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Higher Education in France and the United States: Historical Development and Structure

Master's Thesis

Supervisor: Doc. Jaroslav Kalous, PhD.

Prague, 2006

Here I declare that I have written this thesis on my own and that I have used only the resources listed as references.

Prague 19 May 2006 .....

Christopher Ruggiero

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracoval samostatně a uvedl veškerou literaturu a ostatní zdroje, které jsem použil.

V Praze, dne 19.05.2006 .....

Christopher Ruggiero

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INTRODUCTION

In September of 2005, *The Economist* magazine released a survey of higher education[1] declaring that "America's system of higher education is the best in the world. That is because there is no system." Three reasons for America's success were cited: limited involvement of the federal government; a spirit of competition between institutions of higher learning; and the idea that American universities were not afraid to abandon a strictly classical education and be 'useful'. By contrast, the survey portrayed European higher education as an archaic 'mess', citing fundamental problems such as too much state control and the lack of freedom at the disposal of institutions of higher learning to manage their own affairs.

This paper will explore the argument put forth by *The Economist* by presenting higher education in the United States and France. The reason for choosing France is because it represents, in many ways, the archetypical model of centralized, state control. The position which each nation embodies in higher education and in many other aspects of society – centralization versus de-centralization, the so-called *French model* versus the *Anglo-Saxon* model – warrants explanation. The idea that the French state is reluctant to embrace liberal reforms, or that the United States worships the free-market has become firmly established in the *culture generale*, and in the way that these two countries often perceive each other in terms of 'Francophobia' and 'anti-Americanism'.

Differences in the systems of higher education in France and the United States far outweigh similarities. Exploring these differences is the purpose of this paper. In doing so, we will hopefully gain a better understanding about the 'French centralization versus American decentralization' opposition. The paper will be divided into two distinct parts. The first part will address the historical development of higher education in France and the United States beginning in the period of their respective eighteenth century revolutions and focusing, particularly, on the nineteenth century. It is in the nineteenth century that the

[1] "The brains business: A survey of higher education" *The Economist.* 10 September 2005

foundations of the present systems were established. In order to understand French centralization in higher education, one must consider the continuing influence of Napoleon's Imperial University. Similarly, in order to appreciate the 'non-system' of the United States, as it exists today, one must consider the unique traits of the colonial college and the way in which institutions were founded throughout the nineteenth century, especially with the settlement of the western frontier. From this historical survey, we see that the French and American systems, today, are firmly rooted in the circumstances unique to each nation's history. One begins to sense that the oppositional characteristics of higher education in France and the United States may in fact be related more to the culmination of historical chance than to self-conscious policy-making.

The second part of this paper will concern itself with some of the present characteristics of higher education in France and the United States. This part will be divided into three sections: typology, organization of higher education institutions, and admissions and degree conferment. The first section, typology, will provide a wide-ranging classification of the types of higher education institutions found in the United States and France. Ultimately, two types in each nation will be presented as the most *essential*: private research universities and public research universities in the United States; and public universities and *grandes écoles* in France. The second section - organization of higher education institutions - will present 'case studies' of four institutions corresponding to the categories selected in the typology section: Harvard University and the University of Michigan; and University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) and the Ecole Normale Supérieure. The governing structure and academic organization for each of these institutions will be explained. Finally, in the last part, admissions policies and degree conferment procedures for the four chosen institutions will be summarized.

By presenting 'case studies' of major types of higher education institutions in each nation, we will hopefully reach a deeper understanding about the national systems as a whole. The logic behind this exercise is that institutions of higher education exist within a national context, and by examining the governance,

organization and policies of these institutions, we can uncover something about the wider national system.

The purpose of this paper is not to claim, as *The Economist* might, that the American system is better than the French system. Rather, I hope to give substance to what is meant by the terms, *American system* and *French system.* The focus of this paper, as stated, is on the historical development and the typology, governance, and organization of institutions of higher education in France and the United States. Many topics remain untouched or only briefly mentioned, including specific information about financing of higher education, or differences in teaching and curricula. Nevertheless, I hope that the information and insight provided will encourage others to explore topics of interest related to higher education in these two countries.

PART I.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN HIGHER EDUCATION

Part I will explore the origins and development of higher education in France and the United States, beginning with an acknowledgment of Wilhelm von Humboldt, the Prussian scholar and statesmen who is widely credited with applying the idea of the modern research version at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In fact, Wilhelm von Humboldt was addressing important questions about the extent of the state's role in higher education, questions that remain important today. The independent histories of higher education in France and the United States can be more fully appreciated when placed next to each other. Understanding higher education in France and the United States, as it exists today, requires an exploration of how the systems have developed, or failed to develop, over time. The roots of the systems of higher education, as we observe them today, can be found in the nineteenth century. It was in this century that Napoleon laid the foundations for the French 'dual system' of grandes écoles and faculty-focused universities. It was also in this century that universities in the United States forged their 'private' identity and established, often haphazardly, a plethora of institutions of higher education in the American West. Part I will conclude with a survey of important events in the twentieth century.

1.1 The University Model of Wilhelm von Humboldt

The history of the modern university finds its roots in the liberal ideas of the Prussian scholar and statesman, Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835). Following the decisive defeat by Napoléon's army at the Battle of Jena-Auerstedt in October 1806, the Prussian state sought to regenerate itself by reforming its military and civilian administration. In 1809, Wilhelm von Humboldt was enlisted to reform the Prussian educational system as the head of the culture and education section at the Ministry of Interior. Strongly influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment and having witnessed the fervor of the French Revolution while in Paris, Humboldt became convinced that 'all the dynamism, all the life, all

the vigour and freshness of the nation [...] can only reside in the people'.[2] Accordingly, in proposing a national system of education, Humboldt advocated a minimal role for the state, in contrast to the highly centralized model represented by Napoleon's newly created Imperial University.

Humboldt believed that government intervention in higher institutions of learning invariably obstructed their internal processes and inhibited the advancement of knowledge. This position was informed by two beliefs: first, that state intervention in higher institutions of learning would inevitably serve the state's interests more than the institutions'; and secondly, that institutions were in the best possible position to determine their own needs and goals. Thus, Humboldt wrote of the relationship between the state and higher institutions of learning: "On the whole the state must demand nothing of them which directly concerns itself or its own operations, but must hold fast to the inner conviction that if the higher institutions reach their ultimate aim, its own aim, too, will be thereby fulfilled, and from a much loftier point of view than any that could have been arranged directly by the state itself."[3] Thus, the two guiding principles of Humboldt's model were absolute freedom of teaching and learning (*Lern und Lernfreiheit)*.[4]

The great innovation introduced by Humboldt for higher institutions of learning was the concept of a research university where students and teachers would actively engage each other and develop projects in the pursuit of new knowledge. Knowledge was to be understood as incomplete. The research university was to orient itself toward the future, while maintaining its foundation in classical knowledge. Humboldt sought to abandon the idea that academic professionals should concern themselves exclusively with the task of teaching; rather, their duties should be divided between teaching and research. Likewise, students should also be actively involved in research projects.

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[2] "Wilhelm von Humboldt" *Prospects: the quarterly review of comparative education* (Paris, UNESCO: International Bureau of Education), vol. XXIII, no 3 / 4, 1993, p 615.

[3] Cowan, Marianne. *Humanist Without Portfolio: An Anthology of the Writings of Wilhelm von Humboldt.* (Wayne State University Press: Detroit, 1963). pp 250-260

[4] Connolly, John M. "The Academy's Freedom, the Academy's Burden" *The NEA Higher Education Journal.* (Summer 2000, Washington DC), pp 70-72

In terms of application, this meant that academies and universities would be united under a single institution, functioning with a common mission embraced by its scholarly community. The challenge was to unite academies, which were concerned with *pure knowledge*, with universities, which were responsible for satisfying the needs of the state to educate its youth. The academies had existed as rather isolated institutions of research; whereas, universities had traditionally been more engaged with society and politics and more focused on the task of teaching and learning. As an acknowledgment of the distinction between these two types, Humboldt decided that university professors should be appointed by the state, whereas, the members of the academy should be appointed by the academies themselves. Humboldt expected that this arrangement would ensure diversity throughout the united institution and would encourage fluidity of purpose and direction, like an organic process, without falling subject to overbearing state influence. It should be noted, however, that the true extent of Humboldt's desired reforms were never realized; for example, Humboldt advocated the establishment of an independent Ministry of Education to be separated from the Ministry of Interior, a recommendation that would not be realized until 1817, after Humboldt's resignation from the post due to disagreements with the King.

