONGOING FINANCING CHALLENGES

Indonesia is one of few countries with a constitution that obliges the government to assign at least 20 percent of the national budget to education, as per amendment to Article 31 in the 2000s. However, this promise has not been fulfilled. For instance, in 2000–2001, Indonesia allocated 10 percent of its governmental budget to education, compared to 18 percent in Myanmar or 30 percent in Thailand (Soedijarto 2009).

Within higher education, the funding structure includes government, student fees, philanthropies, and private enterprises (Moeliodihardjo 2014). In 2011, total expenditure was about 1.2 percent of gross domestic product (GDP), which is low compared with Malaysia (1.69 percent), but higher than the figures for Vietnam (1.18 percent) and Thailand (0.71 percent) (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). The DGHE budget has increased from Indonesian Rupiah (IDR) 14,058 trillion in 2009 (Moeliodihardjo 2014) to IDR 39,896 trillion in 2014 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Since 2012, a new DHGE formula allocates monies based on enrollment, field of study, geographical location, and special affirmative action policy (Moeliodihardjo 2014). The budget cycle begins with the solicitation of proposals from public universities as early as June and concludes with parliamentary decision by December.

Private HEIs receive 8–10 percent of the DGHE budget, while the remainder goes to the public HEIs (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Private HEIs are mainly supported by student fees, but are also eligible for subsidies, such as in partial salary support for instructors, laboratory equipment, and competitive grants (Moeliodihardjo 2014). For instance, approximately 10 percent of academic staff at private HEIs are paid by government (Welch 2012). The government also provides scholarships for staff to pursue advanced degree and extends civil servants status to some instructors (Moeliodihardjo 2014).

At public institutions, fee levels for undergraduate programs are centrally fixed, apart from the top-tier autonomous universities, which, like the private institutions, set their own fees (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). In addition, self-generated revenues, including reserves, are considered state revenues—they must be deposited to the State Treasury and can only be used after acquiring MoF approval (Moeliodihardjo 2014). The BH and BLU universities are exempted from these provisions and have a certain level of autonomy in managing their revenue. The DGHE support for public institutions is still insufficient compared to their needs (Hawkins 2011). In some large public universities, the share of government allocation in support of the overall budget is less than 20 percent (Moeliodihardjo 2014).

As a result of low governmental funding, the proportion of revenue acquired from students has steadily increased over the last 10 years. An average

Indonesian household would have to spend one-third of its annual expenditure to fund a family member participating in higher education (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). For example, in the 2004–2005 academic year, the total cost carried by students ranged from IDR 6.8 million for the lower public HEIs to IDR 20.8 million for the higher public HEIs, while it was about IDR 31 million for private HEIs (Wicaksono and Friawan 2008). In addition, institutions have established Special Passage (*Jalur Khusus*) into admissions for students who can pay higher fees regardless of their entrance examination results (Welch 2012). For instance, in 2004, after privatization, the ITB received 29 percent of its annual operational cost from the government, 41.5 percent from research projects, and 8.3 percent from student tuition fees. To cover the remaining 21 percent of its financial needs, ITB offered the Special Passage to 20 percent of its applicants who could not pass the national entrance exam but would pay the higher entrance fee to the university for a minimum of IDR 45 million (approximately \$4500 USD) (Welch 2007; Susanti 2011). At ITB's Physical Engineering Department, ten places were offered at the cost of IDR 225 million (around \$22,500 USD) each.

The rise in students' fees triggered public outcry (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Thus, parliament Law 12/2012 and MoEC decree 55/2013 limit the proportion of the budget acquired from students not to exceed 30 percent in any public university, although flexibility is given to postgraduate and non-regular programs. In 2010, the Constitutional Court declared unconstitutional the 2008 law in support of the charging of differential fees, yet the practice remains (Welch 2012; Logli 2015). Corruption is widespread in Indonesian society, including in higher education (Welch 2012). In 2012, the Supreme Auditing Board found \$161.5 million AUD in accounting irregularities in the Ministry of Education's financial reporting of 2011 out of \$27 billion AUD budget (Kubo 2013).

Since 2012, the DGHE has expanded its scholarship support, which includes various schemes: (a) *Bidik Misi* for poor students with a good academic record, (b) BBM and PPA for students with strong academic or non-academic achievement as well as students from low-income families, (c) Olimpiade Sains Internasional (OSI) for students who win the International Science Olympics competition (Moeliodihardjo 2014; OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). In 2012, the government target was that at least 20 percent of students should receive scholarships or financial assistance, but only 10 percent were reached. In addition, private scholarships have also been established by companies and foundations (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

PREDICAMENTS OF ACCESS AND EQUITY

The massification of Indonesian higher education has produced a system that is large and diversified, but unequal with an overrepresentation of students from Java, urban centers, and higher social classes. Indonesian enrollment amounted to a mere 106 students in 1930, but reached over 108,000 by 1961, 4.2 million in 2008, and 5.9 million in 2012 (Buchori and Malik 2004; UNESCO 2010;

OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). In 2012, the tertiary education enrollment rate was 31.5 percent of the relevant age cohort, compared to 21.3 percent in 2008 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). This percentage is above the percentages of countries like Laos, Vietnam, and the Philippines, but below that of Malaysia (36 percent) and Thailand (51.2 percent). In 2011, 8.8 percent of the population completed higher education, compared to 3.6 percent in 2000 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

Of the national enrollment, approximately 25 percent are in public institutes (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015), 60 percent in the private sector (Moeliodihardjo 2014), and 15 percent in Islamic higher education (Buchori and Malik 2004). As shown in Table 37.2, enrollment in the private sector expands consistently faster than in other counterparts and helps to provide higher education outside Java (Moeliodihardjo 2014).

The distribution of students according to their fields of study show 16 percent in technology, 10 percent in science and natural sciences, and 74 percent in social sciences and education (Sitepu 2013). Private institutions open more opportunities to the fields of social sciences and education, because their operational costs are considered low compared to those of natural sciences and technology (Sitepu 2013).

Competition for entrance into public universities is fierce (Clark 2014). The national examination has changed over the years, but is still used to apply for university (Rachman 2015; OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). It is often criticized for being associated with passive learning, excessive public cost, and corruption (*JakartaGlobe* 2012; Sihombing et al. 2013). Every year, more than 450,000 high school graduates take the national public university entrance examination to compete for 75,000 seats, less than 17 percent (Nizam 2006). Those less fortunate who fail the entrance examinations will go to alternative private institutions (Sitepu 2013).

Indonesia has developed an expanded but socially and geographically skewed array of tertiary education institutions. Only 3.3 percent of higher education students stem from the lowest 20 percent of income groups, whereas 30.9 percent are from the highest quintile (Nizam 2006; Asian Development Bank

Table 37.2 Total enrollment in higher education

	<i>Year 2009/2010</i>	<i>Year 2012/2013</i>
Public ^a	1,636,122	1,649,267
Private	2,451,451	3,645,869
MoRA	503,439	653,846
State ^b	66,535	103,072
TOTAL	4,657,547	6,052,054

Source: OECD/Asian Development Bank (2015, 188)

Notes: ^aIncludes Open University; ^bHEIs operated by ministries other than MoEC/MoRA

Table 37.3 Distribution of HEIs across the archipelago (Year 2012–2013)

	<i>Public</i>		<i>Private</i>		<i>Total</i>
	<i>Polytechnics</i>	<i>Other HEIs</i>	<i>Polytechnics</i>	<i>Other HEIs</i>	
Java	12	24	76	1438	1550
Sumatra	9	14	32	784	839
Sulawesi, North Maluku	4	8	8	364	384
Kalimantan	5	5	11	156	177
Bali, West/East Nusa Tenggara	3	5	5	135	148
Maluku, Papua	3	4	4	80	91
<i>Total</i>	36	60	136	2957	3189

Source: OECD/Asian Development Bank (2015, 190)

Table 37.4 Educational attainment in HEIs—urban/rural classification (Year 2011)

Urban	Male	10.65
	Female	10.2
	Male + Female	10.42
Rural	Male	2.89
	Female	3.04
	Male + Female	2.97
Urban + Rural	Male	6.79
	Female	6.67
	Male + Female	6.73

Source: OECD/Asian Development Bank (2015, 62)

2012). Because public institutions have a better reputation than private universities, students from wealthier families tend to gravitate to state colleges, while students with modest background often end up in private HEIs after failing to gain access to public ones (Buchori and Malik 2004; Susanti 2011).

As confirmed by Table 37.3, the distribution of institutions is highly skewed toward Java and Sumatra, compared to Maluku and Papua (Moeliodihardjo 2014). In particular, the island of Java counts for 6 percent of the land, but 60 percent of the population, 75 percent of the college students, and all of the prestigious universities (Buchori and Malik 2004; Hartano 2009).

In addition, students from urban areas exceed students from rural areas in high numbers (Akita and Miyata 2008). As shown in Table 37.4, some 10 percent of the urban population has a university degree whereas only 3 percent of rural people do (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). The level of educational attainment appears to correlate with poverty levels and the availability of services across Indonesia.

Female and male numbers in public education are equal (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Yet, there are differences between the general and faith-based institutions. For instance, at the Islamic institutions only 17 percent

of PhD students are female. A new challenge is to influence the stereotyped choices of subjects, so that more female students opt for high-priority fields such as science, technology, and engineering rather than their traditional disciplines like health and education.

My empirical findings confirmed the overrepresentation of students from Java, urban centers, and higher social classes (Logli 2015, in press-b). In fact, most families cannot afford tuition and relocation. In addition, the national examination determines university access based on scholastic merit, yet the quality of K-12 education is greater in Java than in other islands, so pupils not from Java do not have an equal chance to succeed in the national exam. The growing homogeneity among students also increases homogeneity among faculty and executives, who are predominantly alumni.

Accessible education, in terms of proximity and cost, is essential to guarantee equal access (Buchori and Malik 2004). To expand academic opportunities, the government has undertaken various initiatives. First, the 2012 Higher Education Act allows HEIs to rely on different student entrance systems (Sunarto 2015). All public universities, including BH ones, have to take 50 percent of students from the National Admissions scheme and at least 20 percent of students from socioeconomically disadvantaged groups (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). The law formalizes the efforts of universities like Universitas Gadjah Mada that have been utilizing for decades a variety of instruments for admissions to prioritize both merit and differentiated backgrounds (Logli 2015). Second, new public institutions are mostly established in underserved areas, such as in Merauke (Papua), Morotai island (Sulawesi), and Tarakan island (Kalimantan) (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Third, the government has diversified higher education, including community colleges outside Java and distance learning, as elaborated above. Fourth, the DGHE has added a new scholarship scheme (*Bidik Misi*) as also mentioned before.

QUALITY: TEACHING AND RESEARCH

The rapid growth of the tertiary education system outpaced the capacity to provide adequate teaching, research, and facilities among other aspects (Mason et al. 2001; Altbach and Umakoshi 2004; Welch 2007, 2011; Tadjudin 2009; OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Qualified faculty, technology-based research, and scientific equipment demand a budget and organization that is rarely available in the existing public universities and virtually unthinkable in the underfunded private institutions (Buchori and Malik 2004; Nizam 2006; Soedijarto 2009). More than 70 percent of a typical HEI budget is absorbed by personnel costs, leaving all other education needs underfunded and underserved (Moeliodihardjo 2014).

In public universities, all teaching and administrative staff are civil servants—they comply with the Law on Civil Service and are centrally managed by the National Civil Service Agency (BKN) (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Under this Law only the BKN has the authority to recruit, promote, and terminate personnel.

Table 37.5 Qualification of teaching staff in HEIs (Year 2014)

	<i>Bachelor</i>		<i>Master</i>		<i>Doctorate</i>	
2009	69,770	43.70 %	76,455	47.89 %	13,435	8.41 %
2012	48,125	27.50 %	106,225	60.70 %	20,650	11.80 %

Source: Moeliodihardjo (2014, 9)

Mobility requires a long bureaucratic procedure and employees have to climb up the ladder from the lowest rank, regardless of their background. Recognizing this problem, in 2012, the parliament passed a new law on Civil Apparatus allowing rectors to exercise their authority, including through horizontal recruitment across institutions. However, at the micro level, academic departments continue to routinely hire their own graduates and assign promotions based on seniority rather than performance (Pincus 2015; Logli 2015).

In Indonesia, instructors are often under-qualified (Jacob et al. 2012). The 2005 Law requires all university teachers to hold at least a master's degree (Moeliodihardjo 2014). As shown in Table 37.5, 27.50 percent of lecturers still had only a bachelor's degree in 2012 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

The geographical disparity is also quite striking. More than two-thirds of PhD holders (S-3)—generally the best indicator of research capacity—are from institutions in Java (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). They usually teach at the few elite universities (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Polytechnics need teachers with rich industrial experience and the requirement for a master's degree may sacrifice vocational expertise (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Realizing this risk, the government is currently developing a system of converting industrial experiences into academic achievement.

During the period 2007–2011, increasing enrollment and a falling number of lecturers has led to a relatively high student/lecturer ratio—31 at the public institutions and 28 in the private sector (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). In addition, academics are poorly remunerated and driven to seek complementary income off campus (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004; Welch 2012). They often devote more of their time to consulting work for government offices and corporate business than teaching and conducting research (Altbach and Umakoshi 2004). In public institutions, some faculty members hold permanent positions but also teach at private universities. In the private sector, many instructors teach at multiple universities, which usually cannot afford full-time quality professors. As a result, students are deprived of the opportunity to sufficiently interact with their instructors outside of class and to receive the assistance that they need for their learning (Table 37.6).

According to my empirical studies at the micro level, Indonesian students and faculty members generally call for more diversity in all aspects of teaching and learning. They are especially concerned about the overrepresentation of Javanese and Muslim perspectives across campus populations, course content,

Table 37.6 Numbers of teachers in HEIs (Years 2007–2013)

2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	% Change
250,357	228,781	233,390	207,507	192,944	192,944	209,830	-16 %

Source: OECD/Asian Development Bank (2015)

and teaching strategies. Therefore, they advocate for: (a) more students and professors from outside Java, (b) overt and hidden curricula that are more relevant, interdisciplinary, and free from issues of Javanization and Islamization, (c) alterations in religion and citizenship classes toward multicultural models, (d) expansion of the two-month community service (*Kuliah Kerja Nyata*, KKN), (e) inclusive and progressive pedagogies, and (f) interventions on fundamentalist Islamic student groups that do not embody multicultural values (Logli 2015, in press-a, b).

The number of patents and international publications has increased in the last few years (Moeliodihardjo et al. 2012). In 2012, university researchers published 16,139 articles (ranked 63 in the world) and 126 patents were awarded to them. Most of the authors have earned at least their higher degrees from overseas universities, and have successfully capitalized the experiences and their networks acquired during their study.

However, these numbers reflect just 6.3 percent of lecturers and the figure for contributors to international journals is 0.68 percent (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Only two to three private institutions are currently active in research (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Public Islamic institutes (IAIN) have started to establish some research centers and to promote publishing, especially in the campuses in Yogyakarta and Jakarta (Buchori and Malik 2004).

Compared to neighboring countries, the relatively low research outputs are correlated with the insufficient budgets allocated for research (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Government funding for research has more than tripled from 2006 to 2012 and the aim is to reach 1 percent of GDP by 2025 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). In 2012, Indonesia only allocated 0.09 percent of its GDP for research, which is far behind Malaysia (0.7 percent), India (0.85 percent), or China (1.6 percent). Within higher education, the proportion allocated for the Directorate of Research and Community Services is around IDR 436 billion, 1.34 percent of the current DGHE budget; in comparison, one leading Indonesian pharmaceutical company, PT Kalbe Farma, spends IDR 200 billion annually for its research and development (Moeliodihardjo et al. 2012). There have been attempts by at least three governments—acts 25/2007, 35/2007, and 38/2008—to introduce incentives and facilitate industries to invest in R&D; yet none has been effective due to lack of detailed implementation planning.

By law, the function of the tertiary education institutions is described as *tri dharma*: teaching, research, and community service. According to OECD/Asian Development Bank, contributing to all three functions is unrealistic and

undesirable due to the wide differences across institutional capacities and missions (2015). The majority of institutions do not have the financial and academic basis to conduct research; thus, they should concentrate their efforts on developing high-quality relevant teaching. The advantage of having a diversified system can only be exploited in full if institutions stick to their roles.

Quality assurance training is also needed at the administrator level, including in leadership, management, governance, academic writing, student affairs, as well as establishing international partnerships, internship programs, and industry advisory councils (Jacob et al. 2012).

THE LIMITS OF ACCREDITATION

An accreditation system attempts to assess the progress and quality of Indonesian higher education. Law 12/2012 stresses the implementation of both internal and external systems to assess the quality of higher education (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Institutional evaluation was established in 2008 and is carried out by the HEIs themselves (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). It is conducted by independent consultants who evaluate the quality of staff, facilities, infrastructure, learning processes, governance, and management, as well as the employability of its graduates among other factors (Moeliodihardjo 2014). Its effectiveness varies from institution to institution.

External accreditation has been compulsory for all public and private institutes since 1997 (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). It is carried out by the National Accreditation Board for Higher Education (*Badan Akreditasi Nasional Perguruan Tinggi* or BAN-PT) which falls under the MoEC (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). It is normally conducted every five years for each program or institution. Undergraduate institutions are classified into four levels from A (satisfactory) to D (unsatisfactory) (Jacob et al. 2012) (Table 37.7).

The biggest challenge is that approximately 20 percent of institutions or study programs are unaccredited. The backlog reflects a lack of capacity in BAN-PT, due to a shortage of staff and the rapid expansion of the higher education sector. Current emergency measures give institutions temporary accreditation at “C” level (the pass level) without any accreditation process. Regulatory capacity is also not aided by geographical barriers, which pose

Table 37.7 Accreditation in HEIs

	<i>Study programs in public universities</i>		<i>Study programs in private universities</i>		<i>Total</i>	
A	1274	22 %	427	3 %	1701	9 %
B	3231	55 %	4068	33 %	7299	40 %
C	1335	23 %	7996	64 %	9331	51 %

Source: OECD/Asian Development Bank (2015)

problems in transportation, communication, and administration, including obtaining timely and accurate information about enrollments, staffing, and buildings (Welch 2012).

Accreditation shows that the quality of public institutions is significantly higher compared to programs offered by private institutions (Moeliodihardjo 2014). The top 15 or 20 private institutions appear to have standards comparable with the better public institutions (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). Nevertheless, on the whole, the contribution of the private sector to growth has been at the expense of quality and some private institutions can be regarded merely as “expansion absorbers.” Private institutions are generally weaker in terms of size, staff qualifications, infrastructure, equipment, and facilities. They can be extremely small with as few as 500 students. The Islamic institutions, both public and private, fall somewhere between the results of the general public and private institutions (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015).

Internationalization

Indonesian campuses have become increasingly international due to a variety of forces. Indonesia has been accepting assistance from Western agencies, including the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller funds, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the World Bank (Mason et al. 2001; Altbach and Umakoshi 2004; Moeliodihardjo 2014). For instance, USAID sponsored initiatives that accelerated the number of Indonesian faculty members with advanced degrees from US universities. American-educated faculty members were awarded leading positions in Indonesian institutions, which led to changes in education based on aspects of the US system. As a result, in the late 1970s, the higher education system switched from Dutch influences to the American (Anglo Saxon) model, except in some areas such as medical and vocational education where some forms of the European model remained (Moeliodihardjo 2014). The Anglo-American model highlights standardized learning, autonomy, and internal efficiency.

After the 1997 Asian currency crisis, the IMF, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank increased their influence by providing a \$23 billion USD bailout with the usual strings attached to structural adjustments (Welch 2012). Interventions in support of financial autonomy and privatization decreased real wages and increased poverty, with significant effects in higher education, both on the governmental capacity to provide subsidies to universities and on parents' capability to pay for their children's college. Despite imposing structural adjustment programs, international institutions carefully avoid financial responsibility and liability for consequences.

In 2010, US President Barack Obama launched a five-year \$165 million USD investment toward the expansion of higher education collaboration between the USA and Indonesia (Mengglobal 2013). The Comprehensive Partnership aims to enhance the quality, volume, and diversity of exchanges of students, faculty, and researchers (Geoffroy et al. 2009). In addition, it

attempts to strengthen the capacity of educational institutions in each country, so that they can improve academic performance, mutual knowledge, and international standards. It engages government, university, foundation, NGO, and private sector participants (Merrill 2012). For instance, it has expanded Fulbright and Peace Corps programs, scholarships for students and faculty, English/Indonesian language trainings, university-to-university partnerships, and USAID grants toward efficient management, scientific research, and community colleges in Indonesia.

The Indonesian government asserts the necessity of internationalization for universities, for instance through the 2003–2010 National Education Strategic Plan (Soejatminah 2009). Every university is expected to contribute to national competitiveness, as well as to counter possible negative effects of globalization. The practice of internationalization by Indonesian universities includes websites in English, information and communication technology, acknowledgment of internationalization (e.g., “to be world class University”), websites for international matters, and internationalization of the curriculum and student body.

