第 6 章

薄氷の上に浮かぶ日本の高等教育

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はじめに

本セミナーの中での私の役割は、高等教育分野における国際協力を進める上での背景情報として、現在日本の高等教育がどのような国際的な位置付けを与えられているのかを整理することにある。教育分野全体がそうであるように、日本の高等教育は、現在、薄氷の上に浮かぶような、極めて危うい国際的位置づけしか与えられていないのではないか、というのが、私の問題意識である。これは、いったいなぜなのか。そして、さらに、大学や高等教育からの視点で見た場合、大学や高等教育の国際的魅力を高める上で、よりいっそうの国際協力への取り組みが積極的に求められているという一面も存在する。

本章では、国際的文脈から見たときに日本の高等教育がどのように位置づけられ、どのような点が課題であり、また、これらの課題はどのように克服されようとしているのかを論じる。その上で、高等教育の国際協力が、大学や高等教育政策から見たときにどのような意味をもつのかについて述べる。

1. 世界の高等教育の発展のなかでの日本の高等教育

国際社会、特にアジアのなかでみた日本の高等教育の特徴は、相対的に長い歴史を持つ大学が大量に存在することである。アジア・アフリカ諸国の多くの国々は、近代高等教育をその植民地と脱植民地化の歴史のなかで発展させてきた経緯を持つ。多くの場合、宗主国は植民地経営のためのテクノクラート養成を超えた高等教育機関の発展を植民地に認めることには消極的であり、たとえば日本の植民地下にあった戦前の朝鮮半島では、国立や官立の高等教育機関の数は本国に比べて非常に抑制的であり、半島におかれた京城帝国大学もまた、主に日本人学生のための大学であった。また、戦後もたとえば中国やベトナムのように、社会主義政権下で高等教育機関が様々な発展の阻害を経験した例も多く、最近 20 年程度の改革開放路線のなかでの急速な発展以前とは、大きな状況の断絶を経験している。これに対して、日本の大学は、第二次世界大戦終結時にすでに骨格となる国立大学と代表的な私立大学群が存在しており、これらが戦後の教育改革での新制大学の発足による旧制の専門学校等の昇格、高度成長期の大拡張、その後の高等教育計画や私学助成の制度化などにより、比較的長い一貫した歴史的発展の中で形成されてきた点に特徴がある。

その中で、周知のことではあるが、戦前から少数のエリート大学への研究人材が集中する傾

向が強く、かつては国立全体と私立大学の一部が特に高い威信を有しており、1990 年代以降は、国立大学の中でも研究資金がプロジェクト資金などにより少数の大学へとさらに集中する傾向が強まっているとされている。特に、21 世紀に入る前後からは、グローバル化の中で各国のトップ大学の世界的な威信競争が進んでおり、国内で上位であることを超えて、世界のトップ大学と競争できる日本の大学を育てるために、少数の大学への資源集中が現実的に必要だとの議論が説得力を増してきている。

他方、日本の高等教育機関は、4 年制大学の学士課程では 77.3%、短期大学では 93.8%が私立に所属し（2006 年学校基本調査）、私立セクターの学校数や学生数での量的な優位が特徴となっている。これは、州立に通う学生数が 76.1%を占める米国(2005 年、National Center for Education Statistics)や、未だ私立の高等教育機関の存在そのものがマイナーなものにとどまっている西欧諸国と比較すると、全く様相を異にしている。

しかし、大学院学生数は私立はわずか 35.8%にとどまるなど、研究および管理運営面においては、国立と、これを管理運営する政府の圧倒的影響力が私立にも及んでいる。すなわち、国内法制度を前提とした大学運営の技法の発達が著しく、私立大学の管理者層には旧文部科学省 OB が多数雇用されている。また、日本の大学は、圧倒的な国内研究資金への依存のなかで研究活動を進めており、海外資金への応募は、ごく少数であり、資金獲得のための英語での研究プロポーザルの作成などのノウハウは、ほとんど存在していないといっていいだろう。

また、日本の研究者は、もちろん海外で活躍をしている優秀な人材が多いのは事実であるが、その気になれば、自国で研究キャリアの形成がほぼ可能であり、このことは、中国・韓国を含めたアジア諸国のなかでは、かなり特異なことである。ただし、論文の英語化は着実に進行しており、自然科学系分野において、日本の量的な英語での論文の生産性は、決して低いものではない。なお、以上のことは、分野によって差が大きく、例えば、社会科学分野でも、東京大学の経済学研究科などは、スタッフの大半を外国での学位取得者が占める状況が続いている。

現在、日本のトップ大学には多数の留学生が存在するが、その割合は低い。また、学部で 3 割近く、大学院で 9 割以上が留学生の大学も存在する。大学ランキングをみると、立命館アジア太平洋大学を除けば、無名の大学が大半である。

以上より、現時点では、日本のトップ大学は世界大学ランキング等で、非英語圏の大学としては非常に高い威信を保っており、旺盛な研究の活動量を有している。教員の待遇も、先進国のなかで決して悪いほうではなく、むしろ、居心地の良さが、日本の研究者の海外進出を阻んでいるといってよいくらいだろう。

深刻な少子・高齢化の影響

一方、日本の高等教育の今後という点では、実に大きな問題が横たわっているといえる。18 歳人口は、1992 年をピークに減り続けており、2007 年前後に高等教育進学希望者が国の用意した入学定員を下回る、大学全入時代に突入した。現実には、人気のある大学には志願者が集中し続けることから、すでにこのような供給過剰状態は、競争力の弱い私立の大学・短期大学の間で深刻になっている。私学振興・共済事業団の調査によれば、2006 年には 4 割の私立大学、5 割の私立短期大学が定員割れの状態にある。また、一部実際に閉校や倒産に追い込まれた大学が出始めている一方で、株式会社大学や外国大学日本校を含め、毎年 10 を超える大学・大学院等が新設されつづけている。

また、18 歳人口の減少の影響は、私立のみならず、国立にもおよび始めている。なかでも、深刻とされているのが、国立大学の工学部で、入試倍率が 2 倍を切る大学が出現したことである。このことは、少子高齢化の構造変動は、ものづくり、製造業を中心とした科学技術立国というビジョンに対して、個々人のマイクロ・レベルでの選択が必ずしもこれと一致していない可能性を示しているのかもしれない。

知識社会を前提とした政府や大学側、すなわち供給側の思惑と、学習者、すなわち需要側の志向とのズレは、大学院や成人学習においてもみられる。日本政府は、知識や産業の高度化を唱え、大学院の急速な拡大をはかってきた。しかし、18 歳人口が減少に転じた以降は、大学のさらなる拡大が学士課程レベルで見込めないことから、供給側の拡大の方向を大学院レベルへの高度化に求めたと解釈できるのである。また、90 年代以降、国立大学で若手教員のポストであった助手の採用が大幅に減らされ、いわゆるポスドクにあたる日本学術振興会特別研究員や COE 研究員などの期間を限定されたポストの大幅な拡大が進められた。これらの大学院拡充や若手研究者雇用政策が、日本の科学技術や研究分野での国際的な存在感の拡大に、全く貢献しなかったかと言えば、そのようなことはない。しかしながら、大学院の定員余剰は非常に多くの分野にまたがって発生しており、また、オーバー・ドクター問題も深刻さを増している。専門分野により事情は異なるが、大学院生の過度の集中や不足は、大学の研究力の低下に直結する可能性も高い。なお、このことに関しては、大学の国際連携や協力のあり方とのつながりも深い。日本に限らず、大学の国際化は研究分野、また、大学院レベルの学生で進む傾向があり、すでに日本の多くの大学院で、外国人学生・研究者が日本の研究を支える大きな力となっている。これは、大学院の定員問題、この研究や学習を支える資金なかに含まれる国際的な連携・協力の資金のあり方と密接不可分であり、これをどのように今後とらえていくのか、議論を重ねていくことが求められる。

他方、従来の研究志向が強い大学院に代えて、実践的な専門職養成を目指した専門職大学院の設立も盛んである。その先頭に立って進められた法科大学院では、司法改革の中で与えられた専門職大学院からの司法試験合格枠に対して法科大学院の入学定員が大幅に上回ってのスタートとなり、すでに学生のほとんどが司法試験に合格しない大学院が多数生まれている。法科大学院の多くは、司法試験合格以外の法律関係の専門職養成をうたってはいるが、学生側がどこまでこれに魅力を感じるかは未知数である。また、会計大学院やいわゆるビジネススクールをはじめとして、助産士養成にいたるまで、多様な形で次々と生まれている専門職大学院が、短期的には景気回復により大卒および第 2 新卒の一括採用が復活している現状の中で、どのように市場を開拓していけるかは、未知数である。また、政府の側も、結果が出ない専門職大学院の淘汰をどう進めるかについて明確なビジョンがあるわけではなく、しばらく、不安定な状況が続きそうである。

専門職大学院の危うさは、日本の最近の景気回復の中で、日本に特有な大卒労働者の新卒一括採用の復活が進んでいることとも関連している。ポスト・バブル期には日本型の長期雇用のあり方や、企業が投資する形での人材育成の限界が強く主張され、また、大卒者の大規模な早期離職の傾向も定着していることから、これがすべて元に戻ると言うことは考えにくい。しかしながら、経済産業省からは、「社会人基礎力」という新たな形での一般的なコンピテンシーへの注目が改めてなされたり、また、ジェネリック・スキルという、一般的なコミュニケーション能力の大切さを主張する議論が人気を博している。また、第 1 次ベビーブーマーの大量離職という 2007 年問

題の開始もあり、大卒労働市場は企業が学生を求めて競争する売り手市場に転換し、第 2 新卒の採用努力も活発化するなど、長期的な人材開発ビジョンを欠いたまま、一括採用が復活しつつある。これらの傾向は、高度な知識・技能をもつ専門職を専門職養成を目的とする大学院で養成しようというグローバルな知識社会のトレンドからは再び乖離することを意味しており、日本の生涯学習の発展という点からみれば、逆風となりうる。また、大学の中には、これら大量の退職者をターゲットとするセカンドライフへの学びの場の提供にむしろ市場の活路を見いだそうとする大学も出現している。