In 1810, Humboldt applied his model of the university in the founding of Berlin University (later renamed the Humboldt University of Berlin). From the outset, the pursuit of pure knowledge was considered a priority. The combination of institutional freedom and research inspired a spirit of great enthusiasm that would last throughout the nineteenth century and twentieth centuries. Rudolf Virchow (1821-1902), a scientist who developed cell theory, described the climate at Berlin University in a speech in 1893, 'academic education of students [offered] a great deal of freedom', 'which assigned and conceded responsibility without restriction, in order that each become independent in his own way'.[5]

The impact of the 'Humboldt model' and the impressive success of Berlin University as a center of research throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth centuries (between 1901-1956, 29 Nobel Prizes were awarded to its

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[5] Ruegg, Walter. *A History of the University in Europe.* vol III. (Cambridge University Press, 2004). p 20

faculty) cannot be underestimated in terms of its influence on how institutions of higher education have been organized throughout the world. Indeed, the initial impetus for Prussian reform lay in defeat to the French army in the beginning of the nineteenth century; by the end of that century, after the Prussians avenged themselves in the Franco-Prussian War, French thinkers were beginning to reevaluate their education system in favor of a more liberal model fashioned on the ideals of the Humboldt research university. However, as we shall see, the unique system of higher education in France has proved, since Napoleon, quite resistant to liberal reforms.

1.2 Development of Higher Education in France

In the aftermath of the French Revolution, university corporations and faculties which had existed during the *ancien régime* were abolished.[6] However, several institutions which were established prior to the Revolution to satisfy the state's demand for highly trained professionals, especially during the scientific advancements of the eighteenth century, were spared from the Revolution. Some of these included the *École des Ponts et Chaussées* (1747) to provide a civil engineering corps, the *École du Génie Militaire* (1748) to provide military training, and the *École des Mines* (1783) to train mining engineers. In addition, instruction at special institutions such as the *College de France*, established in 1530 as an alternative to the University of Paris for teaching subjects such as Hebrew, Ancient Greek, and Mathematics, remained open.[7] The Revolution marked the founding of several more specialized schools, such as *Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers*, the *École Normale* to train secondary school teachers and the prestigious *École Polytechnique* in 1794.

The French Revolution did not signal a total rupture with the past in terms of higher education; it maintained the tradition, which continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, of creating specialized institutions to meet

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[6] Charle, Christophe. "Patterns" in *A History of the University in Europe.* Volume III. (Cambridge University Press, 2004). p 34

[7] For a brief history of this institution, see: *College de France* website: www.college-de-france.fr.

particular state demands. These special institutions comprised what became known as *Grandes Écoles* and *Grands Établissements*. Since their founding, these institutions have provided France with leading figures in industry and government. However, beyond their common traits of small enrollment numbers and highly selective admissions processes, the *Grandes Écoles* and *Grands Établissements* hardly form a coherent higher education system. It was only with the arrival of Napoleon that an attempt was made to create a uniform, national higher education system comprised of faculties.

As Wilhelm von Humboldt was laying the foundations for the modern research university in the Prussian State based on principles of decentralization and liberal learning, Napoleon was simultaneously recreating the higher education system in France along centralized principles aimed at promoting a loyal and professional academic corps. Christine Musselin observes that, because of the French Revolution's elimination of university corporations and faculties, Napoleon 'found himself looking at nearly virgin territory as far as education was concerned'.[8]

The Imperial University and Faculties

Between 1806 and 1808, Napoleon established the *l'Université Impériale*. The Imperial University was not an actual institution of higher learning, but was the name attributed to the entire, newly constructed secondary and higher education system. The system of higher education was to be comprised of four faculties: law, medicine, letters, and sciences. Theoretically, all faculties were to be regarded as equal operating under the same, standardized guidelines and controlled by the centralized state administration. Two ideas guided the foundation of the Imperial University: granting the state a monopoly over administration of public education, and applying principles and rules throughout the national territory which would promote unity and loyalty to the Empire. State administration entailed several responsibilities and duties[9]: control of course

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[8] Musselin, Christine. *The Long March of French Universities.* (New York, 2004). pp 9-10

[9] Musselin (2004), pp 10-13

content, definition of examination content and evaluation, remuneration for professors, introduction of statutes, access to the academic corporation, and budgetary control.

To manage the Imperial University, several new positions and institutional bodies were created, the most important being the *Grand Maitre de l'Universite* (later known as the *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique*) and the *Conseil de l'Universite* (later known as the *Conseil de l'Instruction Publique*).[10] The Grand Master was appointed by state authorities. He was entrusted with the power to promote university officials, reprimand university officials, monitor the functioning of schools, and ensure that national policy was being followed. The Grand Master's power was checked by the University Council. The University Council consisted of thirty members, ten of whom were to be appointed for life by the state authorities. The remaining twenty members would represent members of the academic profession, including inspectors, deans, professors, and head-masters of *lycées*[11]. The University Council had extensive authority. It managed academic disciplines, finances, careers, study programs, selection of examination juries and academic chairs. In effect, the Imperial University had created what Christine Musselin describes as a 'doubly centralized' higher education system[12]: centralization by the state and by the corporation. By linking the faculties to the University Council, which was in turn linked to the state both from within its body and through its relationship with the Grand Master, the administration of the Imperial University created the conditions for a higher education system in France that would prove, time and again throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, extremely difficult to decentralize.

Napoleon also created an administrative order comprised of districts known as *académies.* The establishment of *académies* corresponded to the

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[10] An English translation of parts of the decree which established the Imperial University, with *Duvergier, Lois, XVI, 238-248* as the source, is available at http://www.napoleon-series.org/research/government/legislation/c_education.html

[11] Note: The Imperial University established *lycees*, or secondary schools. Upon completion, students could take a state examination which led to the *Baccalauréat* degree. Technically, this is a national degree, the first degree in French higher education system. In practice, however, it is used as an admissions requirement for entrance into higher education institutions.

population of determined geographical units.[13] Each *académie* became responsible for primary, secondary, and university education following nationally determined guidelines and administration. The seat of power for each *académie* was typically located in the largest city (for example, academies exist in Paris, Lyons, Lille, etc.). Napoleon appointed a *recteur* to govern each *académie* and act as a intermediary between the national educational and academies. However, *academies* and *recteurs* have always played a limited role in higher education.[14]

Figure 1: Map of academies in France

Source: Centre international d'études pedagogique (http://www.ciep.fr)

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[12] Musselin (2004), p 13

[13] Note: Today, there are 36 academies, including 9 overseas. See "Les Establissements D'Enseignment Superier", a brochure by *Ministere de la Jeunesse, de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche*, edition 15 mai 2002.

[14] Musselin (2004), p 135.

A major feature of the structure of the Imperial University was the lack of coordination between faculties in given *académies*. The four faculties established by Napoleon differed significantly in purpose: the medicine and law faculties trained students to enter these fields; whereas, the letters and science faculties were responsible for conferment of degrees at the baccalaureate level and for offering examinations leading to university-level teaching posts. A discrepancy in purpose, therefore, developed between the professionally-oriented faculties of medicine and law and the faculties of science and letters. George Weisz comments that the "faculties of science and letters, also established by Napoleon in 1808, were something of an anomaly for much of the nineteenth century."[15] Disciplines, operating within faculties, formed their own rules and administration which led to a highly fragmented national system characterized by isolation. Under these circumstances, it is easy to see why the idea of *universities*, as academic institutions consisting of several faculties united under mutual governance, would be met with resistance. The academic corps had simply grown accustomed to operating without cooperating with other faculties. Furthermore, as the faculty system developed throughout the nineteenth century, it became increasingly apparent that the power, prestige, and finances were centralized in Paris, resulting in an antagonism between the capital and the provinces that would intensify throughout the nineteenth century.