The Higher Education Act of 2012 in Indonesia has catalyzed the internationalization of higher education (Global Business Guide Indonesia 2013). It allows foreign universities to set up branches and research centers, provided that they are accredited by their country of origin, are not for profit, collaborate with local universities, prioritize the employment of local Indonesian faculty members, and promote local civic and religious values. However, the Indonesian government holds jurisdiction over the disciplines in which foreign universities may operate although they will have control over setting their own curricula.

Some critics find the highly restrictive conditions of the law inadequate in today’s globalized world (Pincus 2015). Others are concerned that foreign universities will poach the best lecturers and students from local institutions because they will have better resources (Pincus 2015). They also condemn the practice that international education tends to target students with especially strong English skills and an ability to afford international tuition rates (Jacob et al. 2012).

Indonesian university students make up about 1 percent of global internationally mobile students (Irandoost 2014). Annually, 30,000 Indonesian higher education students study abroad, about 0.8 percent of the total, compared with 46,000 (6.1 percent) from Malaysia, 24,000 (0.9 percent) from Thailand, and 28,000 (1.9 percent) from Vietnam. The top five destinations for Indonesian students are Australia (10,500), the USA (7500), Malaysia (4500), Germany (1700), and Japan (1500). Australia is the number one choice for Indonesians abroad, mainly due to geographic proximity, perceived institutional quality, and English-medium instruction (Clark 2014).

The number of inbound international (non ASEAN) students is about 3000 (0.1 percent) students, compared to 24,400 (3.3 percent) from Malaysia, 11,000 (0.5 percent) from Thailand, and 3200 (0.2 percent) from Vietnam (Irandoost 2014). The main countries of origin are Malaysia, East Timor, South Korea, and Japan (Soejatminah 2009). The top five preferred study areas include medical, social sciences, engineering, Indonesian language, and pharmaceutical.

Indonesian universities, including Islamic institutions, cooperate with a variety of prominent universities overseas, such as in the USA, Canada, Australia, and Europe (Buchori and Malik 2004). Indonesia is part of a pan-Islamic network of the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) that aims to boost the quality of Islamic institutions, since only Istanbul University is listed among the Shanghai Jiaotong top 500 and in a relatively low position (Welch 2012). Part of a wider quality problem among universities in OIC member countries is that the entire Muslim world comprises one-fifth of humanity but has less than 1 percent of its scientists who generate less than 5 percent of its science and make barely 0.1 percent of the world's original research discoveries each year.

Depending on the institution, internationalization can infuse campus life, including international discourse in the curriculum and intercultural contact among students (Logli 2015, in press-a, b). According to my empirical studies, Indonesian students and faculty members generally call for further opportunities for campus internationalization, intercultural contact, and intellectual freedom.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has examined the current challenges in Indonesian higher education in the fields of governance, autonomy, access, equity, quality, and internationalization. With 43 percent of the Indonesian population being under 25 years old, tertiary education plays a key role in the future of the country (OECD/Asian Development Bank 2015). For instance, in 2013 the Boston Consulting Group reported that by 2020 Indonesian companies will struggle to fill half of their entry-level positions, due to low enrollment and standards in higher education (Clark 2014). Indonesian people generally regard university degrees as means of upgrading socioeconomic mobility (Oey-Gardiner and Suprpto 1996; Nizam 2006; Jacob et al. 2012). Yet, in addition to economic considerations, higher education is also responsible for developing global citizens who can contribute to both national and international landscapes in the twenty-first century. While this chapter mainly focused on government and university policies at the macro level, considering matters of curriculum, pedagogy, and campus life is also important in the improvement of higher education (Logli 2015b, 2016).

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Australian Higher Education

Sarah French and Richard James

INTRODUCTION: THE HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN NATIONAL CONTEXT

The present character of Australian higher education and its potential futures are deeply influenced by Australia's unique combination of British history and Asian geography. Australia is a vast island continent located in Southeast Asia. The nation's land mass is 7.7 million square kilometers, a similar size to the USA or China. Unlike these nations, Australia has a relatively small population of 23.49 million people (making up only 0.3 percent of the world's population), with the majority located along the eastern seaboard (World Bank 2014). Despite a small population, the Australian economy is 13th largest in the world in 2015 with an estimated gross domestic product (GDP) of \$US1.5 trillion (Austrade 2015). Until the 1960s and 1970s, Australia's primary industries were agriculture and mining, however, today Australia is predominantly a production and services economy. Education is Australia's fourth largest export (after iron ore, coal, and gold) generating around AUD \$15 billion each year (Group of Eight Australia 2014). Approximately 65 percent of this revenue is produced by the higher education sector, making higher education one of Australia's most globally significant industries.

A defining feature of Australian higher education is its internationalized character. Australian universities host diverse student populations. Their domestic students come from a vast range of ethnic backgrounds, reflecting the deeply poly-ethnic character of Australian society. Australia's Indigenous people have lived on the continent for approximately 40,000 years prior to European settlement in 1788. By the standards of developed nations, Indigenous health,

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life expectancy, and employment indicators are very low, and the Indigenous population is under-represented in higher education.

Australia's metropolitan areas are highly ethnically diverse as a result of various waves of immigration. Initially Australian migrants were primarily from Europe as displaced people and recruited immigrants were brought to Australia after World War II (WWII). More recently, larger numbers of people have migrated from Asia, Central America, and Africa. The number of Asian-born residents has grown substantially; Australian residents born in China have more than doubled in the past decade and the number of Indian-born residents has almost tripled (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2015). The cosmopolitan and multicultural nature of Australian society, especially in the major cities, contributes great diversity to schools and higher education institutions.

Australia's location in the Southeast Asia region has given the country a globally competitive advantage in higher education. Australian institutions have capitalized upon the strong demand from students in Asia for a Western style of education and instruction in English. In 2015, international student enrollment numbers returned to a peak level (following a downturn in 2010), with an 11 percent growth, suggesting that, at present, Australia's role in Asian higher education remains prominent. However, it is questionable as to whether the current level of growth is sustainable in light of both the changing international markets and the unknown impact of local policy decisions. These potential challenges to the future of Australian higher education will be explored later in this chapter.

AN OVERVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Although Australia is a young country in terms of European settlement, it has a mature higher education system. The Australian curriculum operates in the British tradition and maintains similarities with the modern UK system. Australia's universities have a great deal of autonomy and academic freedom compared to many countries. Institutions are governed by independent councils and governing bodies appoint the CEO, usually designated vice-chancellor. Vice-chancellors are responsible for the management and running of the universities and have considerable control over their institution's budgets and strategic initiatives. However, all institutions are subject to external quality assurance provided by Australia's independent regulator, the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA).

All Australian universities undertake research: in fact this is a regulatory requirement for the use of the title "university." However, there is significant spread in their research capacities and performance. The majority of permanent academic staff members engage in both teaching and research. Over the past decade, a key trend has been the increasing "casualization" of the academic workforce, with a reduction in permanent (tenured) academic positions and a growth in fixed-term and casual appointments.

The majority of Australian higher education institutions depict themselves as offering a rich, predominantly on-campus education that offers students a broad range of opportunities for intellectual and social engagement in addition to their formal studies. For many students an appealing student lifestyle is a key feature of the higher education experience (Norton et al. 2013). Recent studies on the first year experience at Australian universities report a high level of student satisfaction among Australian first year university students, finding “a significant rise in the proportion of students feeling satisfied with their subject choices, their course design, and with their interactions with teaching staff” (Baik et al. 2015, 92).

Australian Universities have a diverse student population. Unlike in many other countries, school leavers only constitute about one-half of all new enrollments. A large proportion of higher education students are mature-aged students and there are growing numbers of working professionals returning to university to upgrade their qualifications, mostly studying on a part-time basis. External or distance education in Australia dates back to the 1920s and developed as a result of the need to offer higher education to a population scattered across rural and remote areas. In the twenty-first century, there are increasing numbers of students taking advantage of off-campus and online modes of study, often due to work and family commitments. Australian institutions are increasingly providing more flexible study options to improve student mobility and expand access for diverse student groups.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Australia’s first universities were established in Sydney and Melbourne in the 1850s and were modeled on English institutions such as Oxford and Cambridge. The higher education system expanded following WWII and a further larger expansion took place in the 1960s. From 1964 to 1987, Australian tertiary education operated on a “binary” system in which academic universities existed alongside vocational Colleges of Advanced Education and Institutes of Technology. In 1974, fees were abolished and the higher education system became funded in the main part by the federal government. By the 1980s, participation in higher education had expanded significantly, costs were becoming unsustainable, and the binary system was thought to be arbitrary and inefficient (Harman 1991). In 1987, the federal government dissolved the binary divide and, through a series of institutional mergers, creating a consolidated Unified National System (UNS), comprised of 36 universities. By 2015, Australian universities numbered 43, with 40 public universities, 2 international universities, and 1 private university.

The UNS was the brainchild of the then federal Minister for higher education, the Hon. John Dawkins, and came to be known as the “Dawkins reforms” or “Dawkins revolution.” The reforms sought to greatly expand and improve Australia’s higher education system by achieving participation rates among the highest of the OECD countries and developing the nation’s knowledge and skill

base (Dawkins 1988). Dawkins' focus on skills development was underpinned by the view that the nation's wealth was dependent upon the development of a "knowledge economy" produced by a sophisticated tertiary workforce. The reforms included an increased emphasis on disciplines thought to be crucial for economic growth including engineering, information technology, science, and business studies.

To fund the expansion from elite to mass education, the government introduced the Higher Education Contribution Scheme (HECS), a unique income-contingent repayment scheme with a strong equity underpinning. Under the HECS system (re-titled the Higher Education Loan Program [HELP] in 2006), Australian students pay for part of the costs of their tuition in either upfront or deferred payments. The deferred option allows students to defer their payments until they have the capacity to pay; once their income has reached a threshold level, loan repayment sums are calculated according to income and paid through the Australian taxation system. Initially students' HECS payments constituted about 20 percent of their tuition costs. By 2007, this proportion had risen to constitute approximately 36 percent of the cost of provision. Concurrently, the proportion of the GDP allocated to higher education gradually declined: in 1989, the government provided 77.1 percent of institutional revenue but by 2011, government spending on tertiary education had dropped to 45.6 percent (OECD 2015).

Following the Dawkins reforms, institutions also sought to increase their revenue by growing their international student populations. The government lifted quotas on international student numbers and changed visa policies to support student migration. These policy shifts allowed Australian universities to become more entrepreneurial and institutions began to promote their educational services vigorously to international markets. From 1990, all international students paid full fees, providing a significant source of funding to Australian universities. The Dawkins reforms paved the way for Australia to develop an international education industry, and transformed the Australian higher education system by creating mass participation, a more competitive higher education market and a more vocationally oriented university system with enhanced industry linkages.

THE RECENT POLICY ENVIRONMENT AND POLICY DEBATE

The dramatic increases in university student numbers following the Dawkins reforms were followed by a slight decline from 2000, until renewed levels of interest emerged after the 2008 *Review of Australian Higher Education*, which became known as the Bradley Review, for its chair, Professor Denise Bradley. The Bradley Review recommended major reforms to Australian higher education including increasing the proportion of Australians with a degree-level qualification, strengthening quality assurance and the regulation of standards, providing more financial support for students, and increasing participation of disadvantaged student groups (University of Melbourne 2008). The report

proposed two key targets: by 2020, 40 percent of 25- to 34-year-olds should have attained at least a bachelor-level qualification (from the 2008 attainment level of 29 percent), and, 20 percent of undergraduate enrollments should be students from low socioeconomic backgrounds (from a base level of approximately 14–15 percent). While participation had expanded among some previously under-represented groups in the 1990s, including women and people from non-English-speaking backgrounds, equitable access and participation in higher education continues to be an issue. Disadvantaged groups include Indigenous Australians, people from low socioeconomic backgrounds, and people from rural and remote areas, all of whom remain considerably under-represented.

In order to meet the targets, the Bradley Review proposed a more deregulated system to allow institutions “flexibility to decide the courses they will offer and the number of students they will admit” (2008) and thus to move away from the previous policy of the government setting the volume of undergraduate places through negotiation within each university. This recommendation was adopted by the government and came into effect in 2012 when the caps on the number of university places made available within each university were removed. Described as a “demand-driven system,” the policy framework aims to expand higher education participation by responding to market opportunities (King and James 2014). Under the funding system, each student receives the same level of government funding calculated by the field of study in which they enroll. In other words, student volume is uncapped, but pricing is fixed as all institutions receive the same resources per student. This policy, with its emphasis on student choice, encouraged competition between institutions and triggered a steep rise in participation. Competition occurs predominantly at a localized state level as there is little interstate student mobility. Within Australia’s major capital cities, the demand-driven system is arguably producing greater diversity to some extent by encouraging institutions to promote their distinctive approaches as a means of attracting students (King and James 2014).

There are concerns however that fluctuations in student demand may seriously affect the viability of some universities over time and some will struggle to grow (King and James 2014). Many also argue that public funding and resources are inadequate to support mass participation. In 2011, Australian public funding of universities ranked 33 out of 34 OECD countries, with only 0.7 percent of GDP spent on universities (Tiffen 2015). The only increase in government funding following the Bradley Review was the provision of approximately 3.5 percent for enrollment of low SES students. The broader recommendation of a 10 percent increase in government funding per student place was not adopted as the government was experiencing significant fiscal constraints.

The funding of Australian higher education is a major political issue. Reform, of some kind, seems essential. The funding settings can be described in a blunt and imperfect way as follows: international student fee revenue subsidizes the

university experience of domestic students whose fee rate is set by the government sector, and the fees of both international and domestic students support university research activity. At the same time, the direct government contribution to university revenue has been in decline. This in itself is not unusual internationally, however, in Australia the tensions are heightened by the heavy reliance on international student fee revenue (much of which comes from students from developing nations) and the inadequate funding of research. The present federal government has proposed removing the cap on undergraduate fees and allowing individual universities to determine the costs of their courses but at the time of writing has not gained the support necessary in the parliament to pass what is a controversial deregulation bill. The best way to fund the Australian higher education system and to foster systemic diversity and innovation remains a highly debated subject.

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Over the past two decades, Australian higher education has become increasingly internationalized. In 1994, there were 35,290 international students enrolled in Australian higher education institutions. By 2014, this figure had risen to 249,990. International student enrollments now make up approximately 29 percent of Australia's total student population, the highest figure for any OECD country (DET 2015). Around 80 percent of international students are from Asia. China is by far the largest contributor to the international student population (36.1 percent of all higher education enrollments), followed by India, Malaysia, and Vietnam (DET 2015). The majority of international students are enrolled in undergraduate (first degree) and Masters degrees by coursework programs. The field that most commonly attracts international students is management and commerce. Other fields with high international enrollments include engineering, society and culture, health, and information technology (Chaney 2013).

In addition to the international students studying at Australian campuses, a large number are studying at offshore campuses. In the late 1990s, Australian universities established offshore programs, most of which are delivered in partnership with international institutions. However, there are currently 31 offshore Australian university campuses, located predominantly in Malaysia, Singapore, China, and Hong Kong (Universities Australia 2014).

The provision of higher education to international students is a major source of revenue for Australian institutions. In 2012, international student fees made up 16 percent (AUD\$4.1 billion) of total university revenues (Go8 2014). The importance of the international student contribution varies between institutions. In 2008, seven Australian universities derived 20 percent or more of their revenue from international student fees, and for some institutions, the proportion was as high as 30–40 percent, making such institutions highly dependent upon the income stream international students provide (Marginson 2011, 383).

In addition to providing a key source of revenue, international students have transformed Australian higher education institutions in other important ways. They contribute to Australia's relationships with the region, enrich university campuses, and expand Australia's multicultural society. Australia is an appealing destination for Asian international students for a number of factors that include the climate, relative safety, affordability of higher education, internationally recognized universities, and geographical proximity. Australian universities offer the unique opportunity for Asian international students to study at an English-speaking institution with an Anglo-American style of curriculum, while remaining close to home. International students also constitute a key source of migration and make an important contribution to addressing skill shortages in Australian businesses.

University prestige rates highly in international student's choice of university. Australian universities have strong ranking success, ranking highly for quality of education, student satisfaction, and global reputation across all global ranking systems. On a per capita basis, Australian higher education performs extremely well on the various international rankings schema. Success in research-driven rankings has become an important indicator of institutional status and Australia currently has four universities ranked in the top 100 in the 2015 Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU): The University of Melbourne (44), The Australian National University (77), The University of Queensland (77), and The University of Western Australia (87). Another three Australian Universities are ranked in the top 150: Monash University, The University of New South Wales, and The University of Sydney. Australia's newer universities are also achieving success in the rankings with 16 Australian universities in the "top 100 under 50 years old" in the latest Times Higher Education World University Rankings (2015).

The regional standing of Australia universities in terms of the international rankings is one important measure of the prominence of Australian higher education in the region. Within the Southeast Asia and East Asia regions, the top-ranked Australian universities are generally out-pointed by only two Japanese universities, Tokyo University and Kyoto University (21 and 26, respectively, in the ARWU in 2015). The leading universities in China seem certain to inexorably climb the rankings, so it will become exponentially more difficult for Australian universities to maintain, let alone lift, their rankings in the future.

Despite the present ranking success, Australia's competitiveness as a preferred destination for international students has been challenged in recent years, in part due to the rising costs of education as a result of the relative strength of the Australian dollar. The combination of increased student fees and the rising cost of living is making it more expensive to study in Australia. Meanwhile, international competition is growing. Since the early 2000s, the relative affordability of Australian higher education has decreased compared to the USA and the UK (Chaney 2013, 24). In response to the global economic downturn, these nations are expanding their international education industries (Universities Australia 2014). There is also a stronger investment by Asian

countries in their own higher education systems and an increased recognition of the centrality of higher education to economic prosperity. Thus Australia's key markets for international students, including China and India, are increasingly becoming competitors (Universities Australia 2014).

Over the past decade, concerns have also been raised about the experiences of international students at Australian universities relating to issues such as student integration, safety, and English language standards. Higher education scholars observe a lack of integration between international and domestic students on campus (Marginson 2011; Baik 2013). This absence of genuine interaction and engagement between students of diverse backgrounds implies a limitation to internationalized learning experiences and opportunities (Baik 2013). While data suggests that Australia is safer than other English-speaking countries, the issue of student security arose in the 2000s following some incidents of racial discrimination and violence directed at non-white international students (Marginson et al. 2010). Although these appear to be isolated incidents, they have problematized the view that Australia is a safe and tolerant nation.

More recently, questions have emerged regarding the English language standards at Australian institutions in response to studies reporting that international students from non-English-speaking backgrounds perform significantly worse than domestic students (Arkoudis 2013). A key challenge for Australian universities is to ensure that international students graduate with adequate English language proficiency for further study or employment. The quality assessment of English language proficiency is to be regulated as part of TEQSA's Higher Education Standard's Framework, which aims to increase institutional accountability. The new regulations will require universities to take greater responsibility in assessing and monitoring the English language competencies of all students (Arkoudis 2013).

While for the Australian government the internationalization of higher education has a focus on the recruitment of international students (Murray 2013), institutions are becoming increasingly more cognizant of the need to engage with overseas universities and industry to explore possibilities for research collaborations and networking within a global educational environment. The international mobility of Australian researchers and teachers is also important to develop global perspectives and innovative approaches to teaching and learning. Equally important is the international mobility of students. While the flow of Asian students to Australia is strong, only 4 percent of Australian students study in Asia during their degree. Scholars argue that Australian universities need to internationalize their curricula further to better prepare students for careers in an international, multicultural, and globalized context (Baik 2013; Universities Australia 2013).

In 2012, the Australian government released the *Australia in the Asian Century* white paper, which aimed to develop strategies to enhance Australia's engagement with Asia. The report argues for compulsory Asia-related curricula in schools, more opportunities to study Asian languages, and an increase in

the number of Australian university students going to Asia during their degree (2012). The white paper was followed by *Australia—Educating Globally* (2013), also known as the “Chaney report” for its lead author Michael Chaney, Chair of the International Education Advisory Council. The Chaney report set out a five-year strategy which aimed to ensure the sustainable development of Australia’s international education and training sector by improving the quality of the international student experience and building international partnerships (Chaney 2013). Similarly, in their *Agenda for Australian Higher Education 2013–2016*, the Universities Australia board and vice-chancellors of member universities identify as a national priority the need to enhance Australia’s global position as a leading provider of higher education. While this report recommends expanding and improving Australia’s international higher education provision, it also emphasizes the need to internationalize research through deeper international research collaborations (Universities Australia 2014). Each of these reports highlights that Australia’s continued success in research performance and impact will be dependent upon international partnerships, especially with research partners in Asia.

QUALITY AND STANDARDS

Quality assurance, standards, and performance measurement have been national priorities since the late 1980s when early work was done to establish a national set of performance indicators for teaching, research, and equity. Australian higher education benefits from the collection of standardized data across all universities that allows comparisons to be made and trends to be monitored. The data collection includes a national student survey (the University Experience Survey) and a survey of graduate outcomes (the Graduate Destination Survey). Some of these data are used for the Quality Indicators for Learning and Teaching (QILT) website that is designed to inform prospective students’ choices of institutions and courses (<http://www.qilt.edu.au>). For a brief period, selected indicators of teaching and learning formed the basis for a Learning and Teaching Performance Fund that provided additional incentive funding for the highest-performing institutions. The sums were relatively small compared with the overall allocation of public resources to universities, but they provided useful discretionary funds for enhancing teaching and learning. The status benefit of doing well in the Learning and Teaching Performance Fund at least matched the financial benefits.