さらに、少子・高齢化は、高等教育の費用負担の構造にも影響を及ぼすという議論もある。これは、具体的には貸与奨学金利用者の急増が進んでいることによるが、これは、学費が長期にわたって増加する傾向が続いていることや進学率の拡大により従来大学などに進学していなかった層が大学に入るようになっていること、さらに、高齢化社会のなかで親となる年齢層が年金など老後の生活に対して経済的展望をもてなくなっていること、親が子供の学費を払うことを義務と感じるという倫理的な意識自体の変化、奨学金の供給を行う政策の方の変化など、様々な要因が考えられる。さらに、この変化が今後の日本の高等教育に及ぼす変化についても、確実に親から子への費用負担が進むという議論と、「親も子も」負担が拡大するという議論と両方があるなど、まだ十分に議論が定まっているとは言えない。

いずれにせよ、少子高齢化の高等教育への影響は、日本と韓国に特に顕著に現れている。決定的な要因は、国際人口移動であり、米国は移民により継続的な人口増加がみこまれ、また、欧州は全体としてみれば欧州圏が拡大を継続しており、中国は、国全体としてみれば、まだまだ需要超過の状況にある。また、韓国では、米国への大学院進学傾向が強く、また、国内でも大学院進学者が日本よりは多いなど、日本と韓国の間の状況の違いもある。

グローバル化のなかで

世界の高等教育市場は、避けがたいグローバル化の流れの中にあるように思われる。これが意味するところは、英語圏の学習市場の拡大である。911 事件以降の移民政策の変化による揺り戻しはあるが、米国、英国、オーストラリアなどを中心として、英語圏の高等教育機関に留学生が集中する傾向は続いている。また、東南アジアでは、シンガポール、マレーシアなどが高等教育の地域ハブとして台頭しているが、ともに、イギリス、アメリカ、オーストラリアなどの大学との提携により、これらの国の大学の学位を取得できることを売り物としているものが多い。また、このような英語圏の大学の現地校としてのプログラム提供は他の国にも広がってきており、中国が国としての仕組みを整え積極的に誘致しているほか、高等教育の発展が極めて限られているラオスなどにも存在する。

他方、中国の経済的・社会的影響力の拡大に伴い、中国の高等教育の国際的魅力も向上している。日本などから、言語や文化習得を含め、多くの留学生が集まるようになっている。また、アジア諸国におけるトップ大学の国際的威信の向上も著しく、研究能力の蓄積も進んでいる。この変化は、世界大学ランキングなどでも容易に確認でき、中国、韓国、シンガポール、インドなどの大学が、日本のトップ大学群と重なる形でランキングに現れるようになっている。なお、各種の指標からみる限りにおいて、現時点では研究蓄積は、アジア諸国の中では圧倒的に日本が優位である。ただし、すでに国際的威信では、アジアでの絶対的優位は消滅したといえる。日本の高等教育は、言語の障壁が高く、国際的な競争や連携からも孤立しがちの分野が多くあり、このこと

は、研究面・教育面の両方で痛手となっている。

また、高等教育の質の保証への連携、マネジメント改革などにおいても、圧倒的に英語圏の文脈において世界規模での改革が進行中である。中国語圏はこれに柔軟に対応しているのに対し、むしろ、高等教育の独自の歴史を持つ日本、フランス、ドイツ、イタリアなどの国々で、対応の遅れが目立っている。

また、地域研究の分野においても、経済や文化、言語を含めた日本に関する研究や学習の振興が、困難な局面にある。欧米では、学生の人気や、国際社会からみた日本の存在感の減少をうけて、日本研究の拠点が消滅したり、大幅な規模縮小を迫られるなど、危機に瀕している。また、日本への留学生の学習動機においても、従来の日本の理工系の研究・教育水準への絶対的優位を前提とした受け入れは、将来的には難しくなるであろう。また、ビジネス・スタディにおいても、世界のトップ大学でのビジネス・モデルのケースとして日本の企業が採用されることが少なくなってきていると言われており、一橋大学大学院国際企業戦略研究科などが、危機感を募らせながら、ケースを作る努力を続けている。

また、日本の文化への注目としては、近年マンガやアニメなどに注目が集まっており、京都精華大学などはマンガ学部を設けるなどしている。しかし、これが長期的に、かつ大規模なプログラムとして日本の高等教育の魅力を支えるものと見なすには時期尚早であり、当面はニッチな市場にとどまると考えられる。また、分野や個別大学の事情にもよるが、大学教員の労働環境が国際的な基準から大きく外れていることも、日本の高等教育の競争力を高める上で、大きなマイナス要因である。

現時点では、グローバル化は、大部分の学生、教員には、まだ遠い話であり、状況の無自覚とも言える状態のなかにある。特に、成長著しいアジア諸国の高等教育への認識ギャップが人によって激しく、何らかの緊急の対応が迫られる。

2. 政府と大学の対応

新自由主義と開発国家主義復活の狭間で

1995 年の科学技術基本法の制定とそれに伴う科学技術基本計画の策定以降、科学技術予算は長い間追い風を受けて伸び続けていた。しかし、現在は、科学技術予算の不正な使用や、大学院の供給過剰やオーバー・ドクター問題が明らかになるなかで、科学技術予算に対しても見直しが進みつつある。そのなかで、国際的競争を意識したいっそうの選択と集中をすべきだという議論が強まっており、たとえば、21 世紀 COE プログラムを、採択数を半数程度に絞り、その分 1 件あたりの予算を増やすグローバル COE プログラムが措置されるなどしている。

また、2004 年に法人化した国立大学では、全体としての予算減を経験しており、例外的に伸びてきていた私学助成も 2007 年度予算では減額された。2008 年前後から、国立大学の中期目標・中期計画に対しての評価が本格化するが、この評価と財政配分とのリンクについては、議論はまだこれからであり、経済財政諮問会議などから、より研究業績に直結した形での評価と配分を求める意見が出されている。

また、大学側も、収入の多様化、拡大に精力的に動いている。東京大学は、同窓会組織を強化するなど、寄付金増収のための戦略を強化している。他方、イギリスなどでトップ大学が米国の私立大学並みの高い学費徴収を主張したような動きは、今のところ日本の国立大学からはま

だ出ていない。また、国立大学の強化を図る財政措置を求める議論に対しては、私立大学側から民業圧迫論を唱える動きが続いている。すなわち、国公私立の高等教育機関の間の改革競争が繰り広げられる一方で、国立大学優遇への批判は、私立大学のみならず、産業界からも根強く出続けている。

高等教育の国際化・国際協力

日本の高等教育の国際化や国際協力についての議論は、以上に述べたような、日本の高等教育自体がおかれた環境が大きな影響を与えていることに注意する必要がある。留学生を資金源としてとらえる議論は日本だけではなく、すでに英語圏では常識である。日本は、一般には留学生に対しても国立大学が自国の学生と同額の学費負担にとどめており、様々な政府や民間の奨学資金や優遇策があることから、資金源として留学生を考えていないととらえられているが、約12万の留学生のうち日本および派遣国の政府負担の留学生はわずか1割程度であり、残り9割が私費負担、しかもその大部分が私立高等教育機関にいっている現状を考えれば、日本においても、留学生は実際は高等教育セクターのひとつの資金源として機能しているととらえる方が妥当であろう。

また、留学生は、大学院における研究の担い手でもあり、特にトップの研究大学の博士課程では、留学生の割合が極めて高く、彼らなしでは研究が進まない状況になっている。しかしながら、欧米諸国と比較すれば、一般的にまだこれら大学院レベルの留学生に対しての経済的な支援は十分ではなく、より優秀な学生を世界から集め、日本の研究の活性化を図る上では、抜本的な状況改善が必要と考えられている。また、留学生は、日本の高等教育の内なる国際化を進める上でも、大きな役割を果たしうる。

以上より、国際化の推進を進めたい大学は多く、国際協力もまた、資金源・国際化推進のてことしてとらえる大学が多いのは事実であり、また、逆にこのようなインセンティブを大学側に与えることが、日本の高等教育協力を効果的に進める上で不可欠だと考えるべきであろう。また、この高等教育レベルの国際協力には、当然ながらリスクやコストがともない、大学にはこうしたリスクやコストへの懸念を抱き、国際化に対して消極的であり続けている事例も多い。

3. 最後に

教育分野の国際協力を考えるセミナーで、あえてこうした日本の高等教育がおかれた現実としての「事情」についてお話ししたのは、高等教育が初中等教育に比較して極めて機関の専門性や自律性が高く、国としての取り組みや方針が、必ずしも直接に大学や高等教育機関の行動へと結びつかない現実があるからである。高等教育政策は、法人化した国公立、そしてもともと政府資金に頼る部分の少ない私立の両方で、大学自体が高等教育の市場などを通じて自律的に行動するありかたを尊重し、その上で、高等教育機関自身もメリットを感じるような誘導策を打つのが政策の基本となる。

すなわち、政府として高等教育での国際協力を進める上では常に、大学の活動を支えるための国際交流と、社会が求める国際協力とはどのように折り合いをつけるかを考えることが現実的な選択となる。

また、高等教育政策全体としては、日本の大学を強化しながら、国際協力をつうじて相手側に

貢献することは可能か、という課題を抱えることになる。さらに、日本の高等教育を、日本のソフトパワー形成のツールとして活用として利用することも、大きな可能性があるだろう。しかし、その場合、なかば公共性があり、半ば経営体としての自律性を備えた高等教育に対してどのような形での資金供給が、もっとも効果的に日本のソフトパワーの強化につながるか、という冷徹な政策判断が必要となるだろう。

薄氷の上に浮く日本の高等教育

米澤彰純
大学評価・学位授与機構

目的：高等教育分野における国際協力を進めうる背景情報としての日本の高等教育の国際的位置付けを整理する。特に国際的文脈から見たときに日本の高等教育がどのような位置づけにあり、どのような点で、悩んでいるのか、さらに、これをどのように克服しようとしているのか、その上で、高等教育の国際協力というものが、大学や高等教育政策から見たときにどういう意味をもっているのか、ということについて意見を述べる。

1. 世界の高等教育の発展のなかでの日本の高等教育

日本の高等教育

- 相対的に長い歴史を持つ大学が大量に存在
- 少数のエリート大学への研究人材の集中（かつては国立全体と私立の一部、1990 年代以降、少数の国立への集中が進む傾向？）