Movements to reform the French system of higher education did not begin, in earnest, until the end of the nineteenth century. A major reason for this was the political instability and upheaval that ensued after the fall of Napoleon.[16] The greatest impetus for reform was the humiliating defeat of France by the Prussian army in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. Just as the French victory over Prussia provoked a period of self-reflection in Prussian territory that ultimately led to a revamping of the educational system in favor the Humboldt model, French academics and politicians began to focus on failings in education -

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[15] Weisz, George. *The Emergence of Modern Universities in France, 1863-1914.* (Princeton University Press,1983). p 20

[16] For a useful overview of French history, see: Price, Roger. *A Concise History of FRANCE.* (Cambridge University Press, 1993).

particularly in science and research - as a reason for the perceived national decline. Another reason for stalled reforms in higher education was that the system, as it existed, seemed to be satisfying the needs of the state, namely through the *grandes écoles* which were providing the training of elite professionals in a variety of fields. Throughout the nineteenth century, the traditional pattern of establishing schools to meet the specific requirements of the state continued; among the new schools established were the *École des Chartes* (1821), *École Francais d'Athenes* (1846), *École Pratique des Hautes Études* (1868), *École libre des Sciences-Politiques* (1872), *École Francais de Rome* (1874), *Institut Agronomique* (1876), *École Supérieure de Telegraphie* (1878), *École Municipale de Physique et Chimie* (1882), *École Supérieure d'Electricite* (1894).[17]

The Reform Movement

It was only in the end of the nineteenth century that reformers began to advocate a unified university system that would rival the German university system. George Wiesz notes that a "highly idealized image of German universities served to symbolize a variety of goals and aspirations. The most contradictory positions were defended by appeals to the German example and yet, all expressed the same fundamental beliefs: that German universities, unlike French faculties, were not marginal institutions, and that German professors, unlike their counterparts in France, were an honored and prestigious elite."[18]
Reasons for establishing university centers involved a desire to lift the prestige of the academic profession by uniting disparate faculties into powerful centers of learning and research. Reformers believed that universities might increase institutional autonomy and concentrate resources, making it easier, in turn, to attract more resources and funding. The state and even private donors, according to this rationale, might be more willing to finance a university rather than lone faculties. The idea of the university, however, encountered bitter

[17] A list of higher education establishments, with corresponding information, is available at the Ministry of Education website: http://www.education.gouv.fr/sup/

opposition from a variety of sources. Catholics, for example, feared that the university would signal the monopoly by the state of higher education; faculties with less resources and personnel feared that the creation of large university centers would signal their decreased importance and ultimate demise.

In 1883, Jules Ferry, the Minister of Education, submitted a questionnaire to faculties intended to ascertain their opinions about the formation of universities.[19] According to the results, forty-four faculties supported the establishment of universities, while twenty rejected the proposal. One of the most difficult questions involved the supposed criteria on which the establishment of a university center should be based. The original idea proposed that only towns containing four faculties should become universities centers. In the late nineteenth century, this would have meant that only seven towns met this requirement: Paris, Montpellier, Nancy, Bordeaux, Lille, Lyon, and Toulouse. Naturally, smaller towns opposed this requirement. Another obstacle to reform was the fear among faculties that, if they joined university centers, their autonomy and power would be reduced by association with the university. A report by the Letters Faculty of Bordeaux summarizes the prevailing attitude about the establishment of universities:

"if the state consents to relinquish part of its powers in favor of a university body, it would not make the same concession to an isolated faculty. In order to benefit from the advantages attached to the constitution of a university each faculty must necessarily sacrifice something of its independence, the common condition for every type of association."[20]

Realizing the need to relieve the fears of faculties in smaller towns, Louis Liard, the director of higher education in the *Ministre de l'Instruction Publique*, crafted reform decrees of December 1885. The decrees had several points: first, they granted greater autonomy to faculties by giving them the status of 'civil personalities'. As 'civil personalities', faculties were now permitted to use private funds and donations without these funds being administered first by the state. A

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[18] Weisz (1983), pp 62-63

[19] Weisz (1983) pp 135-140

faculty assembly and faculty council was created to act as organs for the creation of new courses (subject to approval by the Ministry). The decrees also sought to bring faculties into closer union by establishing councils of faculties composed of two representatives from every institution in each town. This council would administer libraries and other common services. Finally, faculties were to be directed by deans. Deans were to be nominated by faculty members and also by the newly established faculty council. The Ministry would then decide from the nominated candidates. Thus, these reforms intended to promote faculty autonomy while also bringing faculties into closer cooperation.[21]

The decrees of 1885 represented a minor culmination in the movement to reform higher education and establish universities. Still, the idea of establishing universities coincided with the demand from faculties to receive greater autonomy from the state, thus making it difficult to establish the unity implied in the grand purpose of university centers. In 1896-1897, Liard issued decrees that effectively united faculties into universities. In fact, this amounted to little more than a change in *title*. Weisz comments that, "In effect, after years of insisting that the name meant nothing without the content, a large number of academic reformers had sadly concluded that the title was better than nothing."[22] The major innovations of the law of 1896 were that it created university councils to replace faculty councils and granted greater control to universities over the use of their finances. The law did not specify whether four faculties in each town would be required to form a university center, but only that the creation of universities would have to be sanctioned by the state. Furthermore, the most prized institutions of French higher education, the exclusive *grandes écoles*, remained unaffected by the reforms. Writing about the reforms of the late nineteenth century, Christine Musselin concludes that they "did not call into question the defining characteristics of French higher education as instituted by Napoleon's

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[20] Weisz (1983) p 140

[21] For a timeline of ma,jor reforms, see: "Les Establissements D'Enseignment Superier", a brochure by *Ministere de la Jeunesse, de l'Education Nationale et de la Recherche*, edition 15 mai 2002.Available online: http://www.sigu7.jussieu.fr/DPATED2/SF.pdf

[22] Weisz (1983), p 158

Imperial University - centralized, national, part of the state apparatus." Indeed, the greatest legacy of Napoleon's Imperial University - the strength and self-interest of faculties - would remain in place until the major reforms of 1968.

1.3 Development of Higher Education in the United States

In the United States, the development of higher education lacks any resemblance to the centralized model of France. The reasons for such differences are rooted, quite naturally, in the unique historical conditions of each nation's development. The grand figure of Napoleon, with his sweeping restructuring of civic life, knows no equivalent in the history of the United States. Indeed, the ideals driving the American Revolution entailed a fundamental distrust of powerful central government. The diversity of the population, clustered according to religious affiliations, encouraged regionalism. Instead of central administration, the establishment of institutions of higher learning in the United States was mostly based on personal initiative - in the beginning, this involved religious motives - supported by the generous financial contributions of private individuals and donations from local communities. It is true that colonial and state governments also pledged some financial support in the form of grants, loans, and discriminating use of taxes, but the financing and governance of higher education was primarily the responsibility of the schools' overseers.

A feature that cannot be overstated, when observing the development of higher education in the United States, is the expansion of the population into the western frontier regions throughout the nineteenth century. The move westward carried with it an invigorated spirit to bring civilization to newly settled regions. It also largely accounts for the immense heterogeneity - based on local needs, regional customs, and diverse populations - of higher education institutions in the United States. If, in France, Napoleon encountered 'virgin territory' in the figurative sense, insofar as higher education was concerned, Americans encountered territory that was *literally* virgin, insofar as Western civilization was concerned.

Finally, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the influence of the

Humboldt university model in Germany was to contribute, significantly, to the 'university revolution' in the United States. This revolution witnessed the transformation of colleges into universities, with increased specialization of academic disciplines, a focus on scientific research, and the professionalization of the academic corps. Before reaching that point, however, it will be useful to examine the colonial roots of higher education and the march westward. In this way, we should be able to appreciate the uniquely *American* circumstances - namely, decentralization, localization of institutions, a reliance on philanthropy, and the blurred distinction between public and private institutions - which enabled and even encouraged the rise of modern American universities by the end of the nineteenth century.

Colonial Colleges

Table 1

INSTITUTION	COLONY	YEAR FOUNDED	YEAR CHARTERED	RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION
Harvard University (*New College*)*	Province of Massachusetts Bay	1636	1650	Puritan
College of William and Mary	Colony of Virginia	1693	1693	Anglican
Yale University (*Collegiate School*)	Connecticut Colony	1701	1701	Puritan (Congregational)
Princeton University (*College of New Jersey*)	Province of New Jersey	1746	1746	Presbyterian
University of Pennsylvania (*Publick Academy of Philadelphia*)	Province of Pennsylvania	1749	1755	Explicitly non-sectarian, strong Quaker influence
Columbia University (*King's College*)	Province of New York	1754	1754	Anglican
Brown University (*Rhode Island College*)	Colony of Rhode Island	1764	1764	Baptist
Rutgers University (*Queen's College*)	Province of New Jersey	1766	1766	Dutch Reformed
Dartmouth University	Province of New Hampshire	1769	1769	Puritan

* Names in parentheses indicate original name of institution

Prior to the American Revolution, nine colleges had been established in

American colonies. As *Table 1* reveals, the nine colonial colleges were all founded based on religious affiliation or tendencies - namely, Protestant sects - which reflected the composition of the original founders who, in turn, reflected the prevailing religious composition of their particular regions. In the colonial system, schools received their charters either from the legislature of the province in which they were located or directly from the English crown. It was not until the establishment of Queen's College in New Jersey, in 1766, that more than one university existed within the same province. Indeed, the establishment of another college in New Jersey was a consequence of the religious diversity of the middle-Atlantic region, with the College of New Jersey reflecting the Presbyterian population and Queen's College reflecting the Dutch Reformed population.