Expansion of participation, sensitivities around the quality of international higher education, and growth in the number of private providers of higher education have led to rising attention to regulation. The Bradley Review called for the creation of a new quality and standards body to replace the then Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA). The logic of the recommendation was that deregulation of the volume of undergraduate student places, previously tightly capped for each institution, and a new wave of growth in participation would lead to public concern that standards were being diluted. Further, there

was increasing awareness at the time that the success and sustainability of the international higher education industry rested in part on demonstrable standards. With new providers entering the market too, a new watchdog would be needed. Accepting the recommendation of the Bradley Review, the government established the TEQSA. The newly minted agency was conferred with stronger regulatory powers than its AUQA predecessor and it ushered in a new approach to quality assurance, one based on regulation against explicit standards while using the concept of proportionality in relation to risk. TEQSA has subsequently become a prominent presence across the tertiary sector and it plays an important role in the registration and re-registration of higher education providers and the accreditation of courses for the non-self-accrediting institutions.

TEQSA has met criticism from across the sector, notably from the universities, for an approach to quality, standards, and regulation that is seen as burdensome and unduly intrusive upon the autonomy of the universities in particular. Ironically, AUQA was often criticized for being too light touch in its approach. It is fair to say that it has taken time to effectively bed down the new agency and for the sector as a whole to embrace the concept of explicit industry standards as valuable for all stakeholders. Australia's efforts to establish standards-based regulation and to monitor institutions proportionate to risk represents a distinctive approach to ensuring quality and building confidence in the higher education industry.

THE FUTURE: A REPOSITIONING OF AUSTRALIAN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE ASIAN REGION

On most measures, Australian higher education has been a success story over the past two decades. Participation rates have climbed dramatically as the nation pushes toward universal participation, access to under-represented groups has improved (albeit marginally), internationalization has proceeded apace, and Australian universities have featured prominently in the international rankings. Most signs point to a generally healthy, high-quality higher education sector. In this final section of the chapter, we outline some of the issues for Australian higher education that we believe require attention.

Foremost, the funding of Australian universities is a policy issue that urgently needs to be resolved. The challenges are familiar ones within developed nations with high participation rates that place pressures on public revenue. Australian universities have used international student fee revenue to compensate for declining public contribution, and the fees of both domestic and international students subsidize university research. The present funding settings may well be unsustainable, certainly if quality is to be maintained. However, the options for change are unclear: higher fees for domestic students is a political minefield for student debt is a flash point; equally unpalatable is any suggestion of new institutional categories for teaching-only or teaching-focused institutions to

reduce the costs associated with research. Breaking the gridlock may require the development of imaginative new forms of delivery, including through online provision. Opening up new opportunities for scalable provision and shorter study times for modular credentials might create less expensive study options for students and, optimistically, counteract the high attrition rates that are a concern in many institutions.

The orientation of Australian universities toward communities, industries, and business is a major policy and discussion point. Since the 1980s, the federal government has depicted Australian higher education in terms of national economic prosperity and development, unsurprisingly. But this objective and commitment has possibly been more rhetorical than concrete. The salient indicators suggest Australian universities are less engaged with industry than their overseas peers though the reasons for this are obscure. There are many components of national and institutional policies and practice to be drawn together to create a higher education that more overtly and confidently partners with industry to support innovation. These include a greater attention to engagement, in all its forms, in institutional missions and policy frameworks, the recruitment of industry and enterprise leaders into university roles, strategies to encourage and support collaborative industry–university research, recognition and rewards for academics that are engaged beyond the academy, and a strategic lift for the STEM disciplines in particular.

Finally, Australian higher education's position in Asian higher education may need wise re-examination. Australian higher education is in some ways a remarkable oddity in the region. Anglophone and structured on the British model, Australian higher education has prospered internationally due to factors such as the continent's proximity to Asia, sound quality assurance arrangements, a multicultural and safe environment, attractive tourism opportunities, favorable exchange rates (at least at times), and opportunities for gaining permanent residency. Australian universities have successfully surfed a long wave.

However, Australia's natural advantages may not be sufficient virtues for the future and the character of the international markets in higher education are changing each year. Arguably, Australian higher education has been serving Asia well, but ironically has been neither truly embedded in Asia nor distinctively Asian in character. Australia's engagement with Asia through higher education has been predominantly one-way, with incoming student flow from Asian countries vastly outstripping domestic student outflow in return. In the main part, Asian students in Australian universities make an accommodation to a Western pedagogy and its norms for teaching, learning, and assessment—and of course many Asian students and their families are actively seeking this outcome—rather than any accommodation of Confucian educational principles and practices on the part of Australian universities.

The challenge for Australian universities in taking their internationalization to the next level of sophistication within Asia are many: forging new and stronger partnerships with Asian universities for research and for staff and student exchange, creating curricula that bring Asian perspectives to bear on a

wide range of discipline areas, shaping new pedagogies that marry Western and Confucian educational values, encouraging domestic students to undertake study abroad in Asia, and equipping them with the language skills to do so successfully. Australian universities are an important part of the re-imagining of Australia's position and role in Asia. This re-imagining applies to our educational thinking and to our business, industry, and political engagement—and not least to the national psyche—if Australia is to play a vital role in the creation of stable, safe, sustainable societies across Asia. In this regard, there is much work to be done.

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New Zealand Universities: The Prospects and Pitfalls of Globalizing Higher Education

Francis L. Collins and Nick Lewis

UNIVERSITY: FROM NATIONAL TO GLOBAL INSTITUTION

Until 1961, there was only one university in New Zealand, the University of New Zealand, which operated as a nationwide authority for examining and granting degrees. Established by an Act of Parliament in 1870 under authority of Her Majesty's Government in Britain, the University of New Zealand reflected the strong colonial linkages that dominated the early era of higher education in New Zealand. The University operated in a federalist manner akin to the University of London, with colleges established in Otago (1869), Canterbury (1873), Auckland (1883), Wellington (1899), and Palmerston North (1928). In 1960, the University of New Zealand was disestablished and Acts of Parliament decreed the establishment of the colleges as independent universities. In the decades that followed, another three universities were established—University of Waikato in 1964, Lincoln University in 1990, and Auckland University of Technology (AUT) in 2000.

New Zealand universities have enjoyed significant autonomy within a system, which, despite the recent radical reforms discussed below, remains relatively highly regulated. All eight universities are public and self-governed under the Education Act 1989 by university councils that have to date been largely independent of government direction. The establishment of private universities has been effectively precluded by accreditation procedures. The autonomy of universities and the academic freedoms of their staff are protected under legislation that requires universities to “accept a role as critic and conscience of society” alongside their role as centers of advanced learning and intellectual

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independence, and mandates research-based teaching. Until recent decades, New Zealand universities have also been characterized by relatively open access as students were admitted if they passed a “university entrance” examination, paid only nominal tuition fees, and were supported through bursaries and student allowances. These settings reflected long-standing recognition that university education was a public good that society at large should support through progressive taxation (Butterworth and Tarling 1994).

The period since 1990 has been one of significant neoliberalization of universities and the broader higher education system in New Zealand, as successive governments have sought to reconfigure educational institutions as key actors in emergent knowledge economies. New public managerial reforms of the internal organization of universities and their relations to funding and other state agencies have been combined with two broad projects that have transformed the role of universities (Shore 2010). First has been a “massification” of university and tertiary education and an accompanying reduction of government funding per student, as higher education has become reframed as a private rather than public good. Second, the vision of universities themselves has been shifted from one that emphasizes independence and critical enquiry to a “new vision of universities as transnational business corporations operating in a competitive ‘global knowledge economy’” (Shore 2010, 15). As we demonstrate in this chapter, these transformations have been associated with imperatives to globalize universities such that they increasingly focus on global as well as local and national markets for students and graduates and their role as knowledge producers in a global marketplace.

These far-reaching transformations in the position and role of universities in New Zealand are shared to a significant degree by changes that have taken place in other parts of the world, particularly countries like Australia, Canada, and the UK that share broadly similar higher education systems (Olssen and Peters 2005). Yet, the timing and scope of reforms also reflect the significance of local iterations of neoliberalization in shaping the restructuring, outcomes, and aspirations of institutions (Larner and Le Heron 2005). As is relatively well known, since 1984, New Zealand has undertaken one of the most extensive government-led programs of neoliberal reform. The so-called New Zealand experiment (Kelsey 1995) included an initial phase (1984–1989) of seeking to establish the free market as a social institution for governing all features of economic and social life. This phase included a significant “roll-back” (Peck and Tickell 2002) of state involvement in the economy through deregulation and the dismantlement of state institutions. More recent articulations of neoliberalization have included a process of core-state reform and the establishment of new public managerialism as a normative mode of operation through the early to mid-1990s and since the late 1990s, an increasing entrenchment of market-based and competitive rationalities in wider state practices and economic and social life.

Universities remained largely untouched by the initial processes of neoliberalization. Indeed, efforts to more fully marketize universities and to bring

them under tighter government control at the end of the 1980s were successfully resisted. The “research-based teaching,” “critic and conscience,” and self-governance clauses secured in the Education Act of 1989 stalled attempts to turn the universities into government-owned research and educational enterprises (Butterworth and Tarling 1994). Since the 1990s, however, universities have become a target for more measured and subtle state reform designed to yoke them to new public management, market logics, and disciplines, and the national development project of repositioning New Zealand in a globalizing world. The introduction in the early 1990s of a “bums on seats” funding model that required students to pay fees and rewarded universities for increasing their rolls, led universities to compete for new students and to pay increasing attention to the cost of their programs. In contrast to an era of effective full-funding, universities now relied on tuition fees from students, which increased rapidly during this period, and reduced government funding based on “Equivalent Full Time Students” (EFTS). Universities unsurprisingly started to engage in aggressive marketing strategies, including distinguishing their degree offerings from competitors and emphasizing the distinction that their qualifications would provide. “Massification” ensured a relatively non-competitive admission process. Through the 1990s, the proportion of 18–24-year-olds entering higher education increased from 20.5 percent in 1990 to 34.8 percent in 2001 (McLaughlin 2003); age-standardized participation rates increased from 8.4 percent in 1998 to 14 percent in 2005 (Ministry of Social Development 2010).

The expansion of tertiary education participation to meet social justice goals via massification has been accompanied since the early 2000s by new institutional visions of universities as key players in economic transformation associated with the rise of the knowledge economy. While this is apparent in the emphasis on the role of education in producing the “kind of twenty-first century skills needed to drive economic transformations” (Cullen 2006), it has manifest most obviously in the role of research and knowledge production in universities. The Tertiary Education Commission (TEC), formed in 2003 to take responsibility for the universities, was established with a new focus on knowledge economies. It took funding from the established bums on seats model and reallocated it to a research-quality fund, encouraging universities to compete on the basis of performance measures of research quality rather than attracting students. It initiated a new wave of competition similar to that associated with the British Research Assessment Exercise, albeit one rooted down to the level of individual academic performance. While breaking the dominance of EFTS as a strategic objective for universities and inducing a wave of productivity among academics, this generated a range of perverse effects (Cupples and Pawson 2012; Curtis 2015), including reducing the status of teaching and learning relative to research in universities.

Since 2010, the performance assessment and research funding landscapes have begun to be reshaped by discourses of impact. While signals have remained general, they are connected to a reading of the public university focused on

investment return—asking the question, what does the public receive for its investment in research? Built on a neoliberal framework of competitive self-governance (universities and academics), market disciplines, and new public management, this latest shift has been very much geared toward reshaping universities as agents of government. Indeed, in early 2015, the government amended the Education Act 1989 to reduce the number of Council members and in effect increase the proportionate representation of government-appointed members to at least one-third.

In short, since 2000, universities have become increasingly “represented as a new agent of national development—a key means of fostering international competitiveness and social cohesion in a global and turbulent world” (Larner and Le Heron 2005, 852). Cutting across these recent transformations is an increasing expectation that universities will act within a global rather than simply local or national sphere. Universities are expected to produce students and knowledge that will aid national aspirations to compete in a global arena, but they are also expected to be global institutions in themselves and to compete with leading peer institutions in other parts of the world. While New Zealand universities have always been more-than-local institutions,¹ these new expectations are part of the assembly of a quite different global imaginary—one in which universities are perceived as actors for articulating the nation as an active agent in a wider global arena and where practices of knowledge production are increasingly shaped by entrepreneurial outlooks and competitiveness in institutional imperatives and in new subjective identities for faculty and students alike.

These transformations have had wide-ranging impact on the discursive framing, social constitution, and material manifestations of the university in New Zealand that are well beyond the scope of this chapter. In what follows, we focus, therefore, on two very prominent features of experiences of globalizing processes in higher education in New Zealand: the growing prominence of international students, and the role of universities within the development of knowledge economies. As we demonstrate, these features illustrate the transformations of higher education and the way in which this takes shape through the assembly of new subjectivities and institutional forms both within but also beyond the campus.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY

One of the key features of globalizing processes in higher education is the increasing mobility of students across borders. The growing presence of international students on university campuses, from some 1.3 million in 1990 to 4.1 million two decades later in 2010 (OECD 2012), reflects the confluence of several interlinked processes (Brooks and Waters 2011; Raghuram 2013). On the one hand, the demand for overseas education reflects the transformation of higher education systems across the world but especially in key sending countries like China, India, and South Korea where the massification

of education has led to mobility offshore to secure qualification distinction. International student mobility is at the same time a reflection of a more generally mobile world, particularly for young people, where mobility and migration are imagined as valuable resources that generate aspirations for different kinds of futures (Conradson and Latham 2005; Waters and Brooks 2012). As the account below suggests, the recruitment of international students has also been viewed as an opportunity for revenue generation for receiving countries like New Zealand as it has for other Anglophone nations. The growing presence of students and their prominence in discourses of globalizing higher education have also meant they have significant impacts on campus life as well as the urban and national settings of universities.

The recruitment of fee-paying international students has represented a key feature of the transformation of universities and higher education in New Zealand since the 1990s. Indeed, while New Zealand represents a small proportion of the overall international education market (about 1.5 percent), the increase in international student numbers between the early 1990s and the early 2000s has been remarkable. At the end of the 1980s, there were only around 1000 students, but by 1999 this number had increased to over 30,000 and then to a peak of 126,503 in 2003. In the five years following this peak, the number of students declined considerably to 91,388 in 2008 following which student numbers have remained relatively stable (Collins 2012). New Zealand universities hosted 18,659 international students in 2013 out of a total of 30,385 across the tertiary sector. Despite this decline, New Zealand continues to host a much higher proportion of international students than many nations, with an inbound mobility rate of 15.8 percent (Australia's rate is 18.3 percent and the UK 17.1 percent).

The growth of international students since the early 1990s represents a notable departure in the scale and approach to international education in New Zealand (Bennett 1998). Indeed, over most of the twentieth century, the principal goal has not been to fund institutions and increase national GDP, but instead to offer support to students coming from “undeveloped” parts of the South Pacific and South and Southeast Asia. Informed by colonial imperatives of civilizing and developing the Asia-Pacific region, not least to ward off the supposed threat of communism, this approach to educating international students was formalized through the “Colombo Plan,” signed in 1950 by various British Commonwealth nations. Alongside investment in development projects, New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and the UK agreed to host and fund international students from developing Asia. These students were regularly touted as future leaders who would build bridges with New Zealand as part of their nation's development (Tarling 2004). Together with these scholarship-holding students was also a considerable number of independently funded students who were charged the same nominal tuition fees as domestic students and so, in effect, received a substantial government subsidy for their studies. The approach to international education was demonstrative of geopolitical aspirations to be a good citizen in the world, to act as a civilizing power

at the periphery of British Empire, and to build bridges into emerging societies and economies.

Alongside the wider neoliberalization of education discussed above, international students have, since the 1990s, become increasingly viewed as a source of revenue for institutions and the nation as a whole. It was the provisions established in the Education Act 1989 and the Education Amendment Act 1990 that formalized the shift from “aid to trade” in New Zealand’s approach to international education by permitting institutions to “market their courses, set their own fees, and retain the revenue in order to increase their capacity” (Bennett 1998, 25). The deregulation and commercialization of international education was characterized by an astonishingly *laissez-faire* approach. Education providers, including state-owned schools and universities, were confronted with considerable reductions in state funding and presented with a potential new source in international students (Lewis 2005). Accompanying changes in the Education Act, the mobility of international students was also eased through changes to migration policy and the negotiation of visa-free travel for nationals of key source countries such as Malaysia and South Korea in the 1990s and the removal of quotas on Chinese students by 1999. Universities were significant players in this emergent “export education industry” from the outset, but they were also accompanied by an increasing number of private academies attracting overseas students into targeted courses in language training and business that domestic students were less likely to enroll in.

The immediate effect of these policy shifts was evident in the growing number of international students coming to study in New Zealand. By the early 2000s, “export education,” as it was increasingly being called, had become one of the most significant sources of export earnings. Key reports claimed that the “industry” was now the fourth largest export earner and that it contributed some \$2 billion to the national economy (Stroombergen 2003). With very large proportions of these students coming from China (45 percent), South Korea (20 percent), and Japan (17 percent) it is clear, however, that the success of the industry hinged on the preferences of a relatively narrow group of students and their families. Students were attracted by comparatively relaxed entry requirements (especially *vis-à-vis* Australia), the low value of the New Zealand dollar, and a wider perception of New Zealand as clean, green, and safe place to study (Ward and Masgoret 2004). The declines in student numbers since 2003 reflected changes in these perceptions. Most notably this occurred through the appreciation of the New Zealand dollar and hence the relative decline in affordability of New Zealand as an education destination. At the same time, questions were being raised about quality in the wider industry and the collapse of high-profile private providers like the “Modern Age Institute of Learning” in 2004. There was also evidence of reduced safety for students from Asia, tied not least to their racialization in New Zealand media as wealthy, exotic, and socially problematic (Collins 2006). While universities were not implicated in these

issues directly, they were clearly affected by them in a reputational sense, evidenced quite clearly by the dispatch of ministers and vice-chancellors to China to ameliorate the damage being done to the country's reputation (Shore 2007).

The government's response to these emerging issues of quality and their impact on students was to re-regulate the industry through the introduction of new mechanisms for institutions to engage in forms of self-government. Most prominent here was the "Code of Practice for the Pastoral Care of International Students" to which all education institutions hosting international students were required to be signatories (Lewis 2005). The code incorporated rules and processes for the pastoral care of students, monitoring the behavior of institutions, assessing grievances, and, where necessary, imposing sanctions. In effect, the code established a framework within which the different actors in export education—the entrepreneurial-institution, consumer-student, and intermediaries like education agents—would become self-governing through forms of audit and accountability and the transparency of transactions and services provided. Accompanying the code was a much greater role for "Education New Zealand," an industry body tasked with developing a brand and quality reputation for institutions across the country and marketing education services in key countries. These changes, undertaken by the more interventionist "third-way" Labor government of the 2000s, were classic examples of "roll-out" neoliberalism, a "purposeful construction and consolidation of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance, and regulatory relations" (Peck and Tickell 2002, 384). Indeed, as Lewis (2005, 32–3) described at the time, the Code and its wider infrastructure was an "industry building instrument [...] designed explicitly to define the product that each institution offers and to offer institutions a quality mark." It sought to produce a coherent image of educational quality in New Zealand that could be capitalized on to secure future revenue streams across the sector.

Over the decade since the deregulation, rapid rise and decline and re-regulation of international education, the number of international students in New Zealand has remained stable at around 90,000 per year. There has, however, been a notable diversification in the source countries of international students and, in particular, a declining reliance on East Asia for international students who have declined from 85 percent of all students in 2003 to 49 percent in 2013. In 2013, China still constituted the largest proportion of international students in universities (at 42.3 percent) but was followed by students from USA (8.9 percent), Malaysia (6.5 percent), India (5.0 percent), Japan (4.8 percent), South Korea (4.6 percent), and Saudi Arabia (4.2 percent). This greater diversity in student origins reflects the expansion and diversification of international education more generally (Collins 2013), but it can also be seen as a result of attempts by Education New Zealand, institutions, and intermediaries to cultivate specific markets in order to minimize the risk associated with overreliance on a small number of source countries. It is indicative of the complex governmental assemblage involved in promoting and managing

international education as an industry and the entrenched entrepreneurialism of universities in particular.

The growth of international students within New Zealand higher education since the early 1990s has had a range of impacts both within universities and in their role within wider local, national, and transnational contexts of institutions. Most notably, international students have become the target of considerable attention by universities. All universities in New Zealand have established and expanded international offices that seek to increase the presence but also enhance the experience of international students, mixing marketing and specialized pastoral care alongside each other. International students are viewed as quintessential rational actors who will seek out the best opportunities from international study and will circulate their experiences among their social contacts. Their desire for mobility then is conceived as something that needs to be worked upon (Collins et al. 2014), and Education New Zealand and universities have engaged extensively in branding and marketing paraphernalia that seek to cultivate an imagery of New Zealand and specific institutions as globalized places, associated with quality, sophistication, innovation, excitement, and energy (Lewis 2011).