→トップ国立大学の世界的な威信の高さ

- 私立の量的な優位、しかし、研究および管理運営面における国立と行政の圧倒的影響力←国内法制度を前提とした大学運営（マネジメント？）技法の発達
- 圧倒的な国内研究資金への依存←海外資金への応募は、ごく少数、ノウハウなし
- 自国で研究キャリアの形成がほぼ可能、ただし、論文は徐々に英語化　（分野によって差：例えば、東大の経済などは、スタッフの大半を外国での学位取得者が占める）
- トップ大学には多数の留学生：しかし、割合は低い。学部で３割近く、大学院で９割以上が留学生の大学も存在：立命館ＡＰＵを除けば、無名の大学が大半。

→現時点では、トップ大学の非常に高い威信と、旺盛な研究の活動量。教員の待遇も、先進国のなかで悪くはない。

深刻な少子・高齢化の影響

- 1992 年をピークに、減り続ける 18 歳人口。
- 私立では 4 割の大学、5 割の短大が定員割れ
- 一方で、毎年１０を超える大学が新設される（株式会社大学、外国大学日本校）
- 国立の工学部で、入試倍率が２倍を切る大学が出現
- 大学院の急速な拡大：定員余剰、オーバー・ドクター問題深刻に←分野によるが、大学院生の過度の集中や不足は、大学の研究力の低下に直結
- 専門職大学院　法科大学院の淘汰？就職市場の不透明さ？
- 新卒大卒市場の復活：人材開発ビジョンを欠いた一括採用→生涯学習発達（＝知識社会対応？）にはマイナス要因
- セカンドライフへの学びの場の提供？？
- 貸与奨学金利用者の急増　公明党・年金・ライフスタイル？

↑以上の問題は、日本と韓国にのみ現れている問題。決定的な要因は、国際人口移動。米国は移民により継続的な人口増加、欧州は全体としてみれば欧州圏が拡大を継続、中国は、上海などでは高等教育進

学率が８割前後との情報もあるが、国全体としてみれば、まだまだ需要超過。韓国では、米国への大学院進学傾向が強く、また、国内でも大学院進学者が日本よりは多い（がまだ少ない）。

グローバル化のなかで

- 英語圏学習市場の発達：米英豪＋星馬＋オンライン
- 中国の高等教育の国際的魅力の向上（含言語・文化習得）
- アジア諸国における研究（エリート）大学の国際的威信の向上、研究能力の蓄積
  中韓星印他
- 現時点では研究蓄積は圧倒的に日本が優位、ただし、すでに国際的威信では、アジアでの絶対的優位は消滅
- 言語の障壁、国際的な競争からの孤立　研究面、教育面の両方で痛手
- 高等教育の質の保証への連携、マネジメント改革など。。圧倒的に英語圏の文脈で物事が進行。中国語圏はこれに柔軟に対応。
- 霞む日本研究・文化・言語
  - 欧米における日本研究の危機
  - 理工学神話は本当か？　機械目当て、文化めあて？
  - ビジネスモデルからの脱落？　一橋大学の挑戦
  - 京都精華大学マンガ学部・・
  - 国際競争・基準からはずれた大学教員の労働環境（分野、状況による）
- 状況の無自覚
  - 大部分の学生、教員には、まだ遠い話
  - アジアへの認識ギャップ

２．政府と大学の対応

新自由主義と開発国家主義復活の狭間で

- 科学技術予算への追い風から見直しへ
- COE からグローバル COE へ　　選択と集中
- 法人化：全体としての予算減、私学助成も来年度減額
  評価と財政配分のリンク：議論はこれから
- 東京大学寄付金増収戦略：授業料問題には着手せず
- 私大から出る民業圧迫論　改革競争の一方で、国立大学優遇への批判

高等教育の国際化：国際協力

- 資金源としての留学生
- 研究の担い手としての留学生
- 国際化推進のてことしての留学生
- 資金源・国際化推進のてことしての国際協力
- 一方で、コストへの懸念

３．最後に

- 大学の活動を支えるための国際交流と、社会が求める国際協力とはどのように折り合いをつけることが可能か？
- 日本の大学を強化しながら、国際協力をつうじて相手側に貢献することは可能か？
- ソフトパワーは金で買えるか？

Facing Crisis: Soft Power and Japanese Education in a Global Context

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1. Introduction

This chapter considers the history, current condition and future vision of Japanese education focusing on its own attractiveness, or 'soft power', for both Japanese and non-Japanese citizens in a global context. Distinguishing three types of powers, namely, military power, economic power and soft power, Nye (2004) states that 'soft power rests on the ability to shape the preference of others', and that 'soft power is attractive power'. Approaches to discussing the relationship between soft power and education in Japan can be based on 1) the soft power or attractiveness of Japanese education itself and 2) the contribution or influence of the education sector in relation to Japanese soft power in general.

As a diplomatic concept, soft power is inevitably linked with the international context when it is applied to the field of education. Accordingly, views from actors both inside and outside of Japanese society towards Japanese education must be taken into consideration.

In general, direct international exchanges in the field of education are more frequent in higher education, because of the mobility and language/inter-cultural skills of learners. Teichler (1999) developed a typology of internationalization contexts of higher education systems based on degrees of necessity and respective situations within the global system. The contexts of this typology are characterized as follows: (I) *would-be internationalization:* wanting to be partners in international communication and cooperation but facing problems which prevent partnership on equal terms; (II) *life or death internationalization:* viewing internationalization as indispensable; (III) *two arenas*: being limited to striving for either more national, or more international visibility; and (IV) *internationalization by import*: hosting foreign students and considering international research only if published in the host country's dominant language.

Teichler categorizes Japan as a type III and the US as a type IV country, reflecting the difference of the positions held by these two countries in the broader, global higher education power structure. As Altbach and Petersen's chapter in the present volume suggests, the US higher education system is regarded as a 'Kingdom on the Hill', or the center of the world, protected by the hard and soft power of the country as well as the English language, and the

quality of American higher education itself. On the other hand, the Japanese higher education system has assumed a central position in the East Asian region at least, and has attracted a significant number of high profile international students who have managed to learn through instruction in the Japanese language. However, Japanese academics and students are aware that they are not at the global center, and feel the necessity to further internationalize Japanese higher education to improve linkages with the global community.

In contrast to the US example, the soft power of Japanese education in the domestic context and the global context are clearly distinguishable. Type III countries such as Japan, France and Germany will face difficulty to transform their systems into type II because of the parallel yet separate existence of the international and domestic arenas. Even if the international arena becomes gradually larger and the domestic arena gradually becomes smaller, public sectors will remain largely domestic in orientation. Nevertheless, ongoing globalization will provide an impetus to eventually become a type II country.

In 1987, the US Department of Education issued a report identifying the Japanese education system as one of the best models to examine, mainly in light of its perceived efficiency in human resource development. Even at that time, however, the international reputation of Japanese education was limited to primary and secondary education, which produced well trained and homogeneous workers suitable for a rather domestic-oriented labor market. Japanese higher education has thus received more attention as a mechanism for producing a trainable and talented workforce, rather than an example of quality in teaching and learning (Dore, 1997).

As is the case with its higher education, Japanese basic education is also losing appeal. Although the academic achievement of Japanese students until the end of secondary education is relatively high, Japanese education does not have any outstanding merit compared with neighboring East Asian countries. Indeed, Japanese education seems to be losing its soft power in all respects.

Overall, Japanese education as a soft power is in crisis. Reflection upon history and current conditions is indispensable to the development of a future vision. The report of Japan's 21 Century Vision (Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy, 2005) clarified the danger that Japan will be left behind in the process of globalization, and specified human resource development and education as priority areas for policy action. In September, 2005 the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) also published a proposal outlining its international strategy. Focusing on human resource development and academic/cultural exchanges, the following four objectives were stated in the MEXT proposal; (1) the strengthening of Japan's international competitiveness in an age of great global competition; (2) the improvement of Japan's soft power, (3) the solution of global tasks, and (4) the strengthening of partnerships with Asian countries[i].

Education is inevitably a core factor in developing the future soft power of Japanese society, because humans are the only resource available to increase its attractiveness. At the same time, Japan is no longer the only Asian country which can be proud of high academic achievement and technological advancement. Although the government and society in general recognizes the importance of education, the future vision for improving the soft power of Japanese education and for utilizing the education sector to improve soft power of Japanese society is unclear at this moment.

In order to understand the nature of the soft power of Japanese education itself and the function of the Japanese schooling system to develop the soft power of Japanese society, this chapter analyzes historical change and current reality within Japanese schooling and its relationship with the soft power of Japanese society. Future visions of Japanese education are then discussed, with particular emphasis on potential contributions to the development of Japan's soft power from a global perspective.

2. History of Japanese Education and Soft Power

Reflecting on educational development in Japan, it is readily understood that education itself has functioned as a device to transform military and economic power into soft power over relatively recent decades. Three stages in the transformation of the relationship between education and military, economy and soft power can be identified, namely: (1) education supported by military power (-1950); (2) accumulation of soft power in education through economic development (1950-80); and (3) utilizing soft power for transformation to a post-industrial society (1980-).

Education Supported by Military Power: (-1950)

The Meiji government espoused the idea of *Fukoku Kyohei* (a rich country with a strong military) as a basic policy for national development. Under this policy, the development of military and economic power became dual national challenges, with people being the only resources which Japan could utilize to strengthen its power. Naturally, therefore, school education played a key role for national integration and human resource development. The dissemination of a standardized Japanese language and modernized lifestyle were implemented through school education and other modern, administrative hard power.

The national integration function of education was stressed not only in the original territory of Japan, but also in newly colonized territories such as Okinawa, Taiwan, and Korea. In other newly-acquired territories and protectorates of the Japanese Empire, such as Indonesia, local languages were allowed but instruction in and of the Japanese language were also promoted (Momose, 2003). Japanese military occupation throughout East and South East Asia in the 1930s and 1940s produced significant portions of whole populations who

somehow learned basic Japanese language and culture.

This dissemination of Japanese language and culture were compelled through military power. Certainly, modern technology and knowledge which were associated with the Japanese way of life attracted neighboring peoples. Significant numbers of modernist elites were attracted to Japanese higher education and modern thoughts, and some studied in pre-war Japan on their own volition. Tsurumi (1977) pointed out the positive effects of Japanese colonization in Taiwan such as technology transfer. Kim (2001) mentions that South Korean academics utilized Japanese texts until around 1970s. However, this having been noted, the colonization policy in many cases functioned negatively for developing Japanese soft power. Anti-Japanese sentiment in colonized Korea grew under the condition that the Korean original language was prohibited and Korean names were changed into Japanese ones.