It was generally assumed that, by receiving a charter from the province, the school also received rights to a monopoly of higher education in that province. However, as Jurgen Herbst notes, "this official status brought neither legislative funding nor an authorization for a colonial lottery."[23] The establishment of Queen's College, against the wishes of the College of New Jersey, represents an important precedent: it ended the notion that colonial colleges were monopolies, with special status, authorized by provincial government. For this reason, Herbst cites Queen's College as the one "private" college of the colonial period.[24]

When writing about public versus private institutions in the colonial period, it is very difficult to judge the meaning of such distinctions, even when one uses a variety of criteria. Queen's College ruptured the monopoly of the College of New Jersey, an institution which one might have nominally classified as *public* because of its charter from the colony of New Jersey and its presumed monopoly. However, at Queens College, the college which broke the 'monopoly', the governor, the council president, chief justice and attorney general of New

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[23] Herbst, Jurgen. "From Religion to Politics: Debates and Confrontations over American College Governance in Mid-Eighteenth Century America" in *The History of Higher Education, Second Edition.* Pearson Custom Publishing (Boston, 1997) pp 59-60

[24] Herbst, Jurgen. "How to Think About the Dartmouth College Case" in *The History of Higher Education, Second Edition.* Pearson Custom Publishing (Boston, 1997) p 168

Jersey all served on the original board of trustees.[25] Likewise, as mentioned above, a charter issued by a colony did not translate into financial support from that colonial government. Thus, these 'public' institutions were mostly relying on private sources of funding for their survival. Here, two defining features of the American higher educational experience become quite apparent: the importance of philanthropy was a characteristic of colonial colleges (and remains so at institutions of higher education into the twenty-first century), and the idea that private institutions were providing a public service. When approached from this perspective, the distinction between public and private loses much of its use-value in terms of description.

The power of colonial governments over higher education derived from the power to give or withhold a charter, the continuing powers reserved to the government in the charter, and the power of the public funds, however insufficient. The founding charter of Harvard, authorized in 1650 by the provincial Governor of Massachusetts, reveals that significant responsibilities were left to the board of trustees and the president: the appointment of a new president, the freedom to purchase and receive "any lands, tenements or hereditaments" in Massachusetts, the authority to "appoint a Common Seal for the use of the said Corporation", and that all "lands, tenements and heridatments, houses or revenues...shall be freed from all civil impositions, taxes & rates." [26] Already, in the seventeenth century, we can see the roots of a system in opposition to state influence. A possible explanation for this would be that colonial authorities simply lacked the resources, and also the legal precedents to control higher education. Each colony, in relation to the crown in England and relation to each other, was quite independent and composed of varying population settlements. The national framework required to institute a uniform system of higher education was lacking because the nation, itself, did not yet exist. Perhaps, by legitimizing the autonomy and authority of the board of trustees, the founding charters of colonial

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[25] Note: The Board of Trustees at colonial colleges were, in effect, responsible for the whole of college governance. They were typically composed of community leaders and leading clergymen. The board of trustees was headed by an appointed President.

[26] "The Harvard Charter", reprinted in *The History of Higher Education, Second Edition.* Pearson Custom

colleges express the most practical solution to these ambiguous circumstances.

After the American Revolution

The American Revolution transformed colonies into states, but the American Constitution - and the Articles of Confederation before it - expressed the desire to create a system in which individual states would retain substantial powers. This is most evident in the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution, which succinctly states that "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people." This decentralization impulse helps to explain the failure to establish a national university, the University of the United States, as was advocated by George Washington, among others.[27]

After the American Revolution, as the expansion of the population westward commenced, there was a rapid expansion in the number of colleges, from nine before the revolution to sixteen between 1776 and 1800 and hundreds more in the next half century.[28] This period coincided with the loosening of the 'rule' of one institution of higher education for each state, with the exception of New Jersey. Trow attributes the rise in creation of new colleges after the American Revolution to three factors: "promiscuous chartering, the withdrawal of public interest in most newly established colleges and the absence of consistent governmental support."[29] These three conditions, it should be noted, are among the defining characteristics of American higher education which mark its development as so distinct from its European counterparts. When, for example, Massachusetts was granting its charter to Amherst College in 1825, it explicitly declared that "The Granting of this charter shall never be considered as any pledge on the part of the Government that pecuniary aid shall hereafter be

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Publishing (Boston, 1997) pp 127-128

[27] Trow, Martin. "In Praise of Weakness: Chartering, the University of the United States, and Dartmouth College." *CSHE Research and Occasional Paper Series.* (University of California, March 2003).

[28] Robson, David W., *Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750-1800.* (Greenwood Press, Connecticut, 1985). p187

[29] Trow (2003), p 5

granted to the College."[30]

The Supreme Court and Dartmouth College

The ambiguous status of colleges as either public or private institutions was clarified in 1819, when the Supreme Court delivered its decision in *Trustees of Dartmouth College v. Woodward*. The case reached the Supreme Court when the Board of Trustees at Dartmouth College opposed new laws by the New Hampshire state legislature in favor of increased state control of the college. The original charter, granted by the English crown in 1769, entrusted essential control of Dartmouth College to the original Board of Trustees and the founder, Eleazer Wheelock. (Wheelock was also appointed as the first President.) Here, it will be useful to identify the two opposed parties in this case, because they represent the *private* and *public* sides of the issue.

Dartmouth College Board of Trustees: the original Board of Trustees at Dartmouth College, doubtless prominent men in the colony of New Hampshire, was named by Eleazer Wheelock in his request to the King for a charter. According to the charter, the Board of Trustees was granted "the whole power of governing the College, of appointing and removing tutors, of fixing their salaries, of directing the course of study to be pursued by students, and of filling up vacancies created in the own body".[31] The charter specified that twelve people would comprise the Board of Trustees. Daniel Webster, a Dartmouth alumni who later became Senator of Massachusetts and Secretary of State, represented the Board of Trustees during the case.

The State Legislature of New Hampshire: In 1816, with the intention of improving Dartmouth College, the State Legislature of New Hampshire revised the original charter of the college by passing acts which sought to enlarge the number of Trustees from twelve to twenty-one, with the state legislature of New Hampshire reserving the right to appoint the new members. The revision also wished to create a Board of Overseers whose purpose would be to "inspect and

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[30] Trow (2003), p 6

[31] The full text of Chief Justice Marshall's leading opinion of the court is available, online, courtesy of the

control the most important acts of the Trustees". As one might expect, this provoked strong opposition from Dartmouth's Board of Trustees. The State Legislature was represented by William Woodward; hence, the title of the case.

In his leading opinion, Chief Justice John Marshall invoked Section 10, Article 1 of the American Constitution, which declares that "No state shall…pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts". The decision of the Court to side in favor of the Trustees of Dartmouth College was based on the following reasons, all eloquently stated by Chief Justice Marshall: the fact that the founder of the school, Eleazer Wheelock, had relied entirely on private funding to establish his school; the fact that his school was intended to teach Christianity and bring civilization to 'savage' Indians, as opposed to serving an explicitly *civil* purpose such as the training of state officials; the fact that the charter issued by the King to the corporation - the Board of Trustees - was presumed to be *forever*; the fact that the Board of Trustees had always been responsible for the entirety of the school's governance and administration, including financing.

The victory by Dartmouth College over the state of New Hampshire had very important implications for the development of *private* higher education; it ensured those who had obtained charters from states - which was becoming increasingly common and easy to procure - that their corporation would be protected under the law from state interference. Indeed, this ruling also had consequences beyond higher education; in the free-market, the private corporation was guaranteed a position of perpetual sanctity before the law. The significance of *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* can be better appreciated when one considers how higher education has developed in other nations, such as France. As Herbst observes, "Almost everywhere else, public institutions are the rule, private the exception…it [*Dartmouth College v. Woodward*] remains the key to understanding that which is "American" about American higher education."[32]

Cornell Law School. http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/historics/USSC_CR_0017_0518_ZO.html

[32] Herbst, Jurgen. "How to Think About the Dartmouth College Case" in *The History of Higher Education,*

The Expansion of Higher Education in the West

Perhaps, the greatest narrative theme in American history concerns the expansion of the nation westward throughout the nineteenth century. Motives for the expansion included a desire to cultivate land which was abundant and cheap, and also a desire to bring civilization and religion to the 'wildernesses'. The latter idea was enshrined in the popularized phrase, *Manifest Destiny*, which was used by politicians since the 1840s as a justification for American conquest of the continent. The phrase implied that the American capability to settle and tame the West was self-evident, and furthermore, that Americans *deserved* to settle the West because they were blessed by a divine purpose. The American settlement of the West is an event that is often romanticized - by historians, politicians and Americans alike - as the essence of Americans' spirit, ingenuity, courage, and resourcefulness. Writing in 1893, Frederick Jackson Turner argued in his now famous 'Frontier Thesis' that the American settlement of the West had been responsible for "breaking the bonds of custom, offering new experiences, [and] calling out new institutions and activities." [33]