The presence of international students on campuses has also had substantial social and cultural impacts, creating new opportunities for encounters and relationships but also generating tensions and difficulties between groups (Collins 2010). Student experiences are often characterized by feelings of “cultural difference,” lack of inclusion in classroom activities, and differences in socializing activities. While much is made of the cosmopolitan potential of hosting international students, those from non-English-speaking backgrounds, are often represented in deficit terms—as unable to integrate appropriately, to overcome differences in learning styles or make the most of study abroad (Anderson 2014).

Beyond the campus, international students have also become increasingly involved in changes within local contexts (Collins 2010). This is particularly the case in central Auckland, the location of both the University of Auckland and AUT, as well as a wide range of private providers of English language and other services. This area hosts at least 30,000 international students and has been transformed through the widespread construction of new apartment buildings, the growth in education providers in secondary office space, and the development of new retail landscapes catering to student tastes. Local government, property developers, and ethnic-entrepreneurs have been key actors in these transformations, viewing international students as a new consumer market with specialized housing and living needs (Collins 2010). This is probably New Zealand’s leading example of “studentification” (Smith 2008) associated with internationalization but the presence of international students has undoubtedly also altered the built and social dimensions of university neighborhoods across the country.

At a broader national scale, the socio-political position of international students, particularly those attending universities, has undergone a discursive

reconfiguration over the last decade. Initially viewed as simply consumers for educational product, international students are now also sometimes touted as ideal migrants, they are highly educated, are familiar with the New Zealand context, and are presumed to have fewer labor market issues than middle-age skilled migrants. Following policy patterns established in Australia, the New Zealand government has established schemes for international students to transition from student visas to “job search,” “work,” and then “residence” visas. This approach forms part of a broader conditional approach to migration, where migrants are expected to accumulate experience and secure their own success in society before they are granted rights of residence. Since the early 2000s, migrants holding either student visas or work permits have grown considerably and have significantly outnumbered residence approvals. Moreover, by 2013, some 95 percent of approved applications for residence had held a temporary visa (student or work), or often multiple visas, prior to their application. There is in these initiatives a clear movement toward migrants who are both temporary and flexible, where the desirability of migrant subjects relates to their capacity to prove their worth as permanent and skilled residents.

The histories and transformations of international education through the late twentieth century are well rehearsed in the literature (Butcher 2004; Butcher and McGrath 2004; Collins 2006, 2010, 2012; Lewis 2005, 2011). Much less is known about the current reconfiguration of international students as part of a wider temporalization of migration regimes in New Zealand, especially their implications for universities, the long-term position of international students, or the changing experience of place on and off campus. Early evidence suggests that these policies may form contradictory patterns, providing avenues for students to become skilled migrants but also generating ongoing “churning” between visas as students aspire to but struggle to transition to permanent residence. Media reports and early research suggest that there is exploitation of these “student-migrants” or “student-workers” who rely on gaining experience in jobs during or after study and hence may work in precarious conditions in order to maintain themselves and fulfill residence requirements (Anderson and Naidu 2010).

International student mobilities clearly generate complex and contradictory impulses and experiences. Indeed, while they are often framed as an idealized form of international commerce, an easy source of funding for universities, and a newly desirable type of migration, they involve radical reconfigurations of institutional and regulatory settings, have implications far beyond their planned scope, and unfold in unexpected ways. On the one hand, international students have become an established feature of universities in New Zealand, adding a diversity of educational and social-cultural perspectives to classroom and campus life and establishing important connections into other higher education systems. Their dual role as students but also consumers, and more recently potential migrants and citizens, means that their position has never been clear-cut. Rather, students are valued and measured not only for

whom they are but also for their ability to pay fees, not only in terms of their present status and circumstances, but their future prospects for the nation. In this sense, they also illustrate the way in which higher education has become articulated into wider arenas, not just global spaces of flows, but also the neo-liberalization of society and economy, the politics of migration, and the lived experience of place.

KNOWLEDGE ECONOMIES

In February 2015, representatives from New Zealand's Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment (MBIE) and the Office of the Prime Minister's Science Advisor gave presentations to an Auckland-based international conference on "Universities in the Knowledge Economy." The conference was dominated by a sustained critique of contemporary restructuring of universities across the world, taking up issues of academic freedom, gender, new managerialism, power, marketization, and much else besides. Aware of this context, the policy actors laid out a vision of policy trajectories in higher education, focused unflinchingly on "return on investment" couched in terms of social impact and the knowledge economy. Universities were portrayed as instruments of development for national economic growth in a global knowledge economy. The vision was no longer one of universities making a contribution to economic transformation, toward a knowledge economy alongside traditional roles of teaching, learning, and fostering democracy. Rather, the presentations started from the challenges of measuring the performance of universities as if generating the knowledge economy was its primary or only role. Both were premised on a logic of investment and the moral responsibility of securing a return on public investment. Both built arguments about New Zealand's performance relative to international benchmarks and advocated quality improvements. Both also foreshadowed new requirements to demonstrate social impact and a reallocation of resources to spheres of research and teaching where that could be done. Admittedly, the officials were from agencies with more research-oriented responsibilities, but the presentations revealed a fundamental shift from the language of contribution to an emerging knowledge economy of uncertain nature and form a mere 15 years earlier.

Discourses of the knowledge economy have dominated post-industrial economic development policy making for more than 20 years (Cooke and Lazeretti 2008). They highlight rapid technological innovation and the growth of high-tech and cultural economies. The thus imagined "knowledge economy" is argued to be a defining dimension of an increasingly competitive twenty-first-century globalizing economy that pits cities and nations against each other (Barry and Thrift 2007). Knowledge economy policy increasingly aims to align science, economic development, and education policy to formulate national development goals and to achieve success in the new global economy. Countries such as Singapore, where policy is backed by direct

government investment and long-term planning (Sidhu et al. 2011), are often seen as exemplars in this realm.

Universities have been increasingly incorporated into these knowledge economy strategies. They are argued to foster creativity, train knowledge workers, and inspire and resource high-tech development clusters, which in turn attract inward investment into cities and regions. In these ways, universities are seen as sources of competitive economic advantage (Huggins and Kitagawa 2012). As research institutions, they are seen as sites of innovation, while as teaching institutions, they are seen as generating human capital for globalizing knowledge industries. Knowledge economy strategies, then, seek to articulate universities into wider fields, and scholars have begun to take a sustained interest in universities, their links to business networks, clusters, learning regions, knowledge transfer processes, and their potential as engines of economic growth (Smith and Bagchi-Sen 2012).

In the early 2000s, championed by the University of Auckland and various corporate, media, and think tank partners, New Zealand launched what it termed the knowledge wave, “a national strategy to enable New Zealand’s transition to a competitive knowledge society” (Prichard 2006). The project was a particular and highly public variant of knowledge economy projects being launched in various parts of the world as policy makers caught up with the language of business schools, think tanks, and academic gurus of the new millennium (Dale 2005). The knowledge wave sought to assemble industry actors, management consultancies, finance capital, government, diasporic investor networks, and knowledge economy advocates into a project of economic transformation and national development. New Zealand-centric, its pivotal strategies included the global mobility of New Zealanders and capital flows. With the University of Auckland at its helm, it thoroughly entangled university research and education with national knowledge economy initiatives (see Prince 2003; Prichard 2006). In this project, which was more national than local, and thus not tied to efforts to stimulate localized growth clusters, universities were understood primarily as producers of human capital and generators of the skills, credentials, and aspirations that facilitated the creation and maintenance of diasporic networks of knowledge acquisition, business connections, and capital investment.

In the years since the knowledge wave (which was rolled out in two major publicly staged and televised conferences in 2001 and 2003), the project has shifted emphasis toward the role of universities as generators and incubators of technological and scientific innovations that might be patented, sold, or otherwise commercialized, and as research partners in the innovation initiatives of commercial entities. That is, as policy discourses have shifted toward the investment necessary to bring about a knowledge economy through economic transformation, the university’s research role has been seen as more significant than its teaching role. Attached to a new language of collaboration and cooperation, the role of the university is captured in the metaphor of the “triple helix” of university–industry–government (see Etzkowitz 2003), the

necessary DNA structure for a successful globalizing knowledge economy. As Tuunainen (2005) observes, the metaphor of the triple helix points toward the increasingly blurred boundaries between the previously separate spheres of university, industry, and government. It is premised on the development of new concerns in the traditional academic mission of the university, to not only extend knowledge but also to capitalize on it, to work with industry and government to advance both commercial and societal goals as well as theoretical and methodological frontiers.

In the New Zealand context, after more than a decade of being left to govern themselves, the establishment of TEC allowed government to actively engage universities in direct policy terms. This it did by establishing the Performance Based Research Fund (PBRF), which began to frame more competitive behavior at the level of the individual academic. Increased competition for research funding among individuals and universities gave new momentum to competition between universities and Crown Research Institutes (CRI)² for applied funding, administered by the Foundation for Research Science and Technology. University aspirations and funding became increasingly tied to research priorities set by government and thus a knowledge economy-led national development. Under the guidance of the Clark Labor government, efforts were made to prioritize biotechnology, information and computer technology (ICT), and cultural industries research. A report from the OECD (OECD 2007) in its third term of government, however, confirmed that attempts to mobilize national research capabilities in this project were being hampered by the entrenched competitiveness and rent-seeking practices associated with market governance. Nonetheless, together with the work of the TEC and informed by rising international interest in interdisciplinarity and collaborative Mode 2 forms of knowledge production, the Ministry of Research Science and Technology (MoRST) had initiated a new emphasis on collaborative research within and across universities and partnerships with “end-users” (business and government departments) in framing research questions, and with CRIs and private research providers in conducting research. This collaborative and partnering emphasis also led to a focus on building relationships with overseas universities and funders.

After the defeat of Labor in 2008, the new National government created a new ministry of Ministry of Science and Innovation to bring science closer to economic realization via the notion of innovation. This Ministry was thereafter quickly absorbed into a new merger of economic development ministries under the banner of the MBIE. This brought the universities more tightly into the knowledge economy project. Indeed, with the influential minister Stephen Joyce now responsible for both MBIE and TEC, university research is now being more completely yoked to national economic aspirations associated with knowledge economy ideas. Naked competition between universities has been tempered by funding frameworks that emphasize the national interest. These include the establishment of the National Science Challenges, which promise

to redirect, pool, and harmonize the majority of public good research funding and mandate new forms of collaboration in research practice.

Not surprisingly, the critical education literature has questioned the appropriateness of this reinterpretation (and “repolicing”) of universities in New Zealand, particularly the blurring of boundaries between university, government, and business (Lewis and Kearns 2014). Exhorted to compete locally and globally rather than contribute to a national education agenda, their role as democratic institution undermined, and their traditions of autonomy, collegial governance, and academic freedom under assault from new public management (see Shore and Taitz 2012), New Zealand universities have been radically redefined and restructured in a relatively short period of time. They are expected to be the innovators of a new economy, while being disciplined by market pressures exerted by competition for funding as well as students, new layers of management, internal cost accounting, and new calculative and benchmarking practices that globalize as they discipline (Larner and Le Heron 2005).

Knowledge economy efforts to align universities with economic development policy have added new layers to benchmarking and ranking practices arising from competition among universities themselves. The latter have included the pursuit of success in global rankings such as the Times Higher Education Supplement and QS World University Rankings exercises, as well as the domestic PBRF, complete with subsequent promotional and marketing campaigns. They have also included the proliferation of explicitly derived benchmarks against groups such as Australia’s G8 and the UK’s Russell Group or voluntary global networks such as the Asia Pacific Research Universities, Universitas 21, or the Worldwide Universities Network. Used by the TEC as well as individual universities in their own internal restructurings, rankings, and benchmarks have combined with the TEC’s performance-based funding measures to reshape practices and subjects in New Zealand universities as they have elsewhere. Knowledge economy policy has added new layers to these benchmarks by routinely rating the performance of New Zealand universities and its wider science system relative to Singapore, Finland, Denmark, Israel, or other more or less plausible or appropriate comparators. These various metrics have globalizing effects ranging from the discursive to the performative and directly shape government and university investment priorities.

Under the most recent government, which has merged its ministries of science, economic development, and employment, research has been reconnected to teaching through more vocational considerations, tied together by knowledge economy concerns. Governance by calculative techniques has been complemented by more direct disciplinary interventions. These have included exhortations to enroll more international students and increase the proportion of students enrolled in STEM, particularly engineering. They are also connected to a more sharply focused research agenda for national development, tied to politically determined National Science Challenges and repeated

exhortations to work more closely with scientists at the government owned and governed CRIs. Funding for “researcher initiated projects,” once understood as the research role of the university, is partitioned off as a special category of research, and under squeeze.

CONCLUSION

New Zealand’s universities are largely autonomous public universities. While they have yet to face the avalanche of unbundling and privatization that Barber et al. (2013) promise is coming, they continue to change under intense and sustained pressures to compete for resources. At the heart of these pressures is a sharpening set of expectations that they lead a national economic transformation centered on scientific innovation. These and the shifting funding regimes in which they are carried are matched by a sometimes, but not always, complementary set of internally driven pressures to reshape universities into competitive global institutions and new organizational formats. As well as threatening to erode the autonomy and academic freedoms that they enjoy, these various pressures are drawing New Zealand universities into a wider field of globalizing higher education. This is seen clearly in practices such as performance measurement systems that emphasize international profiles, benchmarking and rankings exercises, the search for international sources of funding, and a renewed focus on international students as a source of funding for domestic education.

To finish, we point to a defining paradox of New Zealand university education, and one that illustrates some of the uncertainties and fractures across emerging assemblages of globalizing education everywhere. Despite the increasing significance of international students as a source of funding for neo-liberalizing tertiary education in New Zealand and nearly 20 years of actively “policing” them, governments have failed to develop understandings and initiate practices that position them as central to New Zealand’s knowledge economy aspirations. References to their value as potential business ambassadors for New Zealand in their homelands and sources of future investment and trading networks are routinely made, but never held up to much scrutiny or explored through research. International students remain seen fundamentally as consumers of educational products and a source of revenue to support underfunded public institutions. They have been ineffectively scripted into dominant policy imaginaries of the knowledge economy and understandings of how universities might operate. There are few, if any, programs developed to service these students as global economic actors, or to connect them to New Zealand economies. While recent immigration policy has begun to recognize their potential, we still know little about them as young people with myriad aspirations and uncertainties.

We would argue that this is not a uniquely New Zealand problem. The globalization of higher education supports a now well-established labor market for the global knowledge economy. However, international education is poorly scripted and policed into alignments of the knowledge economy and higher

education policy. For decades in the post-war period, driven by their own competitive impulses and supported by college endowments and US immigration policy, US colleges simply performed this script in a way that allowed the USA to win the global talent wars. Through the work of the British Council and by welcoming students from across the Commonwealth (often on aid scholarships), the UK had their own post-imperial variant of this “policy by historical contingency.” Israel targeted diasporic populations, while other countries ran scholarship programs. However, none of this has produced the sort of global higher education for global citizenship in a more mobile world that might be understood as a globalization of the teaching/learning and research missions of the university.

NOTES

1. They are manifestations of a colonial diaspora, relied at the outset principally upon faculty educated in Britain and other “knowledge centers,” and were influenced by, if not always contributors to, global circulations of knowledge and learning.
2. Crown Research Institutes are Crown-owned companies that carry out scientific research for the benefit of New Zealand.

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Higher Education Institutions and ASEAN: Current Trends and Implications for Future Innovation and Change

Peter Tan Keo and Alexander Jun

INTRODUCTION

Regional fragmentation of higher education institutions (HEIs) in Southeast Asia (SEA) is potentially disruptive to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Centrality. Fragmentation refers to the disproportionate nature of skills and qualities of educational programs. Regional institutions are encouraged to improve the quality of HEIs, paying particular attention to the importance of uniformly streamlining educational and cultural exchange programs in which skills are developed and shared intra-regionally. For myriad reasons, ASEAN often relies overwhelmingly on the exportation of Southeast Asian students to countries outside of ASEAN. Students are “exchanged” to acquire skills that can be gained in the region; in other cases, there is an equally heavy dependency on the importation of foreign laborers into SEA to fill intellectual capital voids, which pushes ASEAN further away from the consolidation of Centrality. Discussions examine how, and to what extent, an intra-regional organization such as the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) can take the lead to establish the foundation for a strong, vibrant culture of HEIs in SEA, perhaps focusing on high-demand skills such as science and technology, with a long-term vision of becoming leaders in research and innovation.

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OVERVIEW OF HEIS IN SEA

In SEA, HEIs are diverse, ranging in quality, size, and reputation. Universities of more developed countries like Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, and Malaysia often have access to greater intellectual, academic, human, financial, and material resources. They have been in existence for a much longer period of time. This is particularly true in comparison to universities of less developed countries like Cambodia, Lao People's Democratic Republic (LPDR), and Burma.

However, one might argue that the common denominator, cutting across both developed and developing countries, is precisely the fact that many Southeast Asian universities, particularly those of more established economies, were responses to the needs and necessities of colonial powers. These institutions were created during an era of colonialism, and they were intended largely to advance the agendas of the colonizer. That agenda included achieving collateral benefits of excelling productivity, growth, and profitability by training highly skilled professionals. One characteristic example of this pattern is cited by Nizam (2006, 35), “(The) Indonesian higher education system started from the late nineteenth century when the first institution of higher education was established by the Dutch colonial government as part of an ethnic policy to train indigenous doctors.” Conversely, many universities of less developed economies were founded after decades of political turmoil. They appeared during a period of sustained political reconciliation. In Cambodia, for example, there was a massive rush to produce intellectual capital, given the purging of intellectuals, among other educated professionals, during the Khmer Rouge era of the late 1970s. Roughly a quarter of the then population died during the genocide. Therefore, starting in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Cambodia witnessed a massive supply of private universities to meet the rapidly growing demand of young people graduating from secondary school. Students wanted to build skills and acquire a post-secondary education. Chet (2006, 14) argues, “Until the mid-1990s, the state remained the only provider of higher education in the country under a tuition-free system. The situation began to change as a result of the shift towards a more market and skills-based economy. Charging fees to generate income in higher education institutions was first permitted in 1997.”

A plethora of issues relating to the regional growth of higher education are teased out throughout the chapter. The running question, however, is: What are the current trends and implications for the future of innovation and change in SEA? How, and to what extent, can ASEAN achieve its lofty goals of “centrality” in order to move HEIs forward?

ISSUES AND CHALLENGES

Almost two decades into the twenty-first century, there remains great disparity among HEIs in SEA. Larger, more established HEIs often turn West toward places like the USA and the UK—and toward the Pacific, to neighboring

Australia, in order to exchange student, faculty, and academic capital. Rarely does one see established Southeast Asian economies sharing resources within the region, particularly with smaller, less advanced universities of smaller economies. And by sharing we mean co-creating strategic partnerships in which both sides benefit. There are instances, however, in which established universities create scholarship and/or fellowship opportunities, but those numbers are quite small and the opportunities are rare, indeed.

Certainly, this presents precisely the very challenges enumerated by a host of scholars and analysts. For one, there appears to be a discordance of sorts across the region. Of major concern is the potential risk that the ASEAN may not have the capacity or fortitude to move toward the notably lofty vision of an “ASEAN Centrality”—which dictates the creation of a singular production base and one market across SEA. ASEAN as a regional association, composed of ten member states, (Brunei, Burma, Cambodia, Indonesia, LPDR, Malaysia, Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam, and Singapore), aims to achieve ASEAN Connectivity by December 2015.

Perhaps the gravest concern, in the context of HEIs in SEA, is the pattern of relying heavily on the importation of resources and skills into the region. This takes place, in part, to fill a noticeable skills gap within the host institutions. The case is particularly pronounced for less developed HEIs.

Student Educational and Cultural Exchange Programs

Exchange programs offer learning opportunities to students, faculty, staff, and other members of the university community. These opportunities often are neither available nor sufficient. To offset this gap, universities often seek opportunities within other (and more established) universities, so that students, faculty, and staff can have access to resources not present or available at home—examples would include scholarships and fellowships for students and faculty. They offer both academic enrichment and opportunities to learn about different, varied cultural norms and values of the host country.

The challenge for SEA, however, often is and has been an overreliance on resources from other countries. For example, post-war countries may not have the structural resources—Research Centers and Institutes, for example—to train highly intelligent and capable individuals. Therefore, these individuals are compelled, if not coerced, to leave their home country in search of appropriate higher education resources. To find the requisite training they most often go to other countries, frequently in more developed economies, whether within or outside of SEA. One major challenge of sending talents and skilled laborers away from their home countries is the resulting “brain drain,” the exportation of skilled laborers away from their home country. In such instances, skilled laborers often choose not to return to their home countries for a plethora of reasons which may include being offered more lucrative employment opportunities in the host country upon completion of an academic tenure or training. These employment opportunities often have comparatively higher salaries than

offers presented in the home country. In places like Cambodia, for example, the case is such that experienced faculty members with doctorates are compelled to moonlight other jobs in order to meet tight economic demands, in large part to make ends meet.