After its defeat in World War II, the Japanese position in the region was reversed. The US occupational government reduced the power of the Ministry of Education (Monbusho)[ii] in recognition of its use by the Japanese pre-war government as a tool for supporting militaristic nationalism. Post war 'education reforms' were implemented under strong initiatives and pressures by a committee of American experts based on American military power. An American-type higher education system and decentralized education committee system at the primary and secondary education levels were introduced. The contents of education were also changed drastically, and many parts of school textbooks were edited by having students themselves erase prohibited portions of text. The Education Basic Law enacted in 1947 has been controversial, partly because of the fact it was enacted under the American military occupation authority, and partly because it places greater emphasis on individual human rights than it does on social cohesion and patriotism. In Japan, these two have come to be considered as opposing ideals due to lingering memories of the role that pre-war education policies emphasizing allegiance to the nation had in facilitating the rise of militarism. In 2006, the Education Basic Law was amended through an initiative of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, following discussions based on the inclusion and expression of patriotism. Both individual human rights and social cohesive values including patriotism are now promoted as important aspects of the soft power of a country.

Accumulation of Soft Power in Education through Economic Development (1950-80)

The recovery of independence and the beginning of the Korean War in 1950 spurred the revival of Japan's economic power, while the country lost its military autonomy power almost completely. Agricultural reform and other social and economic system changes, some of which had already been introduced during the Pacific War period, led to a massive movement of the population from the agricultural sector to the industrial and service sectors. The school system functioned as a meritocratic screening device for this inter-sector population movement. This meritocracy and the diffusion of a new middle class lifestyle

based on school education proved quite attractive to the Japanese; in many respects, the school system itself became a key component of Japanese society's soft power. Cummings (1980), analyzing the daily life of this new Japanese School system, noted that its screening function had a strong influence on the development of Asian school systems in general, especially those of Taiwan, South Korea and Singapore.

Japanese economic development and the increasing competitive power of Japanese products fostered the cultivation of a consumption market and both direct and indirect linkages with Asian countries, although anti-Japanese movements sometimes presented obstacles during this transformation. In the 1970s, for-example, the then-Japanese Prime Minister, Kakuei Tanaka, met with anti-Japanese demonstrations while visiting Indonesia, which had been occupied by the Japanese military during World War II.

Japanese Official Development Aid (ODA) to Asian countries was initiated as partial reparation for its role in World War II, with technology transfer and human resource development being among the more visible results of international collaboration. However, international collaboration in education has sometimes been controversial given its integral role in the formation of national identity. While most countries welcomed foreign investments in infrastructure and collaboration in such fields as science education, they were more hesitant to accept input from 'former colonizers' or 'westerners' in the social sciences out of concern that it might intervene with the development of students' national identity. Some countries such as Malaysia have welcomed the influence of Japanese social and cultural components as a part of their 'Look East' policy, aimed at counterbalancing the strong influence of western countries and their cultures. In general, however, Asian countries exercise extreme caution when Japanese instructors become involved in core issues of national identity and culture.

Japanese contributions in the field of education are most evident in science and mathematics at the basic and secondary levels, and in engineering and the natural sciences in higher education. In general, developing countries are continuously short of trained teachers and experts in the sciences, mathematics and technology. While Japanese technological skills and expertise have therefore been attractive to other countries, most have tried to keep the humanities and social sciences under their own control.

Utilizing Soft Power in the Transformation to a Post-Industrial Society (1980-)

The Nakasone Cabinet's policies on building the soft power of Japan reflected a more strategic approach than had been pursued in previous years, under his idea of 'healthy internationalism'. 'Healthy internationalism' was the combination of the idea of global citizenship and clearly stated nationalism (Hood, 2001). At that time, Japanese automobile exports and other cultural and linguistic differences perceived as transport barriers served to

increase conflicts between the US and Japanese governments. Education and culture were strategically utilized as soft powers to smooth the relationship between Japan and other countries, including the United States. One key initiative under this new strategy was Nakasone's plan to attract 100,000 foreign students by 2000. While this target was realized in 2003, most students are from China and Korea, and government scholarships have altogether supported only around ten percent of international students. Most students are therefore from developing and middle income countries without public financial aid, and have difficulty to survive without engaging in some form of employment during their study in Japan. In many cases, students are attracted by job opportunities themselves during and after higher education study in Japan as much as they are by the country's high academic standards and course offerings.

The Japanese government has also supported technology transfer and capacity development among higher education faculties in developing countries (JICA, 2004). Jomo-Kenyatta University in Kenya and King-Monkut University in Thailand are outstanding examples of higher education institutions whose development has benefited from Japanese international cooperation. These universities were funded by the Japanese ODA fund, with their staffs having received over twenty years of training and support from Japanese higher education institutions. Such networks continue to contribute to the formation of effective linkages among Japanese, other Asian and African academic communities. Currently, the African Institute for Capacity Development (AICAD), funded within the Jomo-Kenyatta University campus, supports research activities and dissemination for poverty reduction in East African countries under a joint scheme with JICA. The ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) University Network/Southeast Asia Engineering Education Development Network (AUN/SEED-Net), which supports capacity development of post graduate training courses in ASEAN engineering education, is also an important example of how long term collaboration between Japanese universities and Asian universities can foster the soft power of Japanese higher education. In this project, future ASEAN elites in engineering education are studying together both in top institutes in South East Asian countries and partner Japanese universities (JICA, 2004).

Although it is true that collaboration based on economic prominence contributed significantly foster positive sympathies toward Japan, this does not indicate that Japanese higher education itself has invariably been attractive for international students and researchers. Japan tends to be chosen second or third as a destination for study. Offering scholarships is an important strategy to attract top students, as is the provision of rewarding learning environments in which these students can excel. The Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) provides various scholarship schemes to draw the 'best and brightest' students from both developing and developed countries. Some higher education institutions also offer favorite scholarships to non-Japanese students. Through these measures, Japanese universities can also indirectly attract Japanese students who wish to

study in an international learning and research environment. However, these opportunities for financial support are still very limited, and majority of international students face great difficulty in acquiring Japanese language skills sufficient to keep apace of course material.

The Japanese government and many universities have established international student dormitories and centers for supporting international students in their study life and Japanese language training. Adding to this, Japan combined efforts with more than ten American state universities to set up offshore programs, however almost all failed to find stable markets (Chambers and Cummings, 1990). At least until quite recently, Japanese higher education itself has continued to be protected from the international student market, because of low incentives for Japanese students to study seriously in foreign countries to obtain employment abroad, and the strong internal orientation of Japanese labor customs,

In short, the soft power of education has been given high priority in Japanese macro policy planning. Throughout the 20th Century, Japan has tried various means to achieve a position of international influence, once through military power, and later through its economic power. In both cases, Japan experienced resistance or refusal to its efforts to push these hard powers into other countries. From the 1980s, the Japanese government changed its policy towards the active usage of educational soft-power to facilitate its transformation into a post-industrial society. However, the Japanese education system itself has not yet succeeded to gain sufficient soft power to attract international learners and researchers without relying on economic hard power.

3. The Current Decline in the Attractiveness of Japanese Education

At present, is difficult to find clear evidence that the broader appeal of Japanese education is increasing. While Japan continues to be one of the largest developed economies in the world, the impact of globalization is certainly contributing to pressure on the country to restructure its education system.

First, Japanese education policy has an only a weak connection to the current boom in Japanese pop culture as a core part of contemporary Japanese soft power. While animation, television games, and ‘Shibuya-style’ teenage fashion are regarded as representative exports of Japanese soft power both in the western and eastern world, these have long been targeted enemies of Japanese primary and secondary school education. Japanese primary and secondary schools have frequently attempted to prohibit these youth pop-culture activities because they are thought to destroy the imagination, creativity and morals of young people. South Korea had all but banned the influx of Japanese pop-culture for many years, not only because it had been thought to pose a risk to the development of original Korean pop-culture, but also in that it was regarded as hindering the development of healthy personalities among Korean youth. In 2006, Kyoto Seika University, a private university, started a new

comprehensive program of *Manga* (Japanese comic book) study. However, this and other similar programs focusing on the study of Japanese pop culture command only a minimal following at this moment.

Second, the academic achievement of Japanese students is under question. In primary and secondary education, the Japanese education policy of the last two decades, to foster individuality and creativity by reducing emphasis on core '3Rs' training and by encouraging a more holistic approach to learning, is now being criticized. Recent statistics on the academic achievement of primary and secondary school children show that Japanese basic achievement in schools is in crisis (Kariya and Shimizu, 2004). Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS)[iii] 2003 indicate that while the mathematics and science achievement of Japanese eighth grade students is at a high level, it is no longer the best in the world. The results of PISA 2003, an international standardized assessment, indicated that the achievement of Japanese students was significantly high in mathematics and science literacy and problem-solving skills, but only average in reading skills among OECD countries. Fujita (2001), a leading educational expert, criticized the government's policy to reduce the amount of study in the formal education in last decade as 'educational disarmament'. Furthermore, and despite ever-increasing resources being dedicated to improve the situation, foreign language proficiency among Japanese youth continues to be very problematic: in terms of English language proficiency, mean TOEFL scores show Japan to be at the second bottom not only among Asian countries (see Table 1), but among all countries worldwide.

Table 1. TOEFL Total Score Means in Major Asian Countries

	Total Score Mean	Number of Examinees
Singapore	254	227
India	244	42238
Phillippines	234	9932
Malaysia	230	1664
South Korea	215	102340
China (mainland)	215	17963
Hong Kong	215	7466
Indonesia	214	4697
Taiwan	205	26390
Thailand	202	9898
Japan	191	82438
North Korea	190	4778

Source: Educational Testing Service: *TOEFL Test and Score Data Summary: 2004-2005 Test Year Data*

Third, while certain Japanese universities still hold top positions in Asia, this lead is gradually diminishing relative to institutions in neighboring countries. Two world rankings of universities, released by the *Times Higher Education Supplement (THES),* a British newspaper on higher education issues, and the Institute of Higher Education of Shanghai Jiao Tong University, a web-based university ranking on academic performance[iv], indicate that top Japanese universities such as the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University are holding very high positions globally. However, THES (2005) ranked Peking University as the top university in the Asian-Pacific region in 2005, replacing the University of Tokyo which had occupied the top position in Asia in almost every international ranking until 2004, and Singapore National University gained a position equal to the University of Tokyo in the 2006 THES ranking. The methodology of THES rankings rely heavily on 'peer review', an approach which has been questioned in that it does not reveal details as to who comprise the 'peers', as well as because some indicators and the waiting methodology are highly subjective. The domination of Japanese universities in the Shanghai ranking (2006), which is based on research performance indicators, suggests that top Japanese universities are still very strong in research among other institutions in the Asia-Pacific region. At the same time, as the data in Table 2 clearly indicates, Japanese higher education does not have distinguished academic performance globally.