(See map, next page)

Second Edition. Pearson Custom Publishing (Boston, 1997) p 171

[33] Summary available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frontier_Thesis

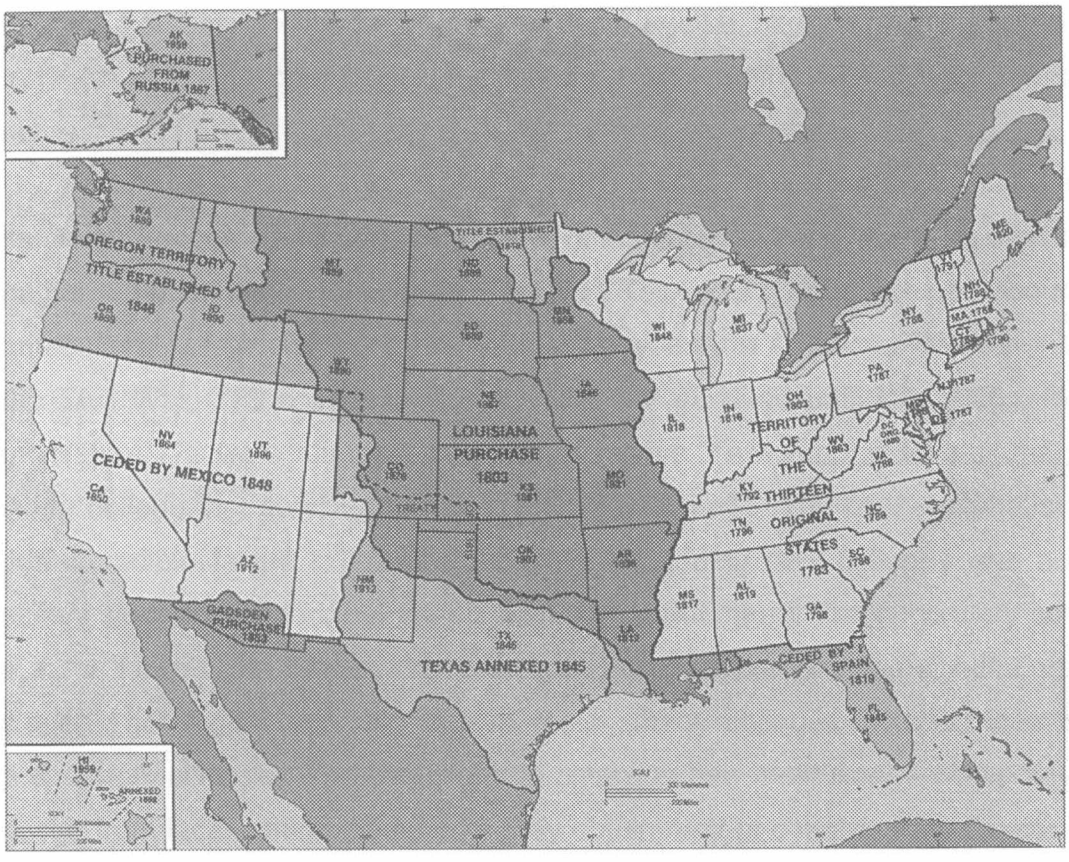

Figure 2: Admission of States and Territorial Acquistion U.S. Bureau of the Census
Source: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/histus.html

Among the new institutions were those of higher education. In the newly settled regions, the traditional method of obtaining charters from state legislatures continued, but with an invigorated purpose. There existed a reciprocal interest between local communities and proposed colleges for the establishment of new centers of higher learning. For local communities, new colleges promised to bring new life into the economy and a sense of belonging to the outside world. For those establishing new colleges, these communities provided 'virgin territory' to deliver valuable services and to spread any sort of mission imbued in the founders' sentiments. Success of new institutions, however improbable, promised the attainment of high status. This relationship is captured well by historians Church & Sedlak:

A school raised the price of nearby land. One frontiersman explained that "land developers are shrewd enough to know that one of the most successful methods

to give notoriety to an embryo town, and induce New England settlers, is forthwith to put in operation some institution of learning with a high sounding name."[34]

In fact, the creation of new institutions actually outpaced the demand from students. Exact statistics on the number of institutions which failed are difficult to gather. Nevertheless, historian Donald Tewksbury studied and counted antebellum colleges and determined that between the American Revolution and the Civil War, 173 colleges were created that survived until the 1920s. Many more than 173 were founded, but did not survive. Tewksbury estimates that, for every college that survived, three or four others died.[35] The best explanation for this incredible failure is that the motive for founding new colleges was not to satisfy student demand, but to *establish* student demand. The secondary school system lacked the framework and resources to prepare large numbers of students for higher education (as a result, many colleges included their own preparatory schools). The conditions to establish new institutions - cheap land, a desire from local communities, and easy obtainment of charters from the states - were simply too favorable for those with enough initiative and fund-raising power. The founding of the University of Missouri, in 1839, illustrates the market craze for new universities: "The University of Missouri was established only when Boone County - where Columbia is located - outbid five other Missouri River counties. The citizens of Boone County raised pledges of $82,000 in cash and $35,000 in land- the contributions coming "from over 900 individuals, of whom nearly a hundred gave five dollars or less."[36] In this example, the connection between the local community and the new institution is clearly very strong.

During the time of the Civil War and after, the expansion of higher education prompted direct action from the federal government in the form of three major legislative acts: The Morrill Act of 1862, the Hatch Act of 1887, and the second Morrill Act of 1890. Taken together, these acts provided land and

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[34] Church, Robert L & Sedlak, Michael W. "The Antebellum College and Academy" in *The History of Higher Education, Second Edition.* Pearson Custom Publishing (Boston, 1997) p 141

[35] Church & Sedlak. (p 139)

[36] Church & Sedlak (p 142)

funding to states for the encouragement and improvement of new colleges.

The Morrill Act of 1862: this act, introduced by Congressman John Morrill of Vermont, gave each state that had remained in the Union a grant of 30,000 acres of public land for every member of its congressional delegation. The states were to sell the land and use the proceeds to establish colleges in engineering, agriculture and military science. Over seventy "land grant" colleges, as they came to be known, were established under the original Morrill Act.[37] This act was signed into law by President Abraham Lincoln.

The Hatch Act of 1887: the Hatch Act authorized establishment of agricultural experiment stations to expand research capabilities of the land-grant universities established by the Morrill Act of 1862. The experiment stations were intended to engage in a variety of research projects and communicate their results to farmers around the state and also to the United States Commissioner of Agriculture.[38]

Morrill Act of 1890: this law authorized additional direct appropriations for the land grant colleges of agriculture that had been established under the Morrill Act of 1862. The most significant feature of the second Morrill Act was that the 1862 schools could receive the additional funds only if they admitted blacks into their programs or if they provided 'separate but equal' agricultural higher education to black students. In the period following the Civil War, sixteen southern states established separate land grant colleges of agriculture for black students under this Act.[39]

Taken together, these three pieces of legislation signal a shift in higher education, encouraged by the federal government, towards a focus on the practical needs of American society, namely, the agricultural industry. Clark Kerr described the Morrill Act as "one of the most seminal pieces of legislation ever enacted" and that "nowhere before had universities been so closely linked with

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[37] Full text of the Morrill Act of 1862 available at http://www.ourdocuments.gov

[38] Full text of the Hatch Act of 1887 is available at http://www.higher-ed.org/resources/hatch.htm

the daily life of so much of their societies."[40] While this legislation certainly signaled, arguably for the first time, direct interest and involvement in American higher education by the federal government, it did not entail federal control. Responsibilities for the grants of land and funds were left to states, and ultimately, to the universities receiving them. An important consequence of the land-grant legislation was to encourage coordination among land-grant institutions. This is evident in the creation of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, which formulated standardized admissions procedures, curricula, and method-sharing among member institutions.[41] (The Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations evolved into the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges. Founded in 1887, by voluntary association of its members, the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges is the nation's oldest higher education association.[42])

Conclusion

This section attempted to provide an overview, by no means complete, of major themes and events in the nineteenth century history of higher education in France and the United States. The purpose was to demonstrate that each nation developed a system that corresponded to unique historical circumstances. In France, the restructuring of education according to Napoleon's Imperial University established a highly centralized system with the state bureaucratic structure necessary to control it. Faculties emerged as the most prominent aspect of this system. In the United States, due to the peculiar way in which the colonial colleges were founded and the expansion westward, a system of public and private cooperation developed beyond the direct administration of the federal government. By the end of the nineteenth century, American colleges were beginning to apply a curriculum that would teach practical subjects and aid

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[39] Full text of the Morrill Act of 1890 is available at http://www.higher-ed.org/resources/morrill2.htm

[40] Kerr, Clark. *The Uses of the University*. (5th edition, Harvard University Press, 2001) pp 35-36

[41] Williams, Roger L. "The Origins of Federal Support for Higher Education" p 269

[42] NASULGC website: http://www.nasulgc.org

agriculture and industry.