Workforce Skills Gap

Another challenge is the workforce skills gap. The K-12 educational systems in many of these countries, particularly among less developed economies, are inadequate, lacking critical educative resources to properly train students. Teachers are overworked and grossly underpaid. Madhur (2014, xi) points out, “Cambodia’s pupil-teacher ratio for primary schools is the highest among ASEAN countries; at 46.2, the ratio is close to twice that of Laos (27) and Myanmar (28), and two and half times that of Vietnam (20).” In such instances, such situations often force teachers to bribe students or take on extra private tutoring roles in order to earn extra income.

When teachers are overworked or preoccupied by non-academic obligations, the challenge is that students coming out on the other end of the educative pipeline often do not have the skills to be successful. They are neither fit nor prepared for life after secondary school. For students who have chosen to enter tertiary education, many do not acquire the much-needed skills that should adequately and sufficiently prepare them for successful careers. Plainly, there is a disconnect between what these students learn in school and what is expected of them once they enter the workforce. This is referred to as the education-workforce gap.

The types of skills employers tend to seek in employees vary widely based on sector. However, Madhur (2014) points out the following:

[S]kills and qualities [employers] value can be categorized into five broad sets: (1) problem-solving skills, or the capacity to think critically and analyze technical issues, (2) learning skills, the ability to distill lessons from experience and apply them in the workplace, (3) communication skills, including the ability to communicate with others verbally and in writing, (4) personal skills for decision-making and self-management, and (5) social skills required for teamwork, leadership, and building relationships with clients. These job-relevant skills are a combination of technical and soft skills. (World Bank 2010, 14, as cited in Madhur 2014, 2)

Given that students can gain important workforce training in higher education, in the best scenario they may have access to teachers who can adequately train them on the skills necessary to be an effective employee. The reality for many students, however, is that they are not well prepared for the workforce even after completing the degree requirements for their post-secondary education.

Ministries of education are grappling with this deficit, creating the necessary policies and practices that aim to bridge the divide. The challenge there, however, is that so many students who enter and succeed in college

leave the post-secondary pipeline competing for an all-too-often limited pool of jobs among their peers. Some are successful in garnering employment, whereas others have to assume low-skilled, menial work in order to sustain themselves. This particular challenge often creates a trend in which students choose not to enter college, or to drop out of college, in order to enter the workforce. While one contributing factor of non-participation may be a desire to avoid incurring financial debts related to higher education, a significant part of the problem is that by not participating in higher education young people are not receiving training and higher-order thinking skills to assume management roles or other professional roles that require skills and knowledge beyond conventional wisdom. To succeed in better compensated jobs in contemporary economies requires critical thinking and other higher-order thinking skills.

LOOKING FORWARD: GLOBALIZATION AND EDUCATIONAL PIVOTS

There is a need to interrogate what the future portends for HEIs in SEA. In the context of the vast challenges and opportunities, such as those presented in this chapter, what does the future hold for this region? It makes sense to tease this out, particularly in the context of what is in store for HEIs in the next 20 to 30 years. In an era of globalization, as Tan (2010) argues, countries that share common political–historical experiences have borrowed similar educational policies but developed in different directions. The ongoing educational challenge of SEA HEIs remains in encouraging various interest groups to pivot toward a collaborative model to strengthen pedagogy to prepare graduates for the knowledge economy. It is imperative that educational leaders shift from a traditional teacher-centered pedagogy to learning- or student-centered approach.

Research and Innovation

In looking forward, what will be the role of universities in SEA in terms of research and innovation? We must consider with a degree of tempered optimism that increasing numbers of research-intensive universities will emerge from SEA institutes, and rightly or wrongly will gain greater recognition in global rankings such as the Shanghai Jiao Tong 100 Universities (which bases its rankings on indexing in the Social Science Index) or the more commercialized US News and World Report rankings. The hope is to see SEA institutions impact both the broader knowledge economy and impact the public good at a regional and global level. Perhaps one additional indicator of a pivot will be seen when increasing SEA universities become a first-choice destination for other foreign/international students, perhaps seeing a viable alternative to countries such as the US, Australia, and South Korea.

Research institutes often provide the time and space to explore and innovate new ideas. According to the World Bank, “some countries in Southeast Asia ... began taking a serious interest in innovation as a new growth driver after the crisis of 1997–1998, because of lost growth momentum and declining private investment” (2012, 12).

However, research institutes in developing Southeast Asian countries continue to be under-funded and under-resourced. They lack the capacity to undertake serious empirical scientific and social scientific investigations that would lead to new findings. Those findings could, in turn, be utilized to make drastic health, environmental, educational, economic, and political improvements to many challenges prevalent throughout the region.

Furthermore, there is an argument to be made about the propensity of Southeast Asian students to acquire knowledge based primarily on rote memorization. The overall consequence of this pattern is a lessened (or absent) emphasis on the interrogation of issues through methodologies of critical thinking and problem solving. This challenge appears to be prevalent across the regional educational landscape, from primary school to higher education.

Quite in opposition, research-intensive universities provide and emphasize temporal and spatial opportunities for highly trained researchers to innovate and develop empirical knowledge, particularly by interrogating social problems in a systematic fashion. In theory, empiricism is a systematic approach to knowledge creation through a rigorous scientific and social scientific process in which the data are collected, analyzed, and interpreted. Findings are then shared with the public usually through publication. Research institutes facilitate the process of empirical knowledge creation. Because of that, this may be one argument in favor of strengthening their presence throughout SEA.

Such research institutes are present in certain parts of SEA. Where they are thriving, particularly in more developed economies, there appear to be limited opportunities to share resources with less resourceful countries. This situation inevitably widens the skills gap in the region, creating a deeper wedge between more established and less established institutes. Where they are available in less developed economies, institutes characteristically give evidence of inadequate facilities and domestically educated researchers who are often poorly trained, and where foreign-educated scholars tend to be undervalued and under-supported financially. Overall such institutes are under-equipped to engage in the level and rigor of research on the global stage that would enable a fruitful, somewhat objective production of empirical findings that could lead to practical and policy-oriented investigations.

The role of research is essential to remain relevant on a global scale. As universities often serve as flagships of a nation’s educational system, the expansion of higher education in both developed and developing countries is necessarily linked to concerns about the quantity and quality of higher-level skilled professionals. Oftentimes because the very status of these institutions of higher

learning is inseparable from their moral and social value, this has perhaps led to expectations that supersede notions of merely vocational training for the labor market. We underscore the significance that universities play for national development in both developed and developing South East Asian countries.

In this increasingly global system of knowledge production, each country is burdened with its own need to make its way to address national needs and priorities while also contributing to regional demands, as well as contributing to the broader global knowledge community.

Kwok et al. (2010, 10) have argued in a study that surveyed 15 key universities in Cambodia that nations must recognize that “without a sense of the stakes involved, concerted efforts towards strengthening research capacities cannot be initiated and sustained. In particular, there must be champions—in government, academia, industry, and civil society—who can articulate the potential consequences of not addressing current challenges and the urgency in formulating a newer and more coordinated approach.” They also submit that the stakes ought to be clarified and discussed at every level of educational policy.

We concur with this line of argument, and also submit that academic leaders and policy makers serving universities should ensure that research is a core mission for them and that national and regional (ASEAN and SEAMEO) funding and recruitment efforts be strengthened in order to ensure that research is prioritized. In order to move a national and regional agenda forward, collaborative regional research policies need to be formulated, implemented, and supported, along with the establishment of a regional research management system to track funds and measure output and performance.

Collaborative recruitment and retention of faculty with advanced degrees, who might hold joint or multiple appointments across the region, might also incentivize talented researchers and scholars to collaborate in such initiatives.

Another key factor to be included in pivoting toward a research-intensive movement is reconsideration of teaching loads for research-centered faculty, the development of world-class research facilities, incentivizing regional collaboration of research, and the strengthening of doctoral-level disciplines in the natural and social sciences.

We submit the Kwok et al. study (2010) of research capacity in Cambodia to serve as case study of the state of research production in a developing ASEAN country. Kwok and his colleagues found that by and large, research methodology courses and research projects (usually in the form of a graduation thesis) were incorporated into undergraduate programs, that participation among students was inconsistent, as was support, and that only the top 10 or 20 percent of students are allowed to write graduation theses in their flagship national universities, the Royal University of Law and Economics and Royal University of Phnom Penh. Moreover, this was reported to be part of the regulations developed by the Ministry of Education, Youth, and Sports. In the study, authors note a perception among students existed that research consists primarily of library or online research. They also postulate that a lack of a research

focus for faculty (with greater emphasis on university teaching) revealed and is symptomatic of a general lack of an institutional research culture in most Cambodian universities. We would submit that this however may necessarily not be unique to national universities in either developing or more developed ASEAN countries. What kinds of investments, one may ask, have academic leaders made in the higher education sector in neighboring countries? In the Philippines, to cite a positive example, a number of areas have been prioritized for research under the ten-year National Higher Education Research Agenda (Salazar-Clemena 2006). In neighboring Indonesia, research funding is provided on a competitive basis, but measures are taken to ensure that universities and researchers “compete among similar levels of competence” (Koswara and Tadjudin 2006, 144). In one illustrative example, the research grants that were made available for the period from 1990 to 2000 included a Young Researcher scheme that offered smaller research grants to promising researchers with the provision that doctorate holders and staff from the four established universities in the country were not eligible to apply.

While these instances may serve as examples that show promise on an individual level, public universities across the region tend to lack a well-defined system of professionalization of world-class researchers where promotions and salary increases are incentivized and fostered. This systemic flaw moves beyond the localized realm of any single institution of any given country, and ought to be addressed at both a national and regional level.

Raising Standards at HEIs

A pernicious effect of the rapid HEI expansion is the resulting poor quality of most institutions. That is, in the rush to supply resource-deprived countries access to education, there is the tendency to build institutions without much consideration for academic standards. There is a great deal of emphasis on the brick and mortar aspects of such institution, but not very much considerate beyond the superficiality of physically building. To that end, it is important to consider how universities, both in developed and less developed countries, will appear in the context of raising standards.

First, in the next two or three decades, Southeast Asian countries will cap the number of public and private universities operating in their respective countries. Instead of adding new institutions, there will be an emphasis on enabling high-quality teaching and learning. Institutions will have access to financial resources such that they can actually and realistically create tenured positions so that faculty members can focus wholeheartedly on teaching students to the best of their abilities. They will not have to burn very important time worrying about the responsibilities of other employment obligations. That is first and foremost a minimal requirement in an overall move toward improved quality.

Further, as such, universities will be able to hire the best and brightest scholars SEA has to offer. These individuals will bring with them impressive training which they have received, either in or out of SEA, so that they can give students

access to the best knowledge and approaches to learning. SEA will have institutions comparable to the so-called Ivy Leagues of the USA. These institutions often are in high demand from people across the globe, in large part because they provide access to highly reputable scholars, researchers, and staff. By raising standards, SEA will gain the capacity to develop such institutions; students will turn inwards as opposed to outwards, feeding the need to go “elsewhere” to gain an arguably “better” education. They will be able to access high-quality education right in their own backyard.

In terms of pedagogy, faculty will use best practices, which they themselves will deem worthy of being the “best.” That is not to suggest that learning lessons from outside the region is not important. Rather, we are suggesting that faculty members will have the requisite training and capacity to co-create value in what they teach, with and among each other, as Southeast Asian scholars, so that learning materials are both of academic and cultural significance, relevance, and value. Southeast Asian nations must necessarily pivot away from the overreliance on resources from other countries; they must find ways and opportunities to create value from within the region. They must believe in themselves, and share what they believe with students who one day will exit the college pipeline, and enter careers where they too have opportunities to transfer critical knowledge to students coming generations after them.

CONCLUSION

The complexities of regionalization in Asian higher education, as mentioned in the introductory remarks of this volume, have seen a movement toward harmonizing higher education, most notably through some form of regionalization. The tension between national interests and regional interests are played out in these efforts. In this chapter, we have explored some of these tensions through a lens of explicit regionalism in SEA. As tertiary education becomes increasingly global, universities will continue to experience a convergence of disparate educational systems, adopting and borrowing different models and debating the extent to which centralization helps or hurts individual countries, the region, and the broader society. At the moment, SEA institutions may continue to wrestle with issues such as global competitiveness (market share), quality control (preparation and terminal degrees of faculty, pedagogy, and teaching styles), and other concerns such as corruption.

Intercultural dialogues and increasingly meaningful, substantive educational exchanges among and between nations and their HEIs will be essential in promoting regional cooperation in education, science, and culture in SEA. Policy changes will have to be made at the national and regional levels by governing ministries and some political will to generate some fundamental shifts in planning and financial priorities in the HEI sector in order to see significant change in the future.

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The Rapid Growth of Higher Education in South Korea: Achievements, Dilemmas, and Resolutions

Minho Yeom

INTRODUCTION

Higher education in South Korea (hereafter Korea) has grown rapidly, demonstrating various changes in its speed, scope, and system within a short period of time. In 30 years, higher education enrollment rates have increased more than sixfold from 11.4 percent in 1980 to 70.1 percent in 2010. The number of higher education institutions, in the case of four-year universities, increased from 34 in 1952 to 200 in 2010 (Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute 2014). The system of higher education remained an elite system through the 1970s and then transitioned into a massification stage during the 1980s and 1990s, becoming a universal system in the 2000s, according to the framework of higher education classified by Martin Trow (1973, 2005). Since the early 2000s, Korea has established a universalized higher education system where students graduating from high school can access two-year colleges or four-year universities if they want to continue their studies. The rapid changes in the characteristics of Korean higher education provide an unprecedented case for considering the history of higher education globally.

Higher education in Korea took on a significant role in the economic growth and social democratization of Korean society over the past 50 years. In terms of Gross National Income per capita, Korea increased about 331 times from \$79 in 1960 to \$26,205 in 2013 (The Bank of Korea Digital Library

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2014). Through industrialization and economic growth, individuals receiving a higher education played a pivotal role in shifts to manpower through access to the intellectual capital of research and development (Jang 2007). Also, university students in Korea participated in the breakdown of authoritarian regimes at every important juncture through student movements and contributed to building a social system available to expand individual political freedom through elections. Moreover, they contributed to enhancing the rights of workers by joining labor movements. Their participation in social democratization and labor movements played a key role in correcting injustices and inequalities caused by compressed economic growth under authoritarian regimes (Lee and Park 1990).

Looking at the contributions of higher education in terms of macro level economic growth and social democratization, Korean higher education played a substantial role in educating skilled manpower and producing responsible democratic citizens. However, by observing the reality of Korean higher education in more detail from the micro level perspective, it has faced various issues that were ignored and overlooked under compressed economic growth. For example, there has been a low rate of university graduate employment, a heavy dependence on private contributions, an intensified university ranking system, and heavy government regulation. Considering that the results of higher education should contribute positively to changing an individual's quality of life and to developing a sustainable society, the issues facing Korea's higher education must be analyzed and dealt with seriously for the future development of higher education.

The purpose of this chapter is to comprehensively review the rapid growth of higher education over the past 50 years, analyze key dilemmas facing Korean higher education, and discuss future resolutions for developing higher education in Korea. In the following section, the current higher education system will be examined by focusing on the goals each institution sets and the current institutional status including the types of institution, the number of institutions, and the numbers of students, faculty, and staffs. The third section describes achievements of Korean higher education by exploring two themes, the expansion of opportunity in higher education and its contributions to social democratization. In the fourth section, key dilemmas challenging Korean higher education will be discussed focusing on the worsening of graduate employment, the heavy reliance on private funding, the intensified system of university ranking, and the tightening of government regulations.

KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

The Korean school system consists of a 6-3-3-4-year program, which has a single ladder system that all students can follow linearly from elementary school to university. The current structure is based on six years at the elementary level covering grades 1–6, three years of middle school covering 7–9 grades, three years of high school covering 10–12 grades, and four years of university.

After 12 years of formal education, students advance to higher education, and that system of higher education can be understood through two approaches. The first is to review the goals of higher education institutions from a macro viewpoint and the second is to survey various elements of the current higher education system (types of institution, and their various sizes and distribution of personnel).

From a macro perspective, one can observe two common features. One is that the goal of higher education is to educate manpower to fill individually satisfying professional jobs and to be useful for society. In particular, students and parents emphasize the value of vocational education that teaches knowledge and skills available for future jobs when choosing higher education. The government also emphasizes vocational education as a key element to the kinds and levels of economic growth that local and national communities are looking toward in the future. The second major goal of higher education is to discover potential in individuals and to educate them to become well-informed citizens imbued with social responsibility. This goal, which also reflects the perspective of faculty members in universities, emphasizes the role of higher education for sustainable development of social communities. Even though the two above goals can be different depending on the characteristics and size of each institution, in general, the goals institutions pursue are likely to combine vocational education and general education.

Another, current higher education dimension can be understood through indicators such as the types of institutions, the number of students, faculty, and staff, which are key elements of any higher education system (Kim 2008; Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute 2014). The variety of institutional types and individual program styles varies. The largest and the most significant of these programs are universities. They offer multiple majors from humanities to medical science and provide multiple degrees ranging from four-year undergraduate degrees to PhD's. The second largest component of the Korean higher education system consists of junior colleges and technical colleges, which typically offer associate bachelor degrees requiring two to three years of full-time study, depending on the subject. Additionally, teaching universities offer four-year programs to train elementary school teachers. They are supported and controlled by the central government. The Air and Correspondence University, which was originally established in 1972 by the government to absorb the burgeoning demand for higher education in the 1970s with a radio correspondence school curriculum, has used TV as the medium of instruction since 1990. Along with the development of information and communication technology, more programs are provided through the Internet. There are also 19 private cyber-universities offering associate and bachelor degrees.

In 2014, Korea had 433 HEIs (Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute 2014). Of these the proportion of private institutions is significant including 374 private colleges and universities owned by private foundations and the remaining 59, called national or public

universities, were owned by the central government or by local governments. There were also 189 four-year universities, out of which 154 were private and 34 national, with one public institution owned by the local government. Also, there were 139 junior colleges, of which 130 were private, and of the remaining, two were national and seven were public. Also, there was one Air and Correspondence University, two industrial universities, and one technical college. Total enrollment in higher education in 2014 was more than 3.6 million. More than 2.2 million students were enrolled in universities, with approximately 740,000 students in junior colleges and 220,000 in the Air and Correspondence University. More than 88,000 faculty members worked in HEIs with a total number of clerical staff of about 35,000.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN SOUTH KOREA

The overall achievements of Korean higher education can be examined from two perspectives. First, HEIs played a key role in educating manpower needed for Korea's period of exceptionally rapid economic growth by expanding the range and availability of higher education opportunities, a level of expansion which at the time constituted an unprecedented case globally of linking economic expansion and higher education provision. The higher education system in Korea moved into its universal stage, much like a secondary school system, so high school graduates who wanted to study more could access college and university. Second, university students in Korea contributed significantly to social democratization, helping to build a democratic political system. Their participation in the movement of democracy brought about the overthrow of authoritarian dictatorships and facilitated the building of a democratic nation, while also enhancing the rights of workers.

THE EXPANSION OF HIGHER EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY

The rapid expansion of higher education opportunity began in earnest in 1981, when the enrollment rate of higher education increased swiftly in terms of quantitative growth. It can be said that higher education policies implemented before 1981 represented a form of stability model with the higher education system changing very little. By contrast higher education policies after 1981 were different from their predecessors as they focused on the rapid expansion of changing the system itself.

The rapid expansion of higher education can be identified through two major indicators (Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute 2014). One is the number of institutions over time. The other is the number of students and the enrollment rate over time. The number of institutions steadily increased from 1952 to 1980, followed by subsequent changes since 1980 that were drastic in terms of their speed and scale. In 1952 the country had only 34 HEIs, which subsequently increased to 52 in 1960, 71 in 1970, 96 in 1980, 124 in 1990, 191 in 2000, and to 200 in 2010. The number

of junior colleges followed a similar pattern, increasing substantially from 65 in 1970 to 128 in 1980, and reaching a peak of 158 in 2000 before decreasing to 139 in 2014. Taken as a whole, the expansion of Korean higher education was driven and realized by two-year private colleges and four-year private universities located in local areas. In recent years, the number of colleges and universities has decreased because the government has merged or closed some colleges and universities based on the university structural change policy for considering the decline of school-aged children (Yeom 2015).

The second major indicator of the rapid expansion of higher education is the number and rate of students enrolled and the corresponding number of academic staff (Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute 2014). In 1952, only 31,342 students were enrolled in universities. The numbers of students combined in both junior colleges and universities increased to 92,930 by 1960, 179,897 by 1970, 577,455 by 1980, 1,431,921 by 1990, 2,770,200 by 2000, and 2,971,894 in 2013. The enrollment rate increased more than two times every ten years from 11.4 percent in 1980 to 23.6 percent in 1990, and to 52.5 percent in 2000, when Korea's higher education system entered its universal stage. The rate then increased to 65.2 percent in 2005 and to 70.1 percent in 2010 and with a slight drop recently (2013) to 68.7 percent. Similarly, the number of staff members gradually increased from 20,510 in 1980, to 33,025 in 1990, to 56,738 in 2000, and to 71,257 in 2010. The number of academic staff increased substantially between 1990 and 2000 during the period of most rapid expansion. Overall, these indicators, particularly the enrollment rate, demonstrate the rapid growth of higher education, over a period of about 30 years beginning in 1981 (Yeom 2015).