Table 2. Rankings of Top Asia-Pacific Universities (2006)

THES Ranking			*Shanghai Jiao Tong Ranking*		
Asia-Pacific	World		Asia-Pacific	World	
1	14	Peking University	1	19	Tokyo University
2	16	Australian National University	2	22	Kyoto University
3=	19=	National University of Singapore	3	54	Australian National University
3=	19=	Tokyo University	4	61	Osaka University
5	22	Melbourne University	5	76	Tohoku University
6	28	Tsing Hua University	6	78	University of Melbourne
7	29	Kyoto University	7	89	Tokyo Tech
8	33	Hong Kong University	8	98	Nagoya University
9	35	Sydney University			
10	38	Monash University			

Fourth, the fact that Japanese higher education is attracting large numbers of students does not necessarily indicate that its education and research content is globally competitive. In 2005, Japan attracted 121,812 international students, ninety percent of whom are from Asian countries. The *Asahi Shinbun* (2005) issues university rankings of Japanese universities every year with various indicators, including the number and share of international students both in undergraduate and post graduate programs. It is reasonable that such rankings as to the number of post-graduate students are dominated by the prestigious, mainly national

research-intensive universities. However, it is rather surprising that rankings of student numbers in undergraduate programs and those showing the share of international students in both undergraduate and post graduate programs are dominated by less prestigious private universities which are facing difficulty to attract even Japanese students.

Table 3. Origins and Destinations of Incoming and Outgoing Students

International students in Japan 2005			Japanese students abroad 2001		
	Number	% of Total		Number	% of Total
1 China	80592	66.2	1 US	46810	59.9
2 South Korea	15606	12.8	2 China	14642	18.7
3 Taiwan	4134	3.4	3 UK	6206	7.9
4 Malaysia	2114	1.7	4 Australia	2407	3.1
5 Vietnam	1745	1.4	5 Germany	2182	2.8
Total	121812	100.0	Total	78151	100.0

Source: Japan's Education at a Glance (MEXT 2005), International Students in Japan 2005 (JASSO).

Table 4. The Number and Share of International Students by Institution (2006)

Number of International Students (Undergraduate)			Share of International Students (Undergraduate, %)		
1	*Ritsumeikan APU*	1559	1	*Ritsumeikan APU*	37.1
2	Osaka Sangyo	983	2	Aichi Bunkyo	33.6
3	Kokushikan	914	3	Hokkai Gakuen Kitami	30.3
4	Ryutsu Keizai	904	4	Kyoto Sosei	29.6
5	Takushoku	812	5	Eichi	27.3
6	*Nihon*	799	6	Osaka Meijo	27.0
7	Tokyo International	731	7	Poole Gakuin	26.4
8	Teikyo	621	8	Nigata Sangyo	26.1
9	Meikai	519	9	Takamatsu	23.9
10	Josai Kokusai	512	10	Hagoromo Kokusai	22.5
Number of International Students (Postgraduate)			Share of International Students (Postgraduate, %)		
1	Tokyo	1550	1	**Nagasaki Prefectural**	93.1
2	*Waseda*	994	2	*Ritsumeikan APU*	91.8
3	Kyoto	826	3	Ryutsu Kagaku	90.9
4	Tsukuba	796	4	Aichi Bunkyo	88.9
5	Nagoya	795	5	Asia	85.7
6	Kyushu	716	5	Ryutsu Keizai	85.3
7	Tohoku	683	7	Suzuka Kokusai	81.0
8	Osaka	650	8	Takamatsu	78.6
9	Kobe	645	9	Niigata Sangyo	75.0
10	Tokyo Tech	557	10	Hannan	74.2

Source: *Asahi Shinbun Daigaku Ranking (University Ranking) 2007*.

Note: Underline: national universities; *Italic*: prestigious, private universities; **Bold**: local public universities; others: private universities and colleges

There are at least two possible explanations for what seems to be a disproportionate share of international students studying at the smaller and less prestigious universities. First, private universities have strong economic incentives to attract Japanese government subsidies, which are determined by considering the ratio of available student places to actual student enrollment figures. Should a private university fail to enroll more than half of the government allocated study places, it will not be eligible for public subsidization. The government also provides incentive funds to private institutions enrolling foreign students, a reflection that the internationalization of higher education has become a national policy priority. Second, it is easier for non-Japanese students to gain entrance into smaller and less prestigious universities, because competition for student seats is not as high. There are also private agencies which arrange for students to be enrolled into Japanese universities, with some placing more emphasis on employment opportunities that can be capitalized upon while studying in Japan than the merits of any given educational program. In this sense, student visas are utilized as easily-obtained working visas, a situation the Japanese government has been struggling with for some time. However, it is also true that most international students have to work to support themselves, since ninety percent of international students are neither supported financially by the Japanese government nor by the home governments (Yonezawa, 2005).

Lastly, the quality control of grading, credits, and degree granting status of a significant number of universities and colleges in Japan is under question. The famous 'exam hell' which students must endure to gain acceptance to elite schools and universities is clearly based on the fact that the school system, and especially entrance to the top universities, has been utilized as an effective channel for the upgrading of social and economic status. OECD review team once observed that the futures of Japanese seemed to be determined in a single day at 18 years old, namely, on the day of the university entrance examination (OECD, 1972). At that time, there were clear incentives for children to study, or for families to make their children study hard, because school achievement appeared to be a gateway to a comfortable and secure middle class life. However, the typical characterization of university life in Japan as 'leisure land' indicates that preparation for the entrance examination in itself does not ensure that students continue to study hard upon entering university. Nor does it appear that they are being asked to; according to the OECD (2003), the graduation rate of Japanese higher education was 94 percent in 2000, the highest among OECD member countries. However, it is also true that many students, especially in the field of engineering and natural sciences, continue to apply themselves diligently to their laboratory work and in preparation for post graduate entrance examinations. Other students study in private night schools to upgrade their professional qualifications and language skills. Based on their survey of more than 1,000 students in 12 Japanese universities from 1997 to 2003, Takeuchi et al. (2005) argue that the attitudes of Japanese students towards learning and study habits, as measured by indicators such as class attendance and involvement in

actual study, are improving.

All considered, with the exception of relatively isolated examples in the sciences, the current condition of Japanese education is neither what might be deemed 'attractive', nor is it sufficient to contribute to the soft power of Japanese society. Again, clear and strategic vision is highly necessary, because the human resource is the only resource of this country.

4. Future Vision: How Can the Soft Power of Japanese Education Be Developed?

Soft power is an important tool for national prosperity, yet it is very difficult for most countries with minor languages and cultures to make use of it in the field of education. Japan's history of imposing Japanese education and culture upon neighboring countries still functions as an especially severe, negative factor. How, then, can the soft power of Japanese education and, by extension, that of Japanese society be developed?

Japanese primary and secondary education is now drastically changing or, to describe the situation more accurately, trying to catch up with trends of internationalization commonly seen in Asian countries. Although the Japanese government has been strengthening English language education at the primary and secondary levels, progress in these areas lags far behind levels seen in neighboring East Asian countries. At the same time, multicultural-oriented education and education for newcomers (those who do not have a Japanese family background) are hot topics in Japanese education (Shimizu and Shimizu, 2001), while nationalism is also strongly stressed in ongoing educational reforms.

Among these issues, the internationalization of higher education is the most influential and strategically important, given that the number of international students is very high and directly related to the labor market in the global knowledge economy. Many Asian countries are now producing sophisticated industrial and service products, design and culture. The development of the Asia Pacific region has produced a significant number of new, middle class consumers. Soft power should be targeted to these new customers, based on a clear understanding and respect for their tastes and values. At the same time, the Japanese schooling system has an important function to foster good global citizens to making Japanese society more attractive. International students who choose to study in Japan are a very influential medium through which to measure and disseminate the soft power of Japanese society to the world.

Following are four case studies of Japanese universities[v] with recent and unique experiences in attempts to internationalize. These cases were chosen in light of their being front runners in terms of educational provisions aimed at global student marketing. Although top comprehensive universities in Japan have been successful in attracting graduate students

based on their research excellence, teaching methods and educational curricula do not meet the demands of students wishing to build upon their abilities to survive in the global knowledge economy. Although there are many so-called 'international' universities and colleges in Japan, most classes are taught in Japanese, and the majority of foreign students do not have sufficient language abilities to study in English. The diffusion of English-based transnational education, including offshore education programs by US, UK and Australian higher education institutions among Asian host countries has redefined the meaning of 'internationally competitive education program'. Especially in the social sciences, high-level English communicative competence is becoming almost prerequisite in many countries not only within the Asia-Pacific region, but also in Europe and Africa. Countries facing 'life or death internationalization' according to Teichler's categorization, such as Singapore, Malaysia and the Netherlands are now trying to be higher education 'hubs' by providing education programs in the English language. Countries in 'would-be internationalization' or 'two arenas' contexts, such as China and Korea, are now increasing higher education programs in the English language mainly targeted towards domestic students with intentions to study abroad.

There are two extreme scenarios for the future of Japanese higher education: (1) the provision of globally competitive education programs in English to attract anyone wishing to receive globally competitive education services, regardless of location or nationality, and (2) the provision of unique Japanese education programs to capture niche global markets both in Japanese and English. While the following cases illustrate trials to provide globally competitive social science education programs as universities located in Japan, all actually rely on the niche market of those wishing to learn something from Japanese society. These case studies can yield comments as to the future potential and possible limitations of Japanese higher education.