It is impossible to construct a history of higher education in either France or the United States without considering the greater forces at work in each society. A humiliating war with Prussia inspired a liberal reform movement within France to establish centers of learning that would rival the great German universities. However, because of institutional habits going back to Napoleon, and also factionalism within French society, the more ambitious goals were not realized. Likewise, in the United States, events and patterns in the greater society had their impact. The spirit of settlement in the western frontier led to the creation of more colleges than was necessary and ultimately, to the passage of land-grant legislation. This federal initiative happened against the backdrop of the end of the Civil War and early industrialization. These types of factors, not solely concerning universities themselves, are essential for appreciating why these two nations have developed such different approaches to higher education.

Themes of so-called French centralization and American liberalization are everywhere apparent in the nineteenth century formation of higher education institutions. The distinctions are evident in the way that institution of higher learning were established and *by whom*, the sources of funding, the extent of state influence, the organization of administration, and the purposes of instruction. The nineteenth century, in France and the United States, contains the origins of higher education as it would develop, distinctly, in the twentieth century and beyond.

1.4 – The Twentieth Century and the Emergence of Mass Education

Before proceeding to examine the characteristics of higher education institutions as they exist today in France and the United States, this section will present an overview of important developments in higher education in the twentieth century.

France

In France, the university system, operating with strong faculties, continued

uninterrupted until the events of May 1968. After the Second World War, the population boom caused high stress on the university system. It is estimated that from the years 1958-1959 to 1968-1969, the number of students enrolled in university in France increased by 305 percent![43] After May 1968, faculties were abolished by seminal legislation known as the *Loi Faure*. This legislation was enacted as a response to immediate concerns made apparent by the social unrest. Unlike the legislation of 1885 and 1896, no significant reform movement for higher education had been building prior to the *Loi Faure*, and the French government had paid relatively little attention to its functioning throughout much of the century. After 1968, newly structured universities had to learn how to operate without faculties. This process proved particularly slow and was embroiled by political squabbling within the academic profession. Further reforms in the 1980s moved French universities in the direction of autonomous, unified institutions better adjusted to meet the challenges posed by society.

Loi Faure: (Faure Law) In the spring of 1968, major social unrest, originating with students at the universities and spreading throughout the society, swept through France. The original spark for student protests was an antiquated policy concerning male and female visitation rights at a dormitory at the University of Paris V at Nanterre. The university at Nanterre is located on the outskirts of Paris and was the site of overpopulation and poor facilities. What began at as a small incident spread to a full-scale rebellion with themes of hostility towards post-industrial capitalism and war and romantic calls for a new type of society. (One of the more memorable slogans of the students was "*Sous les pavés, la plage !*" – "Beneath the cobblestones, the beach!")

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[43] Salmon, Pierre, "France: The loi d'orientation and its aftermath" in *Universities, politicians and bureaucrat: Europe and the United States.* Edited by Hans Daalder and Edward Shils. (1982, Cambridge University Press.

Two posters from May 1968. Source: http://www.mai68.net

The students of the May 1968 generation criticized not only their society, but also, more immediately, their universities, which they viewed as '*l'universite bourgeoise*', which was structured like an academic factory. Students called for the democratization of the universities in the form of direct participation in decision-making.

Until 1968, universities had not changed very much since the reforms of 1885 and 1896. The Loi Faure, introduced in November of 1968 by Edgar Faure, abolished the old faculties and replaced them with '*unites d'enseignement et de recherche*', also known as U.E.R[44] (teaching and research units; in the American system, these are known as 'academic departments'). The major principles of the Loi Faure were[45]:

> **Autonomy:** Universities and U.F.R were now to be governed by an elected council and directed by an elected President. The universities were to play a greater role in determining the conditions of instruction through the councils.

[44] Note: U.E.R are now known as U.F.R – *Unites de Formation et de Recherche.*

[45] *Loi du 12 Novembre 1968*, full text of Faure Law available at http://guilde.jeunes-chercheurs.org/Textes

Participation: The elected, representing the entire teaching corps, students and personnel, were to participate in the internal management and organization of the university. (It should be noted that this 'management' was not absolute, as the Ministry of Education still exerted strong influence). Furthermore, participation was to extend beyond the universities into the local and regional communities, the economic and political world.

Multidisciplinary instruction: The creation of new disciplines and greater cooperation of research among U.E.R.

Clearly, the demands of the students (and teaching staff) involved in May 1968 were acknowledged in the Loi Faure. The abolishment of faculties moved French universities closer to realizing the nineteenth century reform movement's dreams of autonomous, powerful, united centers of higher learning in France. Still, just because the faculty system had been abolished didn't mean that their legacy ceased to exist; the university community would need some time to learn how to adapt and participate in the new organization. Also, the democratizing impulse of the student movement that led to the Loi Faure has created a situation of mass access, non-selectivity, and low student fees at public universities which contemporary critics sometimes blame for chronically overcrowded universities and under-funding.

Loi Savary: (Savary Law) passed January 27th, 1984, this law was intended to support the Loi Faure of 1968. The 1980s, in France, witnessed a second wave of increased enrolments which put pressure on the university system. This law is credited with increasing the autonomy of universities by allowing them to engage in contracts with the State for budgeting (these contracts are defined once every four years). The Savary Law also created two consultative bodies, consisting of professors, students, and personnel within universities: the *Conseil Scientifique* and the *Conseil des études et de la vie universitaire*. Both of these bodies were to act as 'advisors' to the *Conseil d'Administration.* The importance of the Loi Savary should not be underestimated; by allowing universities to engage in contracts with the State concerning their budgets, it encouraged universities to

engage in self-assessment; it instilled a sense of purpose to the three councils (*Conseil d'Administration*, *Conseil Scientifique*, and *Counseil des études et de la vie universitaire*); and finally, it required cooperation, across all disciplines, for identifying the priorities of the institution *as a whole*. [46]

United States

In the United States, the higher education system began to orient itself in a more practical, research-oriented fashion inspired by the establishment of land-grant institutions. The influence of the Humboldt research model was strong, with many American scholars studying in Germany and returning to the United States. By the dawn of the twentieth century, the academic profession was becoming more formalized. Numerous associations, such as the Association for American Colleges and Universities and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges and American Association of University Professors, were established to link universities to each other and to promote standards. It is interesting to note that this happened according to principles of *voluntary association*, rather than initiatives directed from state of federal government. These associations were usually regional in character.

After the Second World War, the United States also experienced a population boom which served to redefine the landscape of higher education by the late 1960s. Federal legislation, such as the G.I. Bill of Rights (1944) supported the development of *mass* education by subsidizing the costs of education for veterans. Two related reasons could be cited for the major increase in enrollment in higher education beginning in the post-war period. First, like in France, the United States experienced a population boom following the war and also had to reabsorb soldiers back into American society. One solution for dealing with this influx of population, while rewarding those who had decided to serve the country during the war, Congress passed the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, also known as the G.I. Bill.

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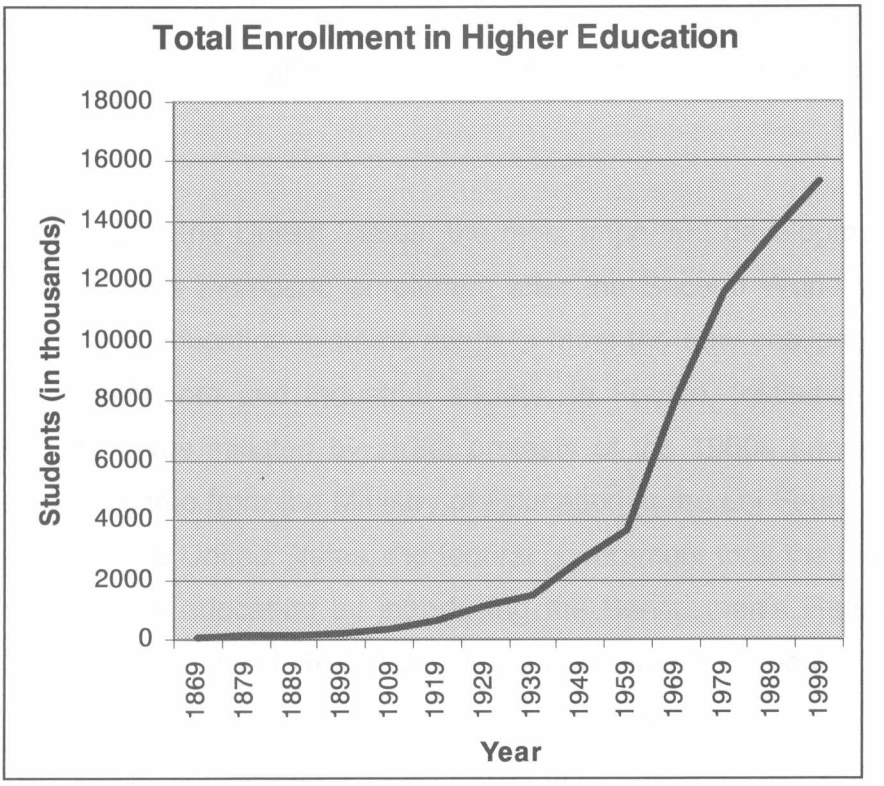
[46] Full text of the Loi Savary is available
http://www.unef.fr/delia-CMS/textes_officiels/index/topic_id-155/**loi-savary-1984**.html