Contribution to Social Democratization

Fifty years after the establishment of the government in 1948, Korea experienced for the first time a peaceful turnover of political power in East Asia through the election in 1997. The regime change was a symbolic event demonstrating the growth of Korean democracy. University students played a major role in achieving social democratization. Particularly, through political involvement and sacrifices made in crucial moments, they contributed to overcoming inequalities that had resulted from the form of industrialization based on the policies of compressed economic growth. Analyzing student movements led by university students, reveals two historically different types (Lee and Park 1990). In the first, during the 1960s and through the 1970s, it was believed that it was possible to build a democratic society by overthrowing the authoritarian dictatorship. In contrast, however student movements since the 1980s have shifted their positions to focus on issues of the intervention of foreign powers, and the manner in which the inherent contradictions of capitalism create a need to be aware of the creation of injustices and inequalities, and their threat to the goal of creating a more just society.

The key forces of these student movements played a pivotal role in transforming Korean society through active involvement in the movement for democratization. For example, in the April 19, 1960 Revolution, students demonstrated against the government, arguing that the fraudulent presidential election of 1960 must be invalidated and a new election held. As a result of the participation and sacrifices of university and secondary school students, Rhee Syng-man, the first president of Korea, stepped down, taking responsibility for the election. The elected vice president Lee Gi-bung's family committed suicide together (Hong 2010). The May 18 Gwangju Democratization Movement was a historical event that took place from May 18 to May 27, 1980. Citizens living in the area of Gwangju and the Jeollanam-do province stood up to the new military regime, arguing for an "immediate establishment of a democratic government," "the resignation of the new military force including Army Security Commander Jeon Doo-hwan," and "the abolition of martial law." During the Gwangju democratic movement, university students resisted the martial law army of airborne troops and were brutally suppressed. Students influenced Korean democratization movements throughout the 1980s, particularly impacting the June Democracy Movement in 1987 (Na 2002). The June Democratic Uprising was a nationwide democracy movement that took place from June 10 to June 29, 1987 in support of an anti-dictatorship policy and advocating for the democratization of Korean society. The June Democracy Movement deeply influenced Korean democratization with the result that this movement created an advanced political system including a direct presidential election system. University students played a key role at the beginning and throughout the progression of the movement (Jung 2006).

The appearance of student movements in the 1980s, which followed on the expansion of opportunities in higher education in 1981, was an unintended result from the military government's position on the function of higher education. Student activists in the 1980s composed and studied their own curriculum voluntarily and analyzed social issues facing Korean society and participated in and sought to change the political and social system through active involvement. The key agendas they initiated for political direction included anti-dictatorship struggles and democratization, self-reliance movements from foreign-force intervention, and overcoming the divided country through reunification (Kim 2007). Movements led by university students in Korea had traditionally been in favor of workers and contributed to enhancing workers' rights by advocating for the working field as a subject of political change, by helping workers be politically aware, and by supporting labor unions (Yoo 2013). Student involvement in social movements combated various injustices and inequalities that existed in Korean society and created opportunities to arrange and manage conflicts among stakeholders through various social systems. By such actions university students worked to move Korean society forward, maintaining a democratic system and one of legal rule in the management of conflicts.

DILEMMAS FACING KOREAN HIGHER EDUCATION

The rapid growth of Korean higher education has resulted in various dilemmas that could deeply affect the overall goals of higher education and its results in terms of individual and social perspectives. The dilemmas, which demonstrate the different interests among stakeholders involved in higher education, have been disputed for a long time and seem not close to being resolved. The issues represent sharp divisions when considering the goals of higher education, such as: who is responsible for paying for it, how to enhance the equity of higher education opportunity, and how to guarantee the accountability and autonomy for higher education management? These dilemmas symbolically demonstrate the range of issues facing Korean higher education and could be major resources for discovering future directions to go forward.

The Low Rate of University Graduate Employment

Graduate employment, particularly of students from four-year universities, has not met expectations, and has created challenges for employers, graduates, and the society as a whole (Yeom 2015). For example, the annual average graduate employment rate for the past 30 years has remained around 60 percent. The total employment rate of higher education graduates integrating two-year colleges and four-year universities was 54.7 percent in 1985, 67.6 percent in 1995, 74.4 percent in 2005, and 58.4 percent in 2013 (Statistics Korea 2014). Looking at the employment rate reveals two important features. First, the graduate employment rate of junior college graduates is higher than four-year university graduates, since graduates from junior colleges are considered professional workers having skills immediately available for industrial sites and demand less wages compared to four-year university graduates. Second, the graduate employment rate of four-year universities is not high. The lowest rate recorded was 51.8 percent in 2010, which means that almost half of university graduates were not able to get a job following graduation.

The employment rate has remained relatively constant with no major changes for the past 30 years, though the rate has shown some differences depending on business conditions each year. The rapid quantitative expansion of higher education does not match graduate employment. According to Choi (2008), highly educated people have become abundant while the jobs they are looking for have declined. Also, there has been a mismatch between the employment terms offered by industries and the expectations of university graduates, as well as a lack of infrastructure to deal with the mismatch. In this context, the government places more value on vocational education and emphasizes the graduate employment rate as a key indicator in evaluating HEIs. However, different voices have been raised against the government position, which focuses primarily on the employment rate. The key argument from critics states that if HEIs downplay general education, which is supposed to educate citizens and inform their sense of social responsibility, they would lose their important value

system and such graduates could not help build a social community. Therefore, it is important to find a balance between vocational education and general education in order to fulfill the overall goals of higher education.

Heavy Reliance on Private Burden

The Korean government has not invested properly in a public budget for higher education, despite the expansion of the system, and has instead depended on individuals and private HEIs for the financing to deal with expansion. According to “Education at a Glance 2013” (Korean Educational Development Institute 2013), college tuition in Korea is among the highest for countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); the tuition impacts the ratio of the private burden of public education expenses, which in Korea has maintained the top position for the past 13 years. The ratio of private burden is much greater in higher education than primary and secondary education. The ratio of the private burden for both cases, for example, 0.9 percent for primary and secondary and 1.9 percent for higher education, are the highest among OECD member countries. However, the ratio for primary and secondary education is three times higher than the average of OECD countries (0.3 percent), and for Korean higher education is almost four times higher when compared with the OECD average (0.5 percent). The government burden for Korean higher education in the public education sector compared with GDP had increased from 0.3 percent in 1995 to 0.6 percent in 2000, and started to decrease to 0.3 percent by 2002. Since 2003, it has maintained at 0.6 percent annually, except for a slight decline to 0.5 percent in 2005, and an increase to 0.7 percent in 2009. Although the budget supporting higher education has increased steadily, the budget has still not reached the OECD average of 1.1 percent.

The ratio of private institutions to public institutions in Korea is relatively higher, and the heavy reliance on private HEIs has gradually increased (Ministry of Education and Korean Educational Development Institute 2014). For example, the level of enrollment for private four-year universities has remained almost the same, at 75.4 percent in 1970 and 76.4 percent in 2010. The ratio for private two-year colleges increased from 57.0 percent to 97.2 percent during the same period of time. The number of private four-year HEIs was 159 (79.5 percent) out of 200 in 2010, and the number of private two-year colleges was 136 (93.8 percent) out of 145 in 2010. In addition, the major sources of operational revenue for private HEIs consisted of tuition, gifts, and donations from the owners of universities, other donations, endowments, and government subsidies, to name a few. The primary contribution, however, to operational revenue was tuition. Specifically, tuition contributed 68.8 percent to operational expense in 1995, increased to 69.2 percent in 2000, and again to 73.9 percent in 2005. Since, it has decreased somewhat from 71.5 percent in 2010 to 71.2 percent in 2011, and to 66.6 percent in 2012. The percentage of contributions from tuition has decreased following the introduction of the

limitation of tuition increases and the committee of tuition review. Also, the government introduced a kind of national scholarship as a tool for inputting governmental subsidies (Korea Higher Education Research Institute 2012). In this context, in order to improve HEIs' educational settings and decrease the relative private burden, the government must expand its financial investment to match at least the level of the OECD average.

Intensified University Rankings

The impact of University ranking has been intensifying as higher education expands, and the ranking system employed in Korea has caused various problems in society in general. In Korea, universities are divided by criteria such as whether or not they are a top-tier university, whether or not they are located in the Seoul area, and the average SAT scores of enrolled students. Of course, the most significant ranking criterion has been the average SAT score of enrolled students. According to a recent evaluation of universities by daily newspapers (Joongang Ilbo 2014), the top 20 four-year universities are private universities located in the Seoul area, with the exception of a few national universities in local areas.

The most serious problem relating to the university ranking system is the personal psychological deprivation they create (Lee 2003). Many students and parents are depressed and feel frustration or inferiority in response to the university ranking system and its various influences. Students often select private tutoring as a strategy to overcome personal disadvantages and in an attempt to enter more prestigious universities. Over 80 percent of school parents utilize private tutoring for their own children. People in a higher socioeconomic class, as well as those with more educated parents, spend more money for private cram schools than their counterparts. Also, those living in the Seoul area invest more money for private tutoring than others living in local areas, taking on a larger household burden. Another problem caused by the vertical ranking system has been a regional imbalance of the economy (Ban et al. 2013). Private universities located in Seoul have become bloated and local universities in other parts of the country have declined. Universities in Seoul have more money, more students, and higher rankings. This establishes a vicious cycle. Deteriorated universities in local areas contribute to the drain of an effective workforce from the local areas out to Seoul. They also contribute to falling local industries, resulting in a shortage of work opportunities, which finally causes a concentration of people and industries to aggregate in the Seoul capital area. Particularly, the university ranking systems have brought a kind of social stigma for local university graduates who are at a disadvantage when they seek employment.

University ranking does not allow each university to pursue its own specialty when considering student selection and curriculum operation. With the university ranking system emphasizing SAT scores, secondary schools have to focus on increasing SAT scores, which is an essential factor in determining university entry. As a result, standardized university entry systems cause the quality of

secondary education to decline, confuse the goal of education, and limit the operation of any curriculum. In the end, intensifying the university ranking does not help to enhance teaching competencies at universities and causes abnormal operation for secondary schools. Considering the issues related to the university ranking system, more group-oriented thinking is needed to solve the problems caused by such rankings. This would include the development of local universities, the improvement of a university entry system, and the reinforcement of the higher education system as a public good.

Highly Centralized Government Regulation

Government regulation of HEIs is very strict. The government has employed regulatory policies for actively involving all areas of institutional operations including the establishment of institutions, the construction of governance systems, student selection and graduation, the management of academic affairs, and the organization of the curriculum. For example, almost all public universities in Korea are national colleges and universities, which are owned and controlled by the national government. The Ministry of Education has maintained relatively direct and strict control of these. Private institutions are also under the government's control, but their governance is decentralized since each private college and university is managed by its own private school foundation.

Government-led higher education policies continually create conflicts between the government and universities. For example, recently the government made and implemented a policy named “ways to advance national universities”, which includes the incorporation of national universities, the abolition of the direct election system for national university presidents, and the introduction of a performance-based annual salary system. In the case of a governing system, the government argues that the university governing system should abolish the direct election system for university presidents in order to improve overall governance. However, the majority of university faculty believes that the government seeks an indirect election system for national university presidents in order to give it a simpler way to control national universities. Another example was a college and university structural adjustment program initiated by the Ministry of Education (Park 2014). The main goal of this policy was to cut down university enrollment coinciding with the decline of the school-aged population. The government has planned to reduce 160,000 enrollments in the nine years from 2015 to 2023 in three phases, based on the evaluation of existing colleges and universities. According to the policy, all colleges and universities had to be evaluated and the results of the evaluation brought about forceful structural adjustments, particularly cutting down on enrollment. The main interests of the government seemed to be in changing the governance system of national universities in order to require strict adherence to regulations established by the government. This kind of aggressive regulatory policy finally has resulted in controversy over who has autonomy and responsibility for keeping the universities accountable.

In this context, some have recommended developing an alternative approach of governing in order to change the current system of highly centralized government regulation. This approach would construct a new governing body called the “National Committee on Educational Policy,” which would have its own power, maintaining an independent status inside the government (see Kim 2013). The committee would be expected to draw a future vision for higher education and help each institution improve its capacity as an administrative and financial supporter. This novel approach could be instrumental in constructing the new paradigm necessary to deal with problems caused by the government-led regulation of higher education administration. With this approach, each institution would have an independent board of trustees and would be expected to exercise its own autonomy, with more responsibility under the new governing system. In the long view, the new approach would contribute to developing a more advanced system, which allows each institution to control itself or to respond to market needs in a more active way. Considering this, public and private colleges and universities would not only be expected to build an appropriate governing body that can gain autonomy from the government and private foundations, but also be held responsible to important stakeholders such as taxpayers, students, and local communities.

RESOLUTIONS FOR FUTURE HIGHER EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT

Two approaches for seeking a future direction of Korean higher education are worthy of discussion here. On one hand, it is possible to consider strategies for developing higher education as it is recognized globally, which is to build a vision for higher education from a macro perspective. On the other hand, it is useful to develop practical ways to enhance the competence of each institution from a micro perspective.

Constructing a Big Vision for Future Higher Education

A macro perspective, long-term vision for future higher education can be constructed through an in-depth review of the current dilemmas facing Korean higher education, such as the low rate of university graduate employment, the heavy reliance on private funding, university ranking systems, and heavy and constricting government regulation. In fact, these dilemmas engage different interests among stakeholders and require social consensus in order to be negotiated with a long-term view, rather than a shortsighted unilateral approach. This would be a new approach, vastly different from the way the Ministry of Education has functioned thus far.

The first consideration for drawing a big vision is the characteristics of higher education, for the primary reason that individual choices and/or the government policy directions would be changed according to whether the value

of higher education is defined as a public or a private good. Looking at the Korean higher education system and its operation, the system partially operates as both. For example, higher education can be regarded as a public good because the government does decide on an entrance quota and intervenes in the operation of individual institutions directly/indirectly along with offering government subsidies. Korean higher education also operates as a private good since the system works with user-pay principles, meaning individuals have to pay for their own higher education and over 80 percent of HEIs belong to private institutes. These situations demonstrate how Korean higher education has both characteristics of a public and private good. However, considering that too much reliance on private colleges and universities has greatly damaged the equity of higher education, future higher education should strive to embrace greater public value and receive more public funds from the government, respecting its value as a public good.

The second thing to consider for developing a big vision is who the main actors should be for controlling HEIs. The core agencies related to higher education development are largely divided into three types: individual institutions, government, and market. Reviewing the administration of higher education in Korea and the resulting issue, whereas government currently occupies a very strong position, the influence of the market is growing and has considerable unrealized potential. In this process, HEIs have not fully exercised their autonomy and have passively followed the reform agenda proposed and implemented by government. The Korean government, as one of the key agencies for university development, has regarded colleges and universities as an object to manage and control, not as a subject to respect. What could/should be an alternative for developing higher education? It is time to consider a new approach that should construct a new governing body called a “National Higher Education Committee” or a “National Committee on Educational Policy” (see Kim 2013). The committee would be expected to address the limits and problems caused by short-term policies and narrow views of government and to construct and implement higher education policy from long-term perspectives, maintaining an independent status inside the government. With this approach, it is possible to develop an alternative that can be helpful in enhancing the autonomy of each institution, allowing it to exercise its own responsibility.

Enhancing Competences of Each Institution at the Micro Level

The development of future higher education from a micro viewpoint depends on enhancing the competencies of each individual institution. In principle, each institution should invest efforts to identify and cultivate the interests and aptitudes of enrolled students. The current low rate of university graduate employment and the intensifying university ranking systems are the result of an incomplete implementation of the goals that each institution sets. Also, university structural reform policies led by government were not helpful for institutions trying to develop their own capacity for maximizing potential.

Considering the fact that almost all colleges and universities have a common goal of both offering an appropriate vocational education and of cultivating citizens who have social responsibility, each institution must become a real agent, which composes a goal and develops the detailed strategies to achieve that goal. Because each institution is able to identify the unique traits of students coming to the institution from each region, they can better recognize the characteristics of local communities than agents outside the local and student context. In this context, it is essential to enhance each institution's ability to recognize the particular needs of students, local communities, labor markets, and the active involvement of the local community through an industry–university collaboration and civil society participation.

Enhancing competences of HEIs is closely related to the level of autonomy an institution might have. With this argument, it is expected that the more autonomy an institution gains the more efficient a response it is able to demonstrate toward major stakeholders, including students and local communities. However, it is unclear how, under the environment of university operation ruled and administered by the government and/or private foundations, each institution tries to gain and internalize autonomy in day-to-day operations of the organization. Without a strong willingness to struggle and maintain autonomy, the competence building for respective institutions may be considered to be an empty word, mere rhetoric. In particular, special attention is required to enhance teaching, learning, and graduate employment at the university level in order to maximize the learning outcomes of students, which is ultimately the final product for each institution. In order to enhance teaching capacity, both building a curriculum and establishing the support system for teaching and learning are essential.

Competence-building efforts at the university level can be connected to enhancing learning competencies. These efforts may eventually result in the production of professional manpower, which can be made available to foster local and national economic growth, and which will contribute to improving employment rates at each institution. In the case of research, each institution should define its scope and performance based on its own goals that are unique to the establishment and educational needs.

CONCLUSION

Korea has experienced dynamic changes in economic and social arenas over the past 50 years, growing from one of the poorest countries in the world with authoritarian regimes to one of the world's wealthiest nations with a democratic system. Korean economic growth is indicated by the rapid expansion of GDP, where the country is ranked 36th in the world. Additionally, Korea is the 15th largest country in the world in terms of economic size (International Monetary Fund 2013). In the case of social change, building a democratic system represents extraordinary progress for social development. In the area of social and economic change, Korean higher education functioned as a driving

force for educating professional manpower and sacrificed its youth's blood for social democratization. The Korean case, on one hand, positively contributed to improving the quality of individual life and to keeping the security and prosperity of the national community. On the other hand, the Korean case has also demonstrated that higher education expansion did not meet the expectations of individuals and society. The time has come to reflect critically on the achievements and dilemmas the Korean higher education system has experienced and to explore a new version of higher education based upon social consensus more broadly.

In conclusion, the rapid growth of Korean higher education presents complicated characteristics and various challenges regarding its processes and results. The government, as both a policy maker and an actor, was able to expand higher education rapidly and implement policies efficiently, but many unintended problems appeared in the field. Also, although the scope of the higher education system has expanded quantitatively in a short period of time, the government's current college restructuring policies raise questions regarding the results of the quantitative expansion. However, these issues should not be strong evidence to deny the opportunity of higher education expansion because the experiences of dealing with issues resulting from the expansion can be valuable resources to make future alternatives. Therefore, the direction for future development of higher education should enhance equity and equality, while improving social equality, and regard these as the essential goals of expanding higher education opportunity. In this context, the development of future Korean higher education needs a paradigm shift to reconstruct the goals of higher education as a public good and to build a new governing body as a main actor at the national level.

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Vietnam: The Demand for Change and the Direction Taken

Phuong Lan Bui

Seventy years after winning independence, and 40 years after reunification, Vietnam embarks on comprehensive education reform nationwide.¹ As full-scale integration is fast approaching, this society deeply feels the human development model that the current education system helps formulate is no longer adequate.² The main goal of the 2015 reform was to change the status quo into a learning society. The steps taken in 2015 are links in a chain of motion toward completion in 2030. By constructing a fundamentally different model, it aims to bring education to new heights in order to construct a new and much more capable generation of Vietnamese.

This chapter discusses the nature of the current reform, especially some key changes along the bridge connecting high school graduation with college admission. In this process, it will document how the call for such substantive reforms has originated from the alarming state of educational quality itself and will outline the direction toward which this education system is moving.

A NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

Vietnam enjoys great diversity that few countries in the world experience. Mountain, delta, and the sea help make this long and narrow strip of land in Southeast Asia by the Pacific Ocean a country of agriculture, forestry, and fisheries. Challenges closely follow each step in its development hence the need to change is constant. It now enjoys a rare span of prosperity and peace, yet

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Vietnam deeply feels that education for a nation is no simple matter both to deal with emerging needs in this rapidly changing age and with the legacy its own system has generated.

Vietnam's Communist Party has maintained strong leadership and should receive credit for improving education for the masses. As the country has been under a one-party system for many decades, once setbacks emerge, the government would very often be on the defensive. Those complex intermingling factors are especially poignant when the country goes through profound changes. Perhaps most notable was the fundamental transition from being a colony to a republic. In the few years after gaining independence in 1945, the country's education system achieved near total illiteracy eradication for the young in delta areas. The first major reform took place in 1950, and changed the French Lycée model to a nine-year system, which in turn changed to a ten-year schooling structure in 1956. When peace came in 1975, massive efforts were again devoted to illiteracy eradication in southern parts of Vietnam formerly under American occupation. The country's economy was re-built from the devastation of warfare, with two distinctly different economies: a centralized one in the North and colonized consumption in the South. As time passed, factors influencing education including economic composition changed. Hence, a few years after this once-divided country became unified, a nationwide education system applicable to all was established in 1979.³ It has, through times, stretched uniformly in a unified Vietnam from cities of hot growth to the remote and backward countryside, from the mountain to the sea. Since the *Doi moi* politico-economic reform in 1986,⁴ there has been patch-work renovation of this system to partially adapt to the new economic environment. Yet, on the whole, Vietnam's K-12 mainstream education has been relatively static.