Case 1: Temple University Japan (TUJ)

The first case is not a Japanese higher education institution, but an American one which is operated in Japan. This university is considered here because transnational education services are too widely present to be ignored, and attract students not only from inside the country in which institutions are located, but also from other countries as international education branches. Temple University, a state university in Pennsylvania, has five domestic campuses within the State, overseas campuses in London, Rome and elsewhere, and a total of around 36,000 students. Temple University opened its Tokyo branch (Temple University Japan: TUJ) as the first branch campus of an American university in Japan in the late 1980s. It provides English training programs, undergraduate, master and doctoral courses (for TESOL, MBA and law) as well as continuing education programs and corporate education classes for members of society. TUJ offers a comprehensive education system,

ranging from undergraduate to doctoral courses, including English training programs. TUJ's student body numbers about 2,100; 500 are undergraduate students and almost sixty percent are Japanese. Its campus is located in formerly commercial buildings in a downtown area.

The primary mission of TUJ is to provide Japanese students with education at the same level as that offered by the main campus in the United States. It is accredited by the Middle States Commission on Higher Education (MSCHE), a regional accreditation association in the US, and its curricula are identical to those of the main campus. All programs are taught in English and given in classes comprised of small groups of students. Although students can freely select courses, depending on their own interests and enthusiasm to some extent, TUJ offers fewer courses than its parent campus. Students who prefer studying at a higher level or selecting from a wider range of study areas are encouraged to study at the main US campus. With this in mind, at the TUJ undergraduate school, almost forty students move to the main campus every year. On the other hand, international students who come to study at TUJ seem to be attracted by a system whereby American university degrees are conferred in Japan.

TUJ is building educational merit through a positive combination of the compact and flexible systems adopted by the Japan campus, and the numerous programs offered at the main US campus. TUJ is not without its own unique problems and challenges, however. There were many cases where graduates of TUJ who applied for jobs in Japan were simply rejected because of the low profile of the university in Japan. TUJ faces a reality where the branch campus in Japan cannot improve the disadvantageous job placement situation until it gains wider recognition as a university. In contrast, American university degrees continue to represent an advantage for students who hope to find employment or move to foreign universities overseas.

Case 2: Kansai Gaidai University

Kansai Gaidai University, which has been committed to promoting exchange programs since the 1970s, is widely known for the size of its international network, not only in Japan but also worldwide. The "Asian Studies Program" department plays an important role in accepting international students. With regard to Japanese students applying to other institutions worldwide, the university implements various initiatives to promote successful applications.

In 1971, Kansai Gaidai University initiated an exchange program by inviting faculties and students from the University of Arkansas, and subsequently opened an Asian studies

program conducted in English for international students in 1972. Since this time, it has worked to strengthen its status as a pioneer university in terms of exchange programs. As of 2004, the university was engaged in exchange agreements with 280 universities in 50 countries, under which credits could be mutually transferred. It provides exchange programs both for short-term study abroad (ranging from 4 to 22 weeks), mainly aimed at language training, and long-term overseas study abroad (for 1 to 2 years), targeting mainly the upgrading of professional knowledge and the earning of degrees. In 2004, the number of Japanese students sent out under long- and short-term study abroad programs was 1,468 in total, 784 and 684 in each respective category, while the number of international students received from overseas institutions was 615. The numbers, for both outgoing and incoming students, have increased annually, almost in proportion to the rise in affiliation with overseas institutions. The university, with 9,925 students, is the largest to offer foreign studies in Japan.

In addition to regular university courses at Kansai Gaidai University, the "Asian Studies Program" department offers programs exclusively for international students from all over the world. Under the programs provided by Kansai Gaidai University, many courses are taught by non-Japanese faculty members with curricula being designed so that international students can further their understanding of the societies and cultures of Japan and other Asian countries. A total of 43courses are offered in various study areas, including politics, economics, social science and business. All credits earned in these courses can be transferred to students' home universities.

University degrees from Japanese universities are less attractive to international students from North America and Europe. Generally speaking, although hoping to study about Japanese culture and society in the short-term, the vast majority of these students will eventually return to their native countries to seek employment and would therefore prefer degrees from universities more commonly recognized there. In recognition of this, Kansai Gaidai University is unique in Japan in providing Japan and Asian studies programs which can meet a broad range of practical student needs. Namely, the Asian Studies Program represents a 'central attraction' for international students, allowing the department to develop other, more diverse exchange programs. Japanese students with sufficient English capabilities can participate in these programs to prepare to study in foreign universities.

Many Japanese students enter Kansai Gaidai University out of an attraction to the wealth of opportunities to study abroad; of this total, about forty percent actually capitalize on such opportunities while at the University. Regardless of the extent to which universities offer sufficient opportunities for overseas study, students must somehow bring their language skills up to the level required for such study. Kansai Gaidai University's agreements with affiliated universities stipulate that the sending institutions are fully responsible for selecting

students who are eligible to partake in study abroad opportunities; if language requirements are not satisfied, students may be sent back to their home countries.

Case 3: Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU)

Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU) was founded in 1999, and boasts one of the largest international student bodies in Japan. As of April 2005, the total number of students was 4,417, of which about 42 percent were international. International students come from 75 nations from the Asian region, North America, Europe and Africa. The university is also said to be successful in attracting competent students; its graduates are highly valued by corporations, and 383 of the 390 international students (or 98.2 percent) who were set to graduate in 2004, and who applied for jobs, received informal job offers before graduation. APU comprises two colleges: the College of Asia Pacific Studies (APS) for learning diverse cultures and the social structures of Asian nations and the College of Asia Pacific Management (APM) for learning international management, including a graduate school.

As is the case at other Japanese institutions, many international students whose standard language is English are not proficient in the Japanese language upon entering the University. APU provides Japanese language training courses, so that students can improve their Japanese skills to the level needed to find employment in Japanese companies. Capable students who are interested in the Asia Pacific Region come from all over the world and study on campus. This international campus environment, in turn, attracts students from all over Japan, hence international and domestic students can develop their respective potential by interacting with one another. APU aims to attract a wide range of instructors and students, mainly from the Asia Pacific region, and foster internationally viable human resources, harnessing the potential of an on-campus international environment. Many APU students hope to move on to graduate schools elsewhere and work in international institutes.

Indeed, this mutually-beneficial relationship serves to create an ideal model environment for universities wishing to internationalize to emulate. Domestic students have an opportunity to gain a global perspective and participate in international cooperative activities, such as mine-cleaning operations and extracurricular activities related to international understanding, such as a clubs to reflect on history textbook issues. Inspired by a multicultural cultural environment, students may find the personal motivation to develop themselves. An international student from India commented, “The attraction of APU is its diversity of students and faculty members.” This endorses the following statement from an APU official: “Internationalization led by American universities seeks to ‘Americanize’ students and faculty members. However, the internationalization sought by APU is not Americanization. The university stresses friendly exchange among international faculty members and students

with different cultural backgrounds on the same stage."

Case 4: The Graduate School of International Corporate Strategy (ICS)

The campus of the Graduate School of International Corporate Strategy (ICS), Hitotsubashi University, is located in the National Center of Sciences, constructed in central Tokyo in 2000. ICS aims to develop specialists who are capable of contributing to society in the disciplines of administrative legal affairs, international administrative strategies and financial strategies at a global level. Among the ICS programs, the full-time MBA Program in International Business Strategy is taught entirely in English and became a professional degree program in 2004.

In the MBA Program in International Business Strategy, international students account for approximately 60 percent of a total of 93 enrolled students. The number of faculty members is 16, including visiting lecturers/professors. The proportion of newly enrolled students in 2005 to faculty members was 3 to 1, while tuition levels were comparable to those of other national universities. In comparison to other business schools, ICS has established a relatively favorable educational environment for the students of the program.

The graduate school, which offers classes taught in English to develop internationally viable business leaders, inevitably faces the challenge of competing with overseas business schools. Students are required to have a highly practical command of English, including knowledge of business terms, manners and humor.

Since the establishment of the graduate school, in an effort to raise its presence as an "internationally viable" business school, ICS Dean Hirotaka Takeuchi has underlined the importance of research outcomes on Japanese corporations. At present, with regard to method education, the majority of Asian cases taken up by so-called 'prestigious' business schools has focused on the experience of Chinese corporations. Although Japanese corporations are only recently back on the path to economic recovery, they have performed poorly for a relatively long period, and are hence only rarely selected as case studies in business school classes. ICS, in contrast, decided to concentrate exclusively on Japanese corporations for its research and introduced analyses of Japanese business models within domestic and international business circles, aiming to further establish the unique presence of ICS.

In recognition of its various initiatives, numerous domestic and overseas media, including the Financial Times, a British international economic publication, have come to cover the story of ICS as a model of an internationally viable Japanese business school since its

founding. Recently, John Wiley & Sons, Inc. published "Hitotsubashi on Knowledge Management." The publishing company has handled books introducing the world's prestigious business schools, with titles including the areas of their strengths. The book was written in English by Professor Ikujiro Nonaka, a leading researcher in knowledge management, and seven colleagues as an effort to introduce Japanese knowledge management to an international audience.

One of the attractions of studying at ICS is its inexpensive tuition as a national university, 535,800 Japanese yen per year in 2006. In addition, all international students receive scholarship awards. For example, the participants in the Young Leaders' Program, which is a national scholarship program, are exempted from the payment of admission and tuition fees as well as they receive 270,000 yen per month. An original ICS scholarship program for international students, supported by Daiwa Securities Group and other companies, provides 1 to 2 million yen per student every year. The financial sources for the scholarship programs are not limited to government and alumni. ICS is known for the fact that some faculty members serve as external board members of ORIX, Fujitsu, Vodafone and other leading companies. These faculty members contribute 20 percent of their income from these companies to the scholarship programs.

Remarkably, when asked how students are recruited to study at ICS, Dean Takeuchi simply answered, "Just by word of mouth. … As for ranking or accreditation, we threw it off." ICS concluded that efforts to pursue a good position in the world rankings of business schools, such as those of the Financial Times, were not a productive use of time, so long as ICS remained the same size, because only business schools where the number of annual graduates reaches a certain level are nominated – in the case of ICS, this is about 50 at best. This stance is also applied to their approach to accreditation. Many business schools in other countries receive internationally recognized accreditations, such as by the AACSB in the United States (the business school of Keio University also participated one such program). To be accredited by an accrediting organization, it is necessary to invest significant time and large sums of money as well as add more courses. ICS consequently determined that they did not need to struggle to be accredited based on a cost-benefit analysis, despite the fact that some business students indicated that accreditation was a key factor in school selection. Meanwhile, ICS was ranked as high as 5th in the world (1st among Japanese business schools) for business schools in 2004, as compiled by the 'MBA *Tomono-Kai*', an association of Japanese MBA holders, students and recruiters, after surveying 1,028 members and others.