Data source: U.S. Department of Education

Servicemen's Readjustment Act (G.I. Bill): Signed into law by Franklin D. Roosevelt in June of 1944, the purpose of the G.I. Bill was to prevent mass unemployment for those returning from the war. In the document's own words, it was an act "To provide Federal Government aid for the readjustment in civilian life of returning World War II veterans."[47] The bill provided federal aid to help veterans adjust to civilian life in the areas of hospitalization, purchase of homes and businesses, and especially, education. This act provided tuition, subsistence, books and supplies, equipment, and counseling services for veterans to continue their education in school or college. It included two major points concerning higher education:

- The Federal Government would subsidize tuition, fees, books, educational materials and living expenses for veterans for veterans attending college or other approved institutions.
- Veterans would have free choice concerning which institution to attend

[47] Original Text available at http://www.ourdocuments.gov

The impact of this legislation was immediately evident in increased enrollments around the country and the willingness of institutions to expand their enrollment sizes.

Conclusion

In France and the United States, the most important development of the twentieth century was increased enrollment after the Second World War. This required the higher education systems adapt to meet the new challenges posed by the population boom and industrial society. In France, institutional reform within universities was initiated by street protests of the 1960s generation. As usual, the reform came from the Ministry of Education in the Loi Faure and later, the Loi Savary. In the United States, the federal government took the rare step of intervening in higher education by introducing the Servicemen's Readjustment Act. In both France and the United States, *mass education* had become a reality.

PART II.

CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE

Part III will be divided into three sections: typology, governance and organization, and admissions and degree conferment. Considering typology, the first section will present prominent methods for classifying institutions of higher education in the United States and France. An exposition of classification will reveal the rich variety of institutional types in both countries, and which institutional types emerge as most prominent and important within the national systems. Four types, two from each country, will then be chosen for further inspection based on institutional governance and academic organization, and degree conferment and admissions. These indicators are by no means all-encompassing. However, they do provide some important insights into how institutions differ within each country and across national boundaries.

2.1 TYPOLOGY: CLASSIFYING INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE

Classification in the United States

In the United States, creating a comprehensive typology of the higher education system is a daunting task because of the rich diversity of institutions. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has emerged as the leading authority of higher education typology; the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education is a branch of the Carnegie Foundation, founded in 1905 by the entrepreneur and philanthropist, Andrew Carnegie and chartered by Congress in 1906.[48] Under the leadership of Clark Kerr, the foundation delivered many important reports on higher education in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Among the achievements during this era was the creation of a classification system, in 1973, to aid research on topics related to higher education. Since 1973, the Commission on Higher Education has revised the classification system several

[48] Information about the Carnegie Foundation is available at http://www.carnegiefoundation.org

times, most recently in 2005. The Commission boasts on its website that the Carnegie classification "is now the leading typology of all accredited colleges and universities in the United States, currently developed using data from the U.S. Department of Education, the National Science Foundation, and the College Board."[49]

A more popularized typology of American institutions can be found in the *U.S. News & World Report*, which is well-known for its annual rankings of American colleges and universities. The *U.S News* classification is based on the Carnegie classification, but is more simplified, uniting some categories for practical purposes. While unanimously regarded as highly influential in fueling competition between colleges and universities in the United States, the *U.S.News & World Report* rankings has been criticized for its reductionism of higher education into superficial, quantitatively-assessed criteria such as admissions selectivity, and also for its virulent effect on institutions hoping to achieve higher placement and thus greater recognition among prospective students. Ronald Ehrenberg writes that, "Institutions, trying to influence the rankings, alter their behavior in ways that misserve individual students and higher education as a whole."[50]

The Carnegie typology[51] contains six broad categories:

Associate's Colleges: institutions granting Associate's degrees or less than 10% of students receiving bachelor's degrees

Doctorate-Granting Universities: institutions that awarded at least 20 doctorates in 2003-2004; three subcategories were created to measure the intensity of research at these institutions (divided into 'very high', 'high' and 'doctoral research')

Master's Colleges and Universities: institutions that awarded at least 50 master's degrees in 2003-2004; three subcategories were created to judge the

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[49] Press Release, February 2006: "Carnegie Releases Basic Classification of Institutions of Higher Education" http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/news/sub.asp?key=51&subkey=1053

[50] Ehrenberg, Ronald G. "Reaching for the Brass Ring: The U.S. News & World Report Rankings and Competition" The Review of Higher Education - Volume 26, Number 2, (Winter 2003, Johns Hopkins University Press) pp. 145-162

[51] http://www.carnegieclassification-preview.org/pdf/cc2005.pdf

size (divided into 'larger programs', 'medium programs', 'smaller programs')

Baccalaureate Colleges: institutions that awarded at least 10% of students with bachelor's degrees and less than 50 master's degrees in 2003-2004; subcategories were created according to majority subjects ('arts & sciences', 'diverse fields', Baccalaureate/Associate's colleges')

Special Focus Institutions: institutions that specialize in instruction, at least 80% of degrees concentrated in special topic. Examples include schools of fine arts, music, religion, engineering.

Tribal Colleges: members of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium.

The *U.S. News* has simplified this classification and renamed some of its components. The two major categories, for *U.S. News* are 'National Universities' and 'Liberal Arts Colleges'. 'National Universities' correspond to doctorate-granting institutions in the Carnegie system. 'Liberal Arts Colleges' correspond to 'Baccalaureate Colleges' with subcategory 'Arts & Sciences'. The *U.S. News* also ranks the top 'Public Universities', an extended category because these universities are already included in the national rankings. Beyond the division between national universities and liberal arts colleges, the *U.S. News* report includes rankings for institutions granting bachelor's degrees, but not highly concentrated in liberal arts (these are ranked according to region); and also a 'Universities-Master's' category for institutions that offer some master's level programs, but few doctoral programs (these are also ranked according to region). (See tables, next page)

Table 2.
Top Ten ***National Universities***, according to *U.S. News* rankings, 2006

Institution	Basic Carnegie Classification	Control*
1. Harvard University	Research university - VHR*	Private not-for-profit
1. Princeton University	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
3. Yale University	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
4. University of Pennsylvania	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
5. Duke University	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
7. Stanford University	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
7. California Institute of Technology	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
9. Massachusetts Institute of Technology	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
9. Columbia University	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit
9. Dartmouth College	Research university – VHR	Private not-for-profit

* Control denotes institutional control, according to Carnegie Basic Classification.
* VHR denotes 'Very high research activity'

Table 3.
Top Ten ***Public Universities***, according to *U.S.News & World Report* rankings, 2006

Institution	National Ranking (*U.S. News, 2006*)	Basic Carnegie Classification	Control*
1. University of California-Berkeley	20	Research university - VHR*	Public
2. University of Virginia	23	Research university - VHR	Public
3. University of California - Los Angeles	25	Research university - VHR	Public
3. University of Michigan - Ann Arbor	25	Research university - VHR	Public
5. U. of North Carolina - Chapel Hill	27	Research university - VHR	Public
6. College of William and Mary	31	Research university - HR	Public
7. University of California - San Diego	32	Research university - VHR	Public
8. University of Wisconsin - Madison	34	Research university - VHR	Public
9. Georgia Institute of Technology	37	Research university - VHR	Public
10. University of California - Irvine	40	Research university - VHR	Public

*Control denotes institutional control according to Carnegie Basic Classification

From these tables, we can make two important observations: first, that very high research institutions (VHR), according to the Carnegie classification, dominate the list of top-ranked national universities, including top-ranked public universities; secondly, public-controlled institutions, when viewed within the overall national rankings, lag behind their private not-for-profit counterparts, which account for all of the first nineteen universities listed in the national rankings ahead of the University of California at Berkeley. It is also interesting to compare the list of colonial colleges in Table 1 with the *U.S. News* list of top ten nationally-ranked colleges in 2006 in Table 2. Six of the nine original colonial colleges are ranked among the first ten national universities, including the first four.