Accomplishments have been commendable, yet those very positive signs of rapid educational growth in scope and scale for a newly independent or unified country do generate setbacks. Quantity does not automatically guarantee quality with it. Resistance to neither change nor adaptations to new circumstances has caused education to remain almost unchanged in both structure and content; successes in providing basic education to the masses have caused lessened attention to higher learning. Vietnam's economic growth has mainly come from capital investment, not productivity (Asian Productivity Organization 2014).

Integration has brought to the forefront the fact that the development gap between Vietnam and advanced ASEAN countries is growing. Behind growth and modernization efforts, in term of human resources, Vietnam's main attraction to investors is low-skilled, cheap labor (World Economic Forum 2015). With a workforce of 58 percent un-skilled laborer and only 8 percent college graduates (Vietnam Institute of Economics 2015), achievement compared to the goals set is poor while employers struggle to find the right workers (Bodevig et al. 2014). As the country enters a new phase and begins to modernize, the needs of the new economy require that education be re-directed. Demographically, Vietnam is in a golden population period. Economically,

recent rapid economic development has helped the country reach the lower-middle income level in 2010. Integration with ASEAN has generated domestic pressure for Vietnam to prepare its youth to be competitive with regional neighbors. The 2011–2020 strategy on socio-economic development has made restructuring the economy its mandate.

Vietnam's education system grapples with unending questions and enormous public discontent. As the country moves from a controlled economy to a building market one, and with it from isolation to integration, it has become very clear that education management has not grown fast enough. If *doi moi* and the World Trade Organization accession have generated fundamental changes in major aspects of governance, education has tacitly hidden behind national boundaries and sovereignty, and has strictly been guarded at both national and academic borders. If the Ministry of Trade could no longer set the price for an ordinary product, the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) would still have control from establishing tuition to what should be taught in any program from K-12 and beyond, from textbook contents to issuing a degree. Despite MOET's broad power and micro management practices, Vietnam's education structure and practice lack an overall systematic framework and synchronization. Its unsatisfactory human resources could become the very factor that prevents further development.

The country is acutely aware that the current system seems to fail its youth and does not generate human resources of higher quality. While the need to re-invent education is growing, the decision to change substantively has been hard to arrive at. Education in Vietnam is deeply entangled in a complex historical background and tightly controlled by the government. Regardless of decisions to change or not to change, education has always been a top national priority among programs to develop socio-economically (World Bank 2015a).

Naturally the country needs to change to a development model that allows for greater competitiveness. Needless to say, it requires higher quality human resources to industrialize and integrate, and last but not least, to be capable of national defense in an increasingly militarized region. By 2011, the political will for comprehensive education reform culminated in Resolution No. 29-NQ/TW dated November 4, 2013 of the eighth plenum of the Central Executive Board XI, making comprehensive and fundamental renovation of education of prime importance. The Strategy and Plan for the development of human resources from 2011 to 2020 forms the basis for this goal.

If there is a good time for substantive change in education, the time is now. The growing gap between what the country is currently able to achieve versus what it could have been able to enjoy given its potentials disappoint many aspiring Vietnamese. With a population that ranks 13th in the world, its human development in education index ranks 121 (United Nations Development Program 2013), and its GDP per capita ranks 126 (World Bank 2015b). Vietnam has a long way to go before it could be at par with advanced countries in ASEAN that this nation aspires to equal with.

THE COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION REFORM OF 2015

The ultimate goal of this ambitious reform is to generate a powerful transformation in the effectiveness of education and quality of human resources. In effect, its impact would be no less than re-engineering a new generation of Vietnamese at both social and individual levels. The government and education administrators are deeply aware of the issues raised, but silenced by earlier critics. The reform has been internally initiated without direct foreign influences and seeks to respond to urgent problems with nationwide education.

Within the current administrative arrangements, MOET, not individual institutions, grants college degrees. Consequently, this ministry, with its limited number of staff, serves as a *de facto* board of regents carrying out the enormous job of running all higher education institutions (HEIs). Consequently, the system under MOET's control became a nationwide mega institution, and individual institutions serve as dependent schools under this management scheme (except the two national universities). In order to avoid abuses, choices offered to applicants have been rigid in the extremes, and individual institutions did not have the right to make independent decisions, but merely served as MOET's agents mandated to carry out guidelines.

Politically, the reform depends on not only educators but other social forces as well. The Party's clearly stated goals in its top-down directives serve to unify perception throughout the bureaucratic mechanism, galvanize resources, and co-ordinate the actions of government management of educational institutions at all levels, even into fields of study. Under the National Committee for Innovation of Education and Training chaired by the Prime Minister, the system allows for the MOET, and at a much smaller level, the two national universities (to try new models at tertiary level) for implementation through innovating policies.

Emphasis is placed on humanistic qualities such as freedom for creativity and inspiring ambition; universal values of humanity such as elitism and the pursuit of knowledge and skills; national culture, traditions, and pursuit of ideology to serve the Motherland. As the reform takes shape and unfolds, the long-term vision is to build a learning society with an open education system for lifelong learning that provides opportunities to learn for all.

The overarching efforts are geared toward a more systematic approach that is less rigid and offers flexibility, transferability across programs at various levels internally, and greater connectivity outside the system. From the grass-root level, all citizens need to learn and be able to utilize opportunities provided by society. From this effort, the notion of a learning society emerges as an overall educational process in which all organizations in society participate in many forms. Higher education, accordingly, needs to focus on self-learning and enriching, and become more connected to up-to-date progress in science and technology.

In terms of implementation, five action words lie at the core of the program: (1) standardization; (2) modernization; (3) socialization; (4) democratization;

and (5) integration. Each is heavily grounded on the history of current setbacks and aims toward reaching standards required for integration. Among those, the concepts embedded behind standardization and socialization probably require more explication within the Vietnamese context. Standardization means both domestically working on discrepancies across regions to create a certain even playing field and reaching up to an international level.⁵ Socialization means the state does not keep a monopoly but allows for more private ownership, but not to the extent of allowing “privatization” of public institutions.

Needless to say, those five are enormously ambitious tasks. Yet it is uncertain how these goals are to be met, given poor investments on human resources and education. However, efforts to address those issues need to work together in order to create a comprehensive impact. In a narrow pedagogical sense (with broad social and individual implications), the new comprehensive goal is to develop students’ all rounded capacity and integrity. In concrete terms, the model of fully developed Vietnamese is one that emphasizes love of the family, the Country, and compatriots, being capable of living well and working effectively to build and defend the country. In terms of dissemination, the structure of the learning process is altered toward more substantive intake of knowledge. In order to work against the influence of an “achievement malaise” and false degrees that society angrily condemns, the change is from making learners acquire knowledge to fully developing their capacity and integrity.

One major weakness causing Vietnam’s education system to be unable to meet the demands of industrialization is that quality assessment has not been conducted properly. Probably no other countries in the world carried out testing of its educational system as Vietnam does until now. High school graduation exams have been notorious in helping to falsify achievements. By law, Vietnam institutionalizes achievements.⁶ Teachers, as well as the schools they teach for, are evaluated and paid based on the performance of students, albeit symbolically and bureaucratically so. The goals imposed are high, the ranking of students include Excellent, Good, Average, and Weak (only problematic students find themselves in the Average category and below). Almost every high school senior would pass and officially graduate. Teachers would be willing to let their students cheat, thus yielding untruthful scores, and results are tacitly allowed to be cooked up to ensure benefits to all participants concerned. Society has accepted this to a degree, which in turn has made falsifying achievements to meet institutionalized requirements a common malaise. Consequently, this nationwide test held annually at high financial costs to the whole system has not necessarily fulfilled academic purposes. As the content of a national graduation test would lead to what and how students learn, when the most important exam is turned into a highly un-educational experience for many, this “achievement malaise” deprives the students of learning opportunities, and may even turn completion into a vicious cycle.

Yet this system was able to select the cream of the crop to send into higher education due to another nationwide test for university admission held once a year and very strictly proctored. The linkage between high school graduation

and the admission tests lies in that the former completes a general education process for the masses, and the latter was a merit-based selection for highly contested institutions. The stakes for the latter were much higher, the content much more demanding, and no state-imposed achievement could possibly be placed, yet those at the top are heavily subsidized by the government.

The reform starts with evaluation. How exams are constructed will create a chain effect throughout the whole education process. The new two-in-one test serves as a dual catalytic measure to comprehensively renovate education. As education is highly responsive to evaluations, and teaching often geared toward meeting test requirements, the breakthrough created by this dual test would filter into the education system with far-reaching effect. Any changes in testing would undoubtedly heavily influence teaching and learning. In the years to come, learning content and pedagogical methods will predictably change accordingly.

Consequently, between July 1 and July 4, 2015 Vietnamese high school seniors nationwide took the two-in-one test, the results of which are to be considered for both graduation and admission to institutions of higher education. Change came both in form and content, with 60 percent of questions focusing on basic knowledge for graduation and 40 percent for college admission differentiation. This break from past formats shows it is possible to have one test capable of differentiating between graduation requirements and admission to higher education. The designers demonstrated a liberated thinking, freed from obsolete criteria in that there were more open-ended questions to pave the way for creativity, and yet still be within reach of average students by closely adhering to the curriculum. This move has effectively created countless intangible benefits. It strongly sends out the message that rote learning no longer works, and students will no longer be allowed to learn passively. Much remains to be done in terms of test-taking proctoring. Despite discrepancies between national (administered by institutions of higher education) and local (by provincial officials) test sites, much less cheating was reported which allowed for truthful, even shocking results. If, in the past, taking the university entrance exams has been taken for granted, even when thousands scored zero, this year, it's absolutely fine NOT to even try. For this cohort, 28 percent do not register to apply beyond high school while 72 percent did. On July 26, 2015, MOET released the full score range from the 30 test locations managed by HEIs for those applying for further study. Among those who aspired to apply for higher education, 27 percent did not meet the required average score of 15 set by MOET for three selected subjects, and the remainder (more than half a million) did (Fig. 42.1).

By releasing exam percentile scores, MOET has completed the exam process in general. The exam result spectrum realistically serves as an indicator for the quality of education nationwide. On the whole, the message for the system is clear. Yes, it's possible to design a two-in-one test to measure both knowledge mastered for high school graduation and predict scholastic aptitude for college. This year, 91 percent passed and graduated from high school compared to 99 percent for many years in a row in the past.

BỘ GIÁO DỤC VÀ ĐÀO TẠO

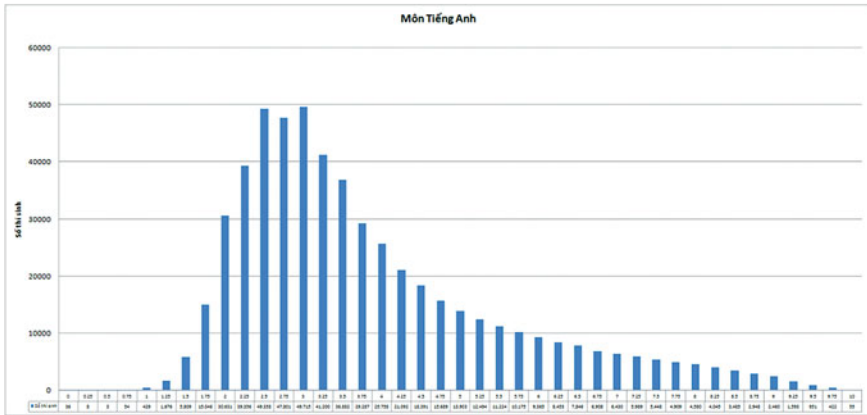


Fig. 42.1 High school graduation and higher admission exam results, subject English, 2015 (*Source:* Vietnam Ministry of Education and Training (2015))

For math and English, the two most important subjects for integration, few reached an average grade of 5, and most were at 2–3.5 (with precision to 0.25) over the maximum grade of 10. Such results sent shockwaves and added to the conundrum out of calls to renovate teaching. What the English exam results demonstrated is quite negative in multi-fold ways. First, it tells Vietnam that integration into the wider world would not be easy, and the dream to become another Singapore of Asia is too far to reach. Secondly, it demonstrates how inefficient the education system is. Despite all the money recently spent to improve the teaching of English throughout the system, such extremely poor results indicate that money has not been spent wisely. Third a lot of the practices of investing in education have been accused of focusing on spending money, not in developing real capacity. The question for the coming years to resolve is whether future tests should be adjusted so that most students could at least reach average scores, or whether the curricular framework needs to be changed and teachers' capacity improved, or all of the above.

Yet, college application for the half a million students has played out very differently. Whereas only last year students were able to apply almost blindly before they took the once-in-a-year test to one fixed destination (when score estimates were a wild guess), the sequencing this year has been re-designed to be chronological when exam results have been released. It has taken a long time to arrive at this logic. The supposedly new process set in motion in this reform stumbled upon a bottleneck: MOET still retains strict control over admissions and imposed one fixed deadline of August 20 for First Priority Application for all institutions of higher education. Subsequent changes would be harshly penalized. After this one-day window, the gates to top institutions would be closed because the quota granted by MOET has been filled. The rigid, even paradoxical college admission process was finally over for those less capable. New problems, of much smaller scale limited to some top students,

emerged. Admission to the top 30 universities bordered even on the edge of chaos. Panic struck because the stakes were so high, and uncertainty prevailed as the cutoff (determining) admission score was still a guessing game. Firstly, about 8 percent of top applicants (more than 43,000) realized they needed to switch institutions. Second, only a few among those top 30 institutions announced highly probable clear-cut requirements based on the data they had available. For others, it was a guessing game until the last minute. When last minute selections played a crucial role, there was a very narrow time window available to them to act to make decisions. Those who needed to switch before the deadline needed to retake their applications to apply to a different institution, yet most institutions were not technically ready to carry out this return or receive applications smoothly through a smoothly constructed process.⁷

So, in short, the reform was counter-productive and did not favor many among the top of the examination group. For many it is a wait based on probability. The door will be closed to any who make miscalculations as the clock makes its final countdown. The goal to provide both greater convenience and equal access for all applicants has not been achieved. Instead, it has been harder for students, especially those in remote areas with little access to HEIs (HEIs) that are often in urban areas. So while the reform may have worked better in some broad sense, the greater numbers with medium scores would need to wait for Supplementary Admission anyway, and for them it was a sad spectacle to see instances of the brightest not able to withdraw and apply to top 30 institutions before the deadline was imposed. MOET has not taken into consideration the differences in competitiveness of individual institutions. The problematic college admission process that was followed, highlights the need to adjust policy, and information technology throughout the system needs to be overhauled. The Minister of Education Pham Vu Luan accepted responsibility for the near chaos that ensued.

THE NEW SEEDS SOWN

Obviously, Vietnam's national education system has been geared toward a new direction. What has been initiated in 2015 probably serves as a good indication of where it may go. The re-focusing has become less on quantity and more on a far-reaching change in quality, yet the aim of catering to the education needs of the masses is still obvious. Politically, within Vietnam's context of building a market economy with a socialist orientation, the social mandate played by education would not allow it to operate as an ordinary marketplace. A delicate balance is implied here: first and foremost, an education based on a market economy would need to rely on supply and demand, effectively creating competition and investment to heighten quality, and the socialist orientation which requires education to ensure positive development of individuals and society in the face of the negative effects of driving for maximum profit and by doing so losing sight of long-term benefit of the learners caused solely by the mechanisms of a market economy.

Naturally, there are lingering questions as to whether the motion unleashed and directions set out will actually accomplish the goals set. Based on the tendency of the reform, observers have seen pieces for the roadmap:

1. Several aspects of this reform indicate a less high-handed stewardship from the government in education. Looking back at the past year, the MOET Minister has affirmed the success of the initial steps taken, and re-affirmed education as a national priority. He also indicated that the ministry would cease interfering with the academic activities of individual institutions in the near future.
2. The most obvious step thus far has been MOET's decision to merge the two tests into one and in this effort, allow the level of transparency and truthful evaluation to be also increased (Tuy 2015).⁸ Understandably, this single test may not be adequate and individual universities may need to require additional testing. Current policies do not permit institutions (other than the two national universities) to choose their own exam format and content, but do offer a process for those that wish to propose such and wait for MOET's approval. This last step is deemed another instance of red tape. Needless to say, it would be an enormous task for MOET to approve the thousands of different disciplines and MOET needs to break away from this urge to control the whole of the education process.
3. Clear delineation means granting more autonomy to institutions. The government would strengthen inspection but at the same time, there will be more substantive assessments of institutions at the regional and national levels by ranking. While things are rapidly changing nationwide, MOET continues to keep control and its institutions are responsible for nurturing growth as the relationship between and among them change. On September 7, 2015 the Prime Minister issued a decree requesting an assessment that would rank all institutions according to three tiers (research 30 percent, applied 30 percent, and practice 40 percent) every ten years. On November 5, 2015 as he chaired the National Committee for Innovation of Education and Training meeting, he urged an increase in autonomy for institutions. More autonomy as well as acceptance of individualized policies according to college ranking is expected.
4. Obviously, there would be a more clear-cut distinction disassociating government administration from the internal management of individual institutions. Less control would allow for more opportunities to galvanize social support and revitalize institutions. In this spirit, MOET welcomes ideas and recommendations from experts, intellectuals, and distinguished scientists especially those from overseas. Observers collectively seem to indicate that reform needs to be more substantive, and more fundamentally in alignment with organizational principles especially at the tertiary level. The Vietnam Education Dialogue (2015) led by Fields Medal-winner Professor Ngo Bao Chau delivered their recommendations to the Prime Minister in June 2015. Most notably among the five recommendations was the first, which calls for a structural change in control. In their

view, when the 330 plus state universities and colleges controlled by MOET do not really have “owners.” The state should give local authorities and certain professional ministries control over them simply because only institutions that have rights associated with their destiny educational institutions are likely to perform well as owners. A roadmap for this process for structural change could start with cities that have autonomy over their budget, and the ministries would be responsible to co-ordinate at national level. Other specific recommendations include: (1) an increase in financial autonomy; (2) establishing independent assessment agencies; (3) the reduction of mandatory courses and class hours; and (4) institutionalizing the linkage between institutions and industries.

5. The National Committee for reform includes the task of renovating policy and financial mechanisms to promote broader participation from society at large, and heighten investment returns in education. It follows that institutional autonomy needs to include budgeting. State resources will continue to play a leading role in investments for education. At the same time, sources of support should be even more localized, wherein cities and provinces may emerge as co-owners with MOET as well as ensuring that the management of other ministries be at national level only. The fact that the current situation requires the Prime Minister to approve the Pilot Project for Renovation Mechanism for Electric Power University to have more control over its budget means that there is a very long way to travel to full autonomy.

The work ahead to re-write curricula would require more far-reaching efforts. To ensure success and systematic integrity, MOET needs to reveal a full roadmap and associated measures to be involved including detailed phases for specific goals. The major forth coming step in curriculum design is scheduled to start with the new cohort in 2018 and completed by 2023. This grand project is expected to be controversial as it will touch upon problematic as well as sensitive issues. Most notably at the curricular level, all need to be rooted in innovative thinking in line with MOET’s new methodology emphasizing independent thinking, creativity, applied rather than basic science, and to restrict rote learning. Changes also include more optional coursework, generating a learning experience for students that promotes personal development and life skills.

The country takes education seriously. Amidst all the landslide changes Vietnam has experienced, it is a nation forever finding itself at the crossroad of world history. The ebbs and flows between historical periods, including various foreign influences, have left their marks, no less so on education. Thus, many problems are not confined to education alone but lie within other historical contingencies as well. Education, in turn, in the context of a society and an economy in transition, reflects upon governance. Since independence, the current reform is the most ambitious, touching on fundamental issues. The will and mechanism for change is internally grown, the major thrust of which is to promote Vietnam’s integration capacity. Seen from this perspective, Vietnam’s education is globalizing from an internal strength to meet the demands posed by integration.

NOTES

1. Since Vietnam gained independence in 1945, there have been three reforms in education: 1950, 1956, and 1981.
2. In current context, integration means the need to produce human resources on par with that of other countries, ready for membership in the ASEAN Economic Community and possibly Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and capable of defending the country on land and at sea in this increasingly volatile region.
3. Polit-bureau of Communist Party of Vietnam, Decree 14 NQ/TW, November 1, 1979.
4. The term *doi moi* refers to the economic reform initiated in 1986 with the goal of putting an end to a centrally planned economy to creating a socialist-oriented market economy.
5. In a conference on October 22, 2015 evaluating the school year 2014–2015, MOET Minister Pham Vu Luan admitted the internal problem of similar wording while implying very different concepts, which causes problems.
6. Law on Emulation and Reward, in pursuant with Vietnam's Constitution passed in 1992 and amended in 2001.
7. As the deadline drew near and probable admission cutoff points emerged, it was especially hard for top institutions to process applications in the narrow time window left. On August 19, the last day of MOET's imposed deadline for Priority Application, the National Economics University in Hanoi received 457 applications, 843 changes, and 625 withdrawals.
8. Professor of Mathematics Hoang Tuy has been a very vocal critic of the state of education in Vietnam and a strong supporter of this reform.