ICS is strongly dependent on the power of name-recognition which has been built up over the long history of Hitotsubashi University and the networks of University faculty members and graduates; in other words, ICS did not begin and later come to thrive on its own devices.

The school has been committed to develop and present new forms of resources, which have accumulated over the course the activities of its parent Japanese university, to international society.

Through the examination of the above four cases, it can be seen that while Japanese higher education has not been successful in establishing 'American compatible' full scale higher education programs, the trials for making Japanese education more internationally attractive are ongoing. The official governmental authorization of foreign university programs such as that offered by Temple University Japan will stimulate the Japanese higher education market and could facilitate the further establishment of international atmospheres for both Japanese and non-Japanese students. The increase of exchange and partnership programs as observed at Kansai Gaidai University will also foster channels for student exchange again both for Japanese and non-Japanese students. APU is a very interesting pilot project which encourages both faculties and students to introduce the Japanese way of higher education to the global academic community despite the latter's increasingly competitive nature. ICS of Hitotsubashi University is regarded as an example of 'best educational practice in English' in Japan, with the quality of its education on par with international standards. Instead of focusing on world rankings or international accreditation, however, ICS puts its strategic impetus on research inherent in Japanese business studies. In all four cases, the idea of 'mutual respect' is prevalent; this will be a key factor in developing truly international learning environments and in successfully building a uniquely Japanese soft-power.

5. Conclusion

Japanese education has assumed an important role in transforming the country's military and economic power to soft power. However, Japanese education is losing its attractiveness, and a clear future vision is needed if this situation is to be redressed in a global context.

The examination of recent trials in building the global competitiveness of Japanese higher education programs in the social sciences indicates that it is almost impossible to expect the emergence of large scale, globally competitive education programs in the English language in Japan. Despite their respective successes in other areas, every case study considered in this paper reveals a tendency to stress their unique identities as higher education institutions located in Japan. The attractiveness, or soft power, of Japanese education will not be enhanced through augmented academic profiles alone, but though capacities to foster the development citizens with characteristics and a culture which can be admired by the global community.

Nye (2004) argues that Japan does not enjoy the full admiration of its Asian neighbors, due largely to the manner in which it used its military and economic power in the past. He further observes that the Japanese lifestyle is not regarded as a desirable model, and the general image of the Japanese is 'arrogant'. In that that soft power is an intangible attraction that persuades one to go along with another's purpose without explicit threat or exchange, it is imperative that the Japanese education system find a unique approach attract students by inspiring 'the dreams and desires of others'.

In order to support and develop the soft power of Japanese society, the internalization of Japanese education must be accelerated drastically. Considering Japan's strong social customs based on cultural homogeneity, the introduction of different schooling and academic cultures may raise conflicts, or merely reproduce a 'two arenas' structure of internationalization. However, dialogue based on mutual respect can only develop more harmonized communication as a resource to increase the soft power of the Japanese education community. If there is to be strength in Japanese education, the country must move closer to building an atmosphere of mutual respect with foreign participants; such values and attitudes are important and inevitable components of Japanese soft power. This will only be realized through the intensive involvement of the government, education institutions and individual stakeholders. Provided these conditions are met, Japanese education can work to build social capital to ensure the well being of citizens living both inside and outside of Japan. However, if Japanese fail in their efforts to establish such educational environments, the soft power of its institutions and therefore of Japanese society itself will face very vulnerable international circumstances in the not-too-distant future.

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[i] http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/kokusai/senryaku/teigen/05092901.htm

[ii] Monbusho was transformed into MEXT by a merger with Ministry of Science and Technology in 2001.

[iii] TIMSS is an international study by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) for providing comparative data of academic performance of fourth and eighth grades in mathematics and science. TIMSS assessments were implemented in 1995, 1999 and 2003. The next TIMSS assessment will be administered in 2007. (http://timss.bc.edu/)

[iv] http://ed.sjtu.edu.cn/ranking.htm

[v] These case studies are based on interviews with authorities of universities considered in articles written by the author, published in the Japanese journal 'Between' by *Shinken-AD* (in Japanese) in 2005 to 2006.

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JAPAN

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Higher education has played an important role in the social and economic development of modern-day Japan. This chapter will discuss a small handful of key themes that contribute to our understanding of the country's higher education system, including access and expansion, finance, privatization, internationalization and quality assurance. Of these, perhaps the most important is the element of expansion, otherwise known as the "massification" of Japanese higher education.

By the mid-1970s, Japan had realized mass higher education based on full participation in senior secondary education. In 2005, 76.2% of 18-year-olds were enrolled in higher and postsecondary institutions—universities (*daigaku*), junior colleges (*tanki-daigaku*), colleges of technology (*koto-senmon-gakko*) and specialized training colleges (*senshu-gakko*) (see Table 1). The massification of Japanese higher education has been realized through the expansion of the private sector, which relies on tuition fees as its main financial resource (Yonezawa & Baba, 1998). Based on the hierarchical structure of the higher education system, graduation from select universities has been regarded as a ladder for a successful life and a source of self-esteem by those working in modern industrial sectors (Dore, 1976; Yano, 1997; Takeuchi, 1997). The heavy financial contribution of Japanese households has made possible an "efficient" mass higher education system with limited public finance. However, Japan appears to be suffering as a result of having neglected certain factors along the way. Currently, Japanese higher education is facing challenges (under the pressure of global competition) that demand drastic restructuring.

Origins of the Japanese Higher Education System

The direct origin of the current Japanese higher education system is found in the establishment of a modern university and polytechnic (*senmon-gakko*) system after the Meiji Restoration in 1868. The schools for the *samurai* (warrior) and merchant classes, and later, Western language and science schools had provided various educational programs until the mid-19th century, most of which were closed or else integrated or transformed into the newly established Westernized institutions. Japan developed its

James J.F. Forest and Philip G. Altbach (eds.), International Handbook of Higher Education, 829–837.

Table 1. Japanese Higher Education Institutions and Enrollments, 2004

	Total	National	Local Public	Private
Institutions				
Universities	709	87	80	542
Junior colleges	508	12	45	451
Colleges of technology	63	55	5	3
Specialized training colleges	3,443	15	200	3,228
Students				
Universities	2,809,323	624,394	122,864	2,062,065
Junior colleges	233,749	2,975	16,510	214,264
Colleges of technology	58,681	51,729	4,656	2,296
Specialized training colleges	791,540	1,124	28,663	761,753

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2004.

higher education system rather independently by combining various Western models, with the German model having the greatest impact in the process of establishing "imperial universities" as prototype Japanese universities (Altbach, 1989; Nakayama, 1989). The Japanese government employed many foreign (Western) academics and experts to help in designing the system and implementing this new form of higher education. Those foreigners, however, were replaced at a very early stage by Japanese experts trained in Europe and North America.

The private sector has played an important role since the beginning of modern higher education in Japan (Kaneko, 1997). The Japanese government began providing legal authorization to private universities in 1919 (Nakayama, 1989), and the number of universities and polytechnics continued to increase even during the Sino-Japanese War and World War II (Itoh, 1999). On the other hand, public money was invested almost exclusively in the public sector, especially in imperial universities, which were treated as a system apart from other institutions.

Access, Expansion and Accountability

The transformation of the education system (based on the American model) after World War II assured wider access to higher education. Most of the former polytechnics were upgraded or merged into the new university system with 4-year undergraduate, 2-year master's and 3-year doctoral degree programs. Two-year junior colleges and colleges of technology (a combination of 3-year senior secondary education and 2-year higher education, mainly in engineering fields) were also established as short-cycle higher education leading to an associate degree; the former have in practice functioned primarily as places of female education (M. Amano, 1997), and the latter have remained an exceptional education track. At the same time, all of the universities—including former imperial ones and private ones—were given the same status as "universities" in principle, although there continued to be a great difference in prestige between institutions with different historical backgrounds.

The public institutions and the top private universities—which, by the 1950s, had become large comprehensive institutions—have been relatively protected from the pressure of expansion since the 1960s. In 1962, the government deregulated the procedure for establishing new faculties and departments (I. Amano, 1997; Kuroha, 2001). This enabled less prestigious demand-absorbing private institutions to meet the increasing need for the training of service and industrial workers, while the government concentrated its investment in the expansion of natural sciences and engineering programs at national universities (Kaneko, 1996, 1997).

The rapid expansion of the private sector, with limited and irregular financial support from the central and local governments, led to a deterioration in the quality and environment at many universities, which became one of the grievances of the student movement which began during the mid-1960s. In order to ensure the quality and accessibility of higher education (including private education) in 1970, the government began providing public funding for the operational expenditure of private institutions. At present, however, these public subsidies cover only around 10% of institutional expenses, the rest being mainly covered by tuition fees. At the same time, the government introduced higher education plans to control student enrollment in each public and private university and junior college (I. Amano, 1997). Through higher education plans and other legal arrangements, the government (until quite recently) virtually prohibited the establishment of new education programs in the big cities, which gave an incentive for the development of new campuses in suburban areas and small cities. At the same time, the non-university 2-year special training colleges were founded to absorb the continuously increasing demand for further vocational education. Presently, some special training colleges are providing advanced vocational training, attracting even university graduates who wish to obtain expertise or qualifications.

The limitation of student numbers and the hierarchical structure of the higher education system strengthened the social function of higher education institutions as a screening device. Entrance to elite universities (not graduation) gave the students a signal of high trainability in the labor market. The enterprises tried to recruit those elite students with potential high ability, sometimes more than a year before their graduation. With the lifetime employment combined with in-house training in large enterprises, those elite students were assured of a successful life (Yoshimoto, 2002).