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Higher Education in Kazakhstan

Lyudmila Kovaleva and Jack T. Lee

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary world requires all countries to be responsive to changing economic trends in order to thrive and be competitive. Kazakhstan is aiming to become one of the 30 most developed countries by the year 2050. It has been widely acknowledged by government officials and international experts that the only way Kazakhstan can achieve this goal is through the development of human capital and a transition to a knowledge-based economy (Aitzhanova et al. 2014). According to the Global Competitiveness Report 2014–2015, Kazakhstan has maintained its 50th place among other 144 countries for the last two years (Schwab 2014). While this is a good sign of stability, Kazakhstan is still far from reaching the top 30 places. As one of the evaluated criteria or “pillars,” higher education and training can play a critical role in improving the position of Kazakhstan in competition with other countries. However, in spite of all recent endeavors and modernizations in the educational sphere, Kazakhstan has lost eight positions within a period of one year and most recently was ranked as the 62nd in regard to the criterion of higher education competitiveness among other countries (Schwab 2014).

OVERVIEW OF HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM IN KAZAKHSTAN

The higher education system of Kazakhstan contains 131 universities, most of which are private universities and academies (NCEPA 2014). In the last few years, there has been a decrease in the number of higher education institutions

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(HEIs) due to tighter regulations by the Ministry of Education and Science (MES). MES has closed many HEIs that fail to meet quality assurance standards. Moreover, the government has already recognized the problem of the mismatch between several universities' expertise and the needs of their local regions. Some of these universities also offer redundant academic programs that are common among private institutions in their respective regions. In particular, almost 61 percent of all specialties in Kazakhstani universities are distributed without considering the outcomes of their work and further employability of graduates (MES 2014). At the same time, most Kazakhstan HEIs are comprehensive universities (MES 2014). As a result, the system lacks a strong base of specialized experts and academic programs, on which the country can rely for producing quality research and competent graduates.

The number of students enrolled in HEIs has also diminished from approximately 570,000 in 2012 to almost 530,000 in 2013 (NCEPA 2014). This decrease in students, however, can be seen not as a negative trend in the students' interest in pursuing higher education degrees in Kazakhstan, but as a consequence of other decisions such as the optimization of HEIs and the low demographic rates over a particular period of time (NCEPA 2014). The concentration of students is distributed between the two major cities of Kazakhstan: Almaty and Astana, a result of the fact that the most prestigious universities in Kazakhstan, KIMEP University (Almaty), Al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Almaty), L.N. Gumilev Eurasian National University (Astana), and Nazarbayev University ([NU], Astana), are situated in these two cities. Kazakhstani student enrollment is almost evenly distributed between public and private universities, at approximately 48 and 52 percent respectively (NCEPA 2014).

In order to be enrolled in HEIs in Kazakhstan, students must pass the Unified National Test designed and regulated by the MES. This exam elicits widespread criticism concerning its appropriateness for evaluating students' knowledge and skills acquired because it favors the memorization of facts. Consequently, this test is believed to be a poor instrument in assessing the aptitudes needed to study in HEIs. Further, the exam perpetuates the inequity between students of urban and rural origins because many students from rural areas often fail and consequently become shut out of higher education (MES 2014).

The funding of HEIs in Kazakhstan is not considered adequate compared with the countries in the European Union. In particular, the government expenditures on higher and further education constitute only 0.4 percent of GDP, which causes many deficiencies and issues within higher education. These deficiencies are evident in poor university infrastructure, the low provision of necessary equipment and books for students' studies, and a lack of resources in laboratories and libraries (MES 2014). In this respect, the government introduced three approaches for dealing with insufficient state funding: first, the encouragement of private universities to launch their programs; second, "a voucher-like" (OECD 2007, 88) system of public-funding allocation; and third, privatization of HEIs. These three ways of compensating for low state

funding proved to be quite effective in terms of providing more autonomy for some universities and in the provision of better educational services in order to attract more fee-paying students as well as grant recipients (OECD 2007).

MES retains the ultimate authority in regulating Kazakhstan higher education, including the state allocation and distribution of vouchers (MES 2010). This government body takes the role of analyzing the country's labor market demands and forms an annual government order for the preparation of students, which is then distributed among universities. The government allocation of state university grants depends on many different factors, such as their accreditation status, rating among universities, graduate employment rates, and some others. A subtle competition exists among universities to receive state grants for students, which is, in fact, their major resource of funding. In particular, data show that 94 percent of the government expenditure on higher education is allotted to student grants distributed to universities while only 6 percent goes toward remaining needs, including university infrastructure (MES 2014).

Overall, approximately 80 universities were awarded state grants in 2013, thus allowing them to distribute these funds among the most talented incoming students. Put another way, MES was able to provide funding for 27 percent of all prospective students in 2013 or approximately 133,000 students (NCEPA 2014). In terms of the expenditure on each student enrolled in state universities, this overall sum constitutes 348,000 tenge (approximately US\$ 1250) for the full course of study (NCEPA 2013). In addition, the government allocates a substantial admission quota for students from rural areas, students with special needs, and those with physical challenges, orphans, and overseas Kazakhstanians (NCEPA 2014). At the same time, a large number of students, who are not awarded with state grants, need to pay very high tuition fees in order to be enrolled into HEIs. The data show that the tuition fee in Kazakhstan for undergraduate and graduate education is even higher than in many developed countries (OECD 2007). Therefore, it is not surprising that many students find it more reasonable to study in Russia, Korea, China, and some European countries with more affordable tuition fees.

MODERN TRENDS IN HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE WAYS OF THEIR IMPLEMENTATION

As a former Soviet republic, Kazakhstan has pursued a long and intensive process to transform almost all facets of its development, including education. After gaining independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the country has vigorously implemented changes in its education system to fit the country's needs and society (OECD 2007). Currently, the higher education system continues to undergo many reforms aimed at changing the traditional forms of education, adapting to the principles of the European Higher Education Area, and providing opportunities for students to acquire skills and competencies adequate to thrive in changing international conditions (MES 2010). Even though all levels

of education are equally important, higher education is often linked to the economic growth of a country in the era of globalization; therefore, the goal is not merely to focus on educating people but to meet the demands posed by current economic trends and challenges (Magauova et al. 2014).

The foundation for all amendments in Kazakhstani education was introduced in the official documents and laws regarding educational policies, such as the Law on Education (2011), the Law on Science (2011), and the State Program of the Education Development for 2011–2020. These policy documents provide self-assessments of the current state of education and set specific goals and indicators for improvements within specified timeframes (Tempus 2012). However, since all these changes are also deemed to be critical for overall economic growth, they place additional responsibilities on HEIs. One of the official documents reflecting the country's economic and political goals to be gained through education is the State Program of the Education Development for 2011–2020. It is notable that the goals stated under the section of higher education in this program emphasize three areas of priorities: (1) to foster “industrial-innovative development,” (2) to allow universities and academic individuals to be involved in the “commercialization of intellectual property, products, and technologies,” and (3) to take an active role in the “European higher education space” (MES 2010, 46).

The advancement of the economic and industrial state of the country partially depends on the number of students in higher education enrolled in specialties related to key economic sectors. However, there is a critical case in Kazakhstan that the annual state orders on the preparation of the labor force are not consistent with the demands of the economy. In particular, the government largely determines and approves the preparation of the workforce and distribution of grants within universities (MES 2014). Some evident omissions, though, have always existed in regard to the mechanism of collaborating with different state departments in order to calculate the number of places and grants for each specialization within various regions of the country. Therefore, without an efficient mechanism to analyze regional and state needs in different sectors, this currently results in either an excess or a shortage within the workforce for several areas of specializations (Bishimbayev and Nurashva 2014). Nevertheless, some obvious shifts in the priorities of the government regarding the supply of students in certain specialties can be tracked through the analysis of different state initiatives related to key economic areas and international recognition. Such initiatives can manifest themselves in the distribution of state grants and allocation of state funding for particular specialties and higher education areas.

In the previous years, the major problem faced by the higher education sector in Kazakhstan was an inadequate proportion of students entering the field of science and technology. Many students wanted to major in business and law, which are important but insufficient for the economic and industrial growth of the country (NUGSE 2014). However, in 2013, 21 percent of the overall pool of students was preparing for the field of “technical science and technologies”

(MES 2014, 188). MES is now making gradual attempts to decrease the number of students enrolled in social science and humanities while at the same time attracting more students into technical fields (MES 2014). Nevertheless, there is still a high proportion of students applying to law and economics due to the fact that these specialties are considered prestigious by the society (Bishimbayev and Nurasheva 2014).

Agroindustry is the next important sector of the economy and, therefore, of the higher education sector (Alpeysov and Sydykov 2012). Its priority can be explained mostly by the initiative of the country to become a member of the World Trade Organization and provide opportunities for the development of local industry (Aitzhanova et al. 2014). However, this field of education also suffers from the imbalance between demands and reality of the education and training provided. More specifically, the universities that offer agricultural education do not evaluate their offerings in terms of the labor market situation and, as a result, continue to prepare students for occupations in low-demand areas. Furthermore, since agriculture does not appeal to many students due to its “low salary” and “the lack of infrastructure” (Bishimbayev and Nurasheva 2014, 8), there is a further shortage of qualified professionals, which further impedes its development.

Interestingly, another higher education trend can be seen when analyzing current government priorities for the improvement of business and logistics. In particular, several initiatives aim to cultivate a greater pool of innovative entrepreneurs and professionals in the sphere of logistics. In one of the main policy documents, “Plan of the Nation”—100 steps on the implementation of five institutional reforms, the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan (RK) emphasizes that the country has to integrate itself into the international transit road between Western Europe and Western China. More specifically, Kazakhstan aims to “revive its historical role and become the largest business transit hub of the Central Asian region, a unique bridge between Europe and Asia” (Nazarbayev 2015). However, Kazakhstan’s current higher education system lacks programs in logistics. Nevertheless, an emerging interest among HEIs to provide such courses and training in this field is evident since the policy announcement of the “Silk Road Economic Belt.”

Finally, the problem of teacher shortages and students’ reluctance to enroll into pre-service teacher-training programs has been as critical in Kazakhstan as in many other countries due to the low prestige and status of the teaching profession. There is evidence that only 2.6 percent of students from pre-service teacher-training programs actually enter the teaching profession upon graduation (MES 2010, 19). This fact can dramatically affect the economy of the country due to the financial losses incurred on the provision of students’ education in teaching and a dire need for qualified and talented teachers at all levels of the education system. Because of teacher shortages, one of the major priorities underway is the effort to attract students to the field of education and teaching.

MAJOR ISSUES REGARDING THE MODERNIZATION OF THE HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR

Currently, the low level of autonomy of Kazakhstani universities creates a main hindrance in the nature of their modernization and effectiveness in terms of research, quality of educational services, and competitiveness of universities (OECD 2007). The centralized control from the MES over the functioning of universities, including the design of programs and curricula also presents a significant constraint for Kazakhstani universities in their pursuit of freedom of choice and accountability to their main stakeholders, such as students and society (Tempus 2012). Nevertheless, it is also assumed that more institutional autonomy will also lead to more “bureaucratic accountability” of universities to the MES, which will create not only more latitude but also increased burdens for administrative and faculty staff of universities (Sagintayeva and Kurakbayev 2015, 205).

The decision to grant universities more autonomy was first introduced because of the need to comply with the principles of the Bologna Process, and is still under a thorough consideration by state authorities. In general, Kazakhstani universities are still not fully ready for the transition from the “tight central control” of the state to self-regulation and decision making (Sagintayeva and Kurakbayev 2015, 200). Nevertheless, a dire need exists for universities to become more autonomous in order to achieve competitiveness on both national and international scales. It should be noted, that the government places an important role on this initiative. In particular, the “Plan of the Nation” (2015) states that there will be a gradual transition toward academic and administrative autonomy of universities. Interestingly, it also mentions that private universities will be transformed into non-profit organizations (Plan of the Nation 2015).

At the same time, the financial autonomy of universities is *not* mentioned in the Plan of the Nation (2015). This type of autonomy is most critical for HEIs because of their high reliance on state funding. In fact, many public universities do not welcome the opportunity to gain full financial autonomy due to the fear that greater autonomy will jeopardize funding from the government. Yet, based on international experiences, the government now encourages universities to use their research capacities in order to contribute to the regional economy of the country (Sagintayeva and Kurakbayev 2015).

Having said that, legal constraints over the commercialization of research constitute a major issue regarding the role of universities in contributing to economic sustainability and growth. More specifically, state universities are forbidden to commercialize and receive royalties from research output. Only 10 percent of universities have specialized offices for commercialization, and the state allocation for scientific studies constitutes a mere 0.16 percent of GDP, which is much lower than for developed countries (MES 2014). As a result, most universities lack the incentives to aspire to research and innovation. Overall, state universities lack institutional autonomy as well as a desire to pursue major breakthroughs in science and industry (OECD 2007).

Having recognized this fact, the government has set a goal of providing more opportunities for Kazakhstani researchers, professors, students, and other individuals to conduct joint research within scientific centers and laboratories that may lead to their further commercialization (MES 2014). For this purpose, the “Plan of the Nation” in 2015 seeks to establish two innovative clusters within NU, currently regarded as the country’s leading university. Moreover, the upcoming EXPO 2017 located in Astana increases the “urgency” to prepare more innovative researchers with new projects and ideas. The government also is encouraging more individual researchers, groups of researchers, and entrepreneurs by providing financial support for the implementation of innovative projects. One such program under government supervision, the National Agency for Technological Development, will provide grants for promising researchers and organizations as well as their further support throughout the whole process.

The problem of quality assurance in higher education became especially crucial after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent independence of Kazakhstan in 1991. According to the Tempus report on Higher Education in Kazakhstan (2012), the number of private HEIs increased dramatically between 1993 and 2001. This rapid growth affected higher education quality, as nobody could state with confidence that graduates from these new HEIs actually had received valuable knowledge and skills.

Taking this into account, the subsequent process of higher education quality assessment has been both important and problematic. The OECD (2007, 120) claims that while there has been a tendency for many Kazakhstani state agencies “to achieve positive results in a short period of time,” it is also the case that HEIs have been focused more on acquiring various credentials and statements of recognition than improving the demonstrable quality of education. For example, some universities have stated that the quality of their programs was good through the simple device of obtaining different certifications. Others have validated their programs by touting cooperation with “international higher education associations” or participation in “collaborative international projects” as a hallmark of quality (OECD 2007, 120).

Most importantly, evidence indicates that many employers are not fully satisfied with graduates’ readiness for work. In particular, the lack of practical experience and low quality of knowledge and skills create a variety of challenges for graduates in finding employment, resulting in part in the high rate of unemployment among Kazakhstani youth as well as large numbers switching careers (Bishimbayev and Nurashva 2014). This issue though cannot be effectively tackled unless there is active collaboration between employers and HEIs, which currently is not the case (MES 2014). Employers are also dissatisfied by graduates’ poor command of English as well as their inadequate computer skills (OECD 2014). The knowledge of English is of particular importance for Kazakhstani graduates since there has been an emphasis on the introduction of a trilingual policy throughout the whole country to develop fluency in Kazakh, Russian, and English (MES 2010). This initiative of introducing

English language at all education levels is outlined in the “Plan of the Nation.” Specifically the plan states that the knowledge of English language is expected to increase the competitiveness of Kazakhstani graduates on both national and international levels as well as to create opportunities for the export of educational capacity to other countries.

A huge step toward the establishment of external accreditation to assure the quality of education was made after joining the Bologna Process in 2010 (OECD 2007). As a member of the European Higher Education Area, Kazakhstan must abide by the criteria of the Bologna framework. One of these requirements is the development of quality assurance by means of accreditation. The establishment of external assessment in Kazakhstani universities was introduced in the Law on Education of 2007 with subsequent amendments in 2011. These documents provide the legal basis for accreditation and indicate the main principles of this process, which include the independent position of agencies, voluntary participation of universities, and transparency of actions. This documentation was supported by further legislation titled: “About Assertion of Rules of Accreditation by Educational Organizations.” The implementation of external accreditation in Kazakhstan has come through a long process of testing in order to achieve the desired goals. Although the idea of external accreditation is not new to higher education systems elsewhere, it has been a breakthrough for Kazakhstan.

The vision for accreditation in Kazakhstan is outlined in the State Program of Education Development of the RK for 2011–2020, which states a target of having 50–65 percent of universities pass independent institutional accreditation in compliance with international standards by 2015 and 2020, respectively. For independent program accreditation, the targets are 20 and 30 percent for affected universities by 2015 and 2020, respectively. Therefore, the goal is to completely replace government accreditation with external accreditation by 2015 (MES 2010). However, the reality indicates that government is still not ready to grant external accreditation agencies the ultimate authority to assess the quality of Kazakhstani universities.

CURRENT ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES IN THE SPHERE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Apart from indicating the range of higher education challenges in Kazakhstan, it is equally important to list some prominent achievements of the system as well as prospective plans for its further improvement. First, Kazakhstan has introduced the three-level structure and credit system of education in accordance with the principles of the European Higher Education Area. However, there is still much work to do because of criticism focused on the applicability of certain standards and the blind copying of these standards by universities without their considering the quality of outcomes (OECD 2007). Second, the government has already started to provide more autonomy to universities in several areas of their operation. Thus, Kazakhstani universities are now granted the right to

partially determine the content of their programs in bachelor, master, and PhD programs. Universities are also learning to function under the management of boards of trustees (MES 2014). Yet, in terms of organizational autonomy, the appointment of the rectors in national and state universities is still regulated by government: rectors of national universities are appointed directly by the President of Kazakhstan, while rectors of state universities are appointed by the MES. Consequently, it is planned to grant the board of trustees the right to appoint rectors at universities. To date, 64 universities in Kazakhstan have already established boards of trustees (Sagintayeva and Kurakbayev 2015, 202). It is also important to mention that Kazakhstani universities have begun promising results in international rankings. Al-Farabi Kazakh National University was ranked as 299 in top 300 QS World University Rankings in 2013. Other Kazakhstani universities also aspire to get top places in such rankings, but still lag behind and are currently listed in the top 651–700 QS World University Rankings, except for L. Gumilev Eurasian National University, which was ranked 303 in 2013 (MES 2014). The improved ranking positions of these Kazakhstani universities can be explained by a more active involvement of the faculty staff in research and publications. Thus, the number of faculty staff producing research publications in journals with high impact factor has increased almost ten times since 2011 (NCEPA 2014).

Another major achievement is the establishment of a new institution, NU, in 2010. NU was initially founded with the goal of preparing future engineers and scientists who would be able to upgrade and promote not only the educational standards of Kazakhstani universities, but also the image of Kazakhstani scientists and professionals internationally and the country's economy (Tempus 2012). The hallmark of NU in comparison is its collaboration with top international universities and organizations. NU therefore, has great responsibilities to the government, society, and other universities. More specifically, the government has designated it as the flagship model university, which is to disseminate its experiences to other HEIs in the country (NCEPA 2014). However, it has been already recognized that the main hindrance in the effort of these universities to replicate the experience of NU might be insufficient state funding (NCEPA 2014). In particular, while the government is spending considerably on the development of NU, other state universities do not enjoy equally favorable treatment. This disparity contributes to the low level of student preparation, poor capacity for research, persistence of corruption, and a kind of zero-sum competition among other universities for state funding (NUGSE 2014).

On the issue of internationalization, Kazakhstan continues to make efforts to integrate a more international and intercultural perspective to its higher education system. At the moment, these efforts are largely tied to the Bologna framework with initiatives to encourage student mobility and some faculty mobility (e.g., visiting professorships). Discussions concerning student mobility are still largely focused on outbound mobility of a short-term nature (i.e., student from Kazakhstan spends a semester abroad) rather than inbound mobility or more substantial endeavors such as developing joint academic

programs or institutional partnerships. However, the pursuit of full degrees overseas has a long history in Kazakhstan as exemplified by the Bolashak program. Established in 1993 soon after the country became independent, this state-funded program provides scholarships for students to pursue full degrees overseas at all levels of higher education. To date the program has supported an impressive 11,126 students spread across roughly 200 universities in 30 countries (Bolashak 2015). In 2011, the program ended support for undergraduate studies to strategically focus its resources on graduate education. On another front, presently all doctoral students in Kazakhstan must include a foreign scholar on his/her thesis committee as part of the press toward greater internationalization. While the intentions behind this requirement can be appreciated as part of Kazakhstan's engagement with the world, this new policy also risks reducing internationalization to a simplistic accounting of people's places of origin rather than their ability to forge meaningful scholarly collaborations.

CONCLUSION

Overall, Kazakhstan higher education has undergone many significant changes since the country gained independence in 1991. Currently, numerous new initiatives are in the process of implementation. The two main driving forces spurring the government to enact reforms in higher education are the provision of quality education and the upgrading of the economy by creating a competitive and innovative workforce. While the country still faces a number of challenges in its journey to improving its higher education system, strategic decisions with a long-term vision for the country are very promising in bringing about positive outcomes in the near future.

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