This system had to be supported by wide participation in the entrance examination based on pure meritocracy. However, the entrance "examination hell" is no longer severe in the new environment of institutional over-supply, along with the rapid decrease in the number of young people in the population and the market deregulation policy of the government (I. Amano, 1997; Yonezawa, 2002). Less prestigious institutions have already started admitting 100% of prospective students, or are actually facing a shortage of applicants. In 2004, 41.0% of junior colleges and around 29.1% of private universities were faced with an enrollment shortfall against the student seats allocated by the government (The Promotion and Mutual Aid Corporation of Private Schools of Japan, 2004). The entrance examination system itself has also changed drastically. Most universities have introduced an American-style "admissions office" system, and have explored various other channels for recruiting a diversity of students, sometimes

without any testing (Mori, 2002). The general academic achievement of entrants to higher education is no longer automatically assumed, sometimes even in prestigious institutions, most of which have diversified their recruitment channels. The quality assurance of academic achievement among higher education graduates has become an urgent task for higher education reform (Yonezawa, 2002). The Ministry of Education has even tried to establish guidelines for study hours, GPA, etc. following the recommendation of its advisory committee, the University Council (University Council, 1998).

Economic and Financial Issues

The excess of demand in the higher education market (encouraged by Japan's higher education plans) and the continuous raising of tuition fees by public institutions since the 1970s led to a significant raising of tuition fees in the private sector. The stable expectation of enrollment under the plan and continuing increase in revenue from tuition fees certainly improved the finances of private institutions. The elite private sector in the big cities strengthened their market competitiveness through the 1980s, and the faculty in private institutions have received a higher average salary than those in public institutions since the beginning of this decade.

On the other hand, public institutions experienced financial shortfalls in the 1980s under the strict ceiling of the national budget. National universities started a "poverty campaign" at the end of the 1980s, appealing for help amid a worsening education and research environment caused by the continuous budgetary ceilings. Increased social recognition of the need for science and technology in the knowledge economy led to an expansion of research budgets in the university sector during the 1990s. Most of these research funds are distributed as project or targeted funding, while the share of basic funds for research has been decreasing (Asonuma, 2002). In 2004, the Ministry of Finance unveiled plans to reduce the basic operational budget for national universities by 2% every year.

Faced with the arrival of the second baby boom generation in higher education around 1990, the government allowed a temporary increase in student numbers in both public and private institutions. This brought about a temporary increase in revenue from tuition fees in the private sector. The current over-supply (which began near the end of the 1990s) is clearly having a negative effect on the financial condition of private institutions (Morozumi, 2003). Higher education institutions are trying to develop adult and professional education programs for mature students, although these emerging markets are not likely to contribute financially in the very near future.

The Changing Status of Public and Private Institutions

The heavy reliance on the private sector in Japanese mass higher education is calling the social role of public higher education into question. Traditionally, the role of national institutions had been regarded as fostering elite human resources necessary for national development, and conducting research requiring heavy national investment. However, the improvement in the prestige and academic capacity of top private universities, and the fact that the majority of university students are not receiving public higher education, is creating serious doubts about the justification of the role of national and local public institutions (Yonezawa, 1998, 2001).

Around 2000, there was serious discussion about the "privatization" of public higher education, although it did not become a realistic policy agenda. Instead, a scheme downsizing government organizations through the introduction of an "independent administrative corporation" scheme, under a new public management framework, was applied to the national and most local public institutions (Murasawa, 2002).

In 2004, all the national universities were incorporated as "National University Corporations" (Study Team Concerning the Transformation of National Universities into Independent Administrative Corporations, 2002). The incorporation of national universities enabled more autonomous institutional management under the strong power of university presidents. On the other hand, the government also set up a new control system through performance assessment. All of the national universities are required to publish a mid-term plan and goals every 6 years, in consultation with the Minister of Education. Goal achievement is assessed by the Evaluation Committee for National University Corporation—a senior advisory committee set up inside the Ministry of Education—and the National Institution for Academic Degrees and University Evaluation (NIAD-UE), a third-party administrative organization tasked with university evaluation. Financial allocation is linked to the achievement of an institution's goals (articulated in their planning documents). The new system is still highly unstable, and strongly influenced by an ongoing power game between universities, the government and other stakeholders.

The control of the private sector through quality assurance and financial aid was also strengthened based on the weakening market status of private institutions. Beginning in 2002, the government started direct project-based funding for private institutions, instead of going through the independent Financial Council for Private Higher Education (Yamagishi, 2001). The government also strengthened the role of guidance to the private sector through the amendment of the School Education Law in 2002.

In 2004, for-profit universities in certain districts were officially permitted to adopt a pilot program of administrative deregulation. In addition, the Ministry of Education has announced its basic policy for establishing an official recognition system for branch campuses of foreign universities which are not operated within the legal framework of Japanese higher education (Garrett & Maclean, 2004).

The Impact of Higher Education Reform on the Academic Profession

Traditionally, the status of academics has been strongly protected in both the national and private sectors. A high degree of academic autonomy, especially in personnel matters, was assured under the post-WWII regime, reflecting the negative impact of governmental intervention under the pre-war regime until 1945 (Ogawa, 2002). However, this certainly became an obstacle for the introduction of entrepreneurial management, especially into public institutions and elite private ones. The University of Air, a

national broadcasting university established during the 1980s, introduced a fixed-term contract system for all academics, including full professors. The government strongly recommended the introduction of term contract employment, and most national institutions followed this idea. The shrinking higher education market has led to the closing of institutions, schools and departments in the private sector. This situation made the employment of private university teachers unstable, and they started to demand unemployment insurance.

The incorporation of national universities is having a significant impact on the status of the academic profession. A significant number of national universities are planning to introduce performance assessment and a reward system for their academic staff. On the other hand, the national universities have gained more flexibility in regard to raising the salary of excellent academic staff and attracting high quality staff internationally, particularly from the industrial world.

Professional Postgraduate Education

The economic restructuring of the Japanese economy is certainly changing the traditional image of the normal Japanese career, namely, lifetime employment in the same company. Companies are said to be reducing the investment in the in-house training of their employees, and the potential demand from adult learners for professional graduate education is increasing. The government has showed vision in fostering professional graduate education alongside traditional academically oriented graduate education. In the fields of engineering, pharmacy and medical sciences, postgraduate education is no longer dominated by academic programs. The current target is the establishment of law schools and business schools to nurture professionals in these areas. Increasing job opportunities in the foreign companies in Japan are giving incentives for students to enroll in professional education programs, while there appears to be a long way to go before Japanese companies change their attitudes and reward those newly trained professionals in a manner comparable to Western systems.

Internationalization and Quality Assurance

Japanese higher education has developed relatively independent from the global higher education community, partly because of the language barrier, and partly because of its unique system of employment. However, the cross-border flow of students, academics and labor has definitely increased, especially since the mid-1980s. In 1983, the Nakasone cabinet and the Ministry of Education announced a plan to attract 100,000 students from abroad by 2000 (Horie, 2002). This target was achieved in 2003, mainly because of the rapid increase in Chinese overseas students, which has occurred not only in Japan but all over the world. The number of Japanese students studying in foreign countries has also increased quite rapidly within the last two decades, from 15,485 in 1985 to 76,464 in 2001 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2002). There is a big difference between the inflow and outflow of students. Around 90% of the foreign students are coming from Asian countries, especially from China and Korea. On the other hand, the majority of Japanese students abroad

are studying in the United States and other English speaking countries, although those studying in China are increasing rapidly.

Around 90% of the overseas students are self-supporting students, and most are working in parallel with their study to meet the relatively high living costs in Japan. Japanese employers sometimes regard these students as cheap labor, and the policy with regard to the student visa closely reflects the immigration policy change (Yonezawa, 2003a).

The proportion of international students tends to be higher in top research universities and some institutions at the bottom in the prestige hierarchy. In the latter case, the institutions cannot attract a sufficient number of Japanese students. Meanwhile, the top research universities are trying to strengthen their support system for international students, including the provision of courses offered in English (Horie, 2002).

The internationalization of academic staff is relatively slow, again because of the language barrier, which especially impacts communication among the administration and faculty. Some universities hold bilingual faculty meetings, and others invite foreign presidents. In most universities, however, the Japanese language is essential for daily academic life. On the other hand, there is little incentive for Japanese academics to leave Japanese universities, mainly because of the relatively good salary and research conditions. However, the increasingly severe competition—especially in the natural sciences and engineering—has led to a greater number of Japanese scholars working actively in institutions abroad.

Foreign branch campuses are in most cases unsuccessful (Altbach, 2002), because it is not easy to find a new market within the very mature Japanese market. Most of the universities which entered the Japanese market are not internationally well known, and most of the best students prefer to study in prestigious Japanese universities, or in the homeland campuses of foreign universities.

The high dropout rates which are common in less prestigious American universities are very difficult for Japanese families to accept. According to the Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD, 2003), the Japanese higher education system has an extraordinarily high retention rate, over 90%. From an international perspective, this high retention rate may cause serious doubts about the degree standards of less prestigious universities in Japan.

Even inside the government, there are strong arguments about the necessity to open up the Japanese higher education to international competition. At the same time, Japanese universities are trying to establish inroads into the foreign higher education market, not only to give Japanese students learning experiences in foreign countries, but also to attract greater numbers of international students.

The Japanese government is actively supporting the discussion about how to develop an international information network to support both exporters and importers of cross-border higher education (Kimura, Yonezawa, & Ohmori, 2004), while the real influence of cross-border education is still small in Japan.

Beginning in 2004, the Japanese government now requires all of the public and private universities, junior colleges and colleges of technology to submit to a governmentally authorized accreditation review every 7 years, and around 2010 all institutions will submit to the first cycle of the accreditation process.

Conclusion: Fostering Vision Through Higher Education?

In a rapidly changing global context, it is not easy to provide a clear vision of the future of Japanese higher education or of Japanese society itself. The Japanese economy is still heavily supported by the high-tech manufacturing sector, and this enables the Japanese education system to be relatively independent (in terms of both language and the employment system) from the global standard (Yonezawa, 2003a). However, the increasing share of the population in the service industry and the worldwide spread of Japanese manufacturing plants are certainly increasing the pressure to foster a more internationalized labor force.

The role of higher education in providing a clear vision of national development in the global society is also important. Government leaders and higher education institutions are tackling these tasks through drastic system reform, including intensive financial investment in world class research, international educational programs, and improving the quality of education (Yonezawa, 2003b). On the other hand, the change in society and industry's perception of Japanese universities is relatively slow. Japanese universities are still perceived as screening devices rather than value-adding education institutions, and the university-industry relationship is still "under construction" (Hatakenaka, 2004).

The development and quality improvement of higher education in neighboring Asian countries may broaden the alternative future image of Japanese higher education. Direct interaction with the international community is certainly increasing, and the overall future orientation of Japanese higher education is strongly influenced by global trends.

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