What are some of the differences between private, research intensive universities and public research intensive universities?

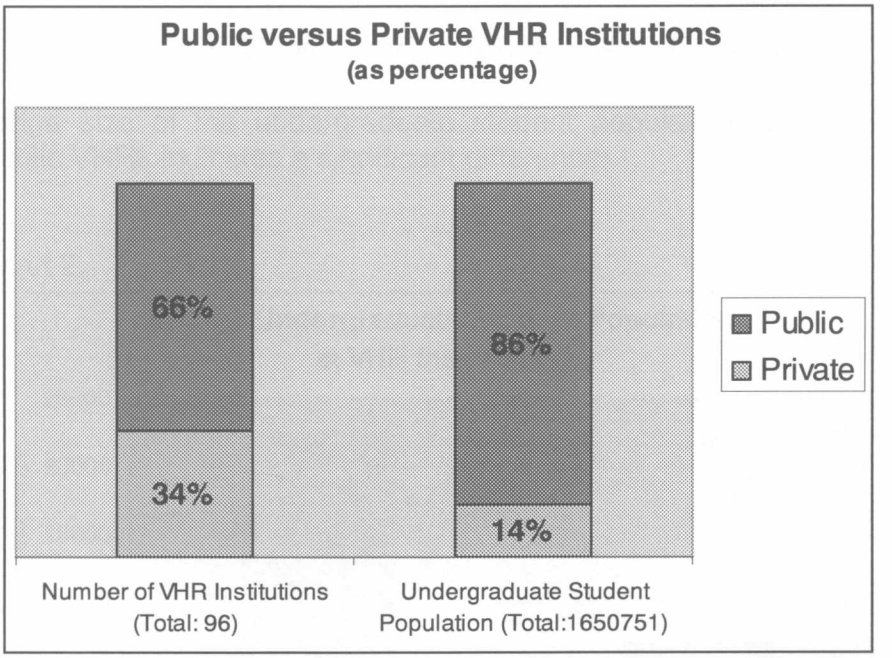
The following data will attempt to highlight some of the distinctions between public and private institutions that are classified as 'very high research activity' according to the Carnegie Basic Classification system. A total of 96 universities fall into the 'very high research activity' (VHR) category; 63 are public and 33 are private. These institutions are a representative sample of the most important institutions of higher education in the United States; together, they account for most of the top-ranked national universities according to the *U.S. News* rankings. This comparison seeks only to highlight the relationship among these particular types of institutions and not other noteworthy areas of higher education in the United States, such as baccalaureate colleges – also known as liberal arts colleges - specializing in quality undergraduate[52]education. Furthermore, the criteria used - size of undergraduate student population, institutional endowment[53], and annual tuition fees - are all based on quantities and should not be interpreted as measures of quality. Also, in public institutions, two separate

[52] Undergraduate education refers to studies leading to bachelor degrees. Typically, this takes four years to complete, after which students may choose to continue their studies towards a masters degree.

[53] Endowment refers to a permanent fund bestowed upon an institution. Donations from alumni, for example, contribute to an institution's endowment.

types of tuition fees exist: fees for students who are residents of the state in which the institution is located (as a policy, this must comprise a majority of students), and fees for students who are studying at the institution from 'out-of-state'. Non-resident students typically pay much higher tuition fees than in-state students, in part because in-state residents subsidize the institution through state taxes.

Chart 1.



Note: Statistics based on U.S News and World Report data (2006) *and profiles published by universities. VHR institutions, and the public/private distinction, are based on Carnegie Basic Classification.*

Chart 1 illustrates, most importantly, that public universities account for most of the total number of VHR institutions and most of the total undergraduate student population attending these institutions. However, there is a disproportionate relationship between the representation in the number of private VHR universities among the whole, and the total number of undergraduates attending private VHR universities among the whole. This relationship is characterized by a smaller percentage of total undergraduate students at VHR universities attending *private* VHR universities. This shows that private universities considered VHR, on the whole, have smaller undergraduate student populations than public universities

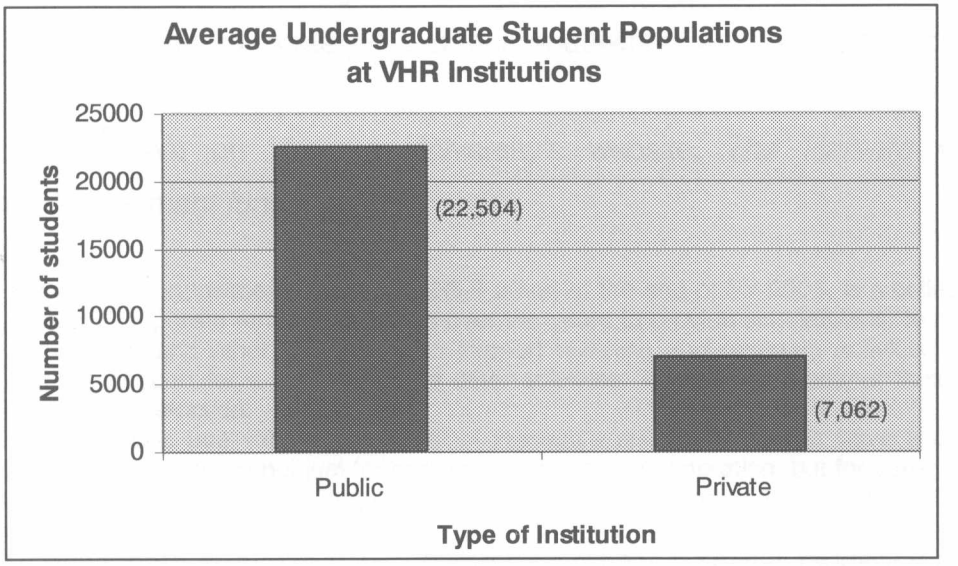
considered VHR. Higher selectivity of students, in terms of admissions, is just one factor among many contributing to this disproportionate relationship. As an example, we can compare the *U.S. News* highest-ranked private VHR with the highest-ranked public VHR:

	Undergraduate population	**% of first-year applicants admitted**
Harvard University	6,562	9.3%
University of California at Berkeley	22,880	26%

Note: Information based on 2004, 2005 data from publications of each university.

The *average* size of the undergraduate student populations at private VHRs versus public VHRs indicates a significant difference:

Chart 2.



Source: compiled statistics from U.S News & World Report, "America's Best Colleges, 2006"

In addition to the size of undergraduate student populations, another major factor distinguishing private and public VHR universities is university endowment. University endowment refers to those funds which have been donated, often as gifts, for university use. Harvard University has the largest endowment of any institution of higher education in the United States, valued at

$25.9 billion at the end of 2005.[54] To put this figure in perspective, Harvard University possesses an endowment which, next to an international ranking of the highest national GDPs, places it between Serbia and Montenegro and Lithuania.[55] Of course, Harvard University is an exceptionally wealthy institution, and is by no means representative of all endowments at American institutions. However, it does reveal the tradition in the United States of philanthropy contributing to an institution's wealth and success. The *Wall Street Journal* reported in a recent article[56], "Of the 400 largest U.S. recipients of charitable donations, 126 are colleges and universities, led by Harvard and Stanford universities, says the Chronicle of Philanthropy. Half of all charitable gifts that exceed $1 million go to higher education, according to the Center on Philanthropy at Indiana University." According to the *Wall Street Journal* article ("When $26 Billion isn't Enough", 17 December 2005), many universities only withdraw and use approximately 4% of their endowment each year, an indication of frugalness.

A statement on Harvard University's website, *The Harvard Guide: Harvard's Endowment funds*[57] reads:

> Harvard University's endowment, valued at $25.9 billion at the end of FY 2005, is a collection of more than 10,800 separate funds established over the years to provide scholarships; to maintain libraries, museums, and other collections; to support teaching and research activities; and to provide ongoing support for a wide variety of other activities. The great majority of these funds carry some type of restriction.
> Although their specific use varies greatly, all of Harvard's endowment funds have a common objective: to support activities not just for one year, or even one generation, but for perpetuity. By their very nature, endowment funds require the balancing of current and future needs.

Endowments at public VHR universities reflect a similar tendency of high donations, but relative to private VHR universities, the figures are less. For example, the range of highest 33 endowments at public VHR universities runs from $4.28 billion at University of Michigan Ann-Arbor to $300 million at Florida State University. The range of endowments for the 33 private VHR universities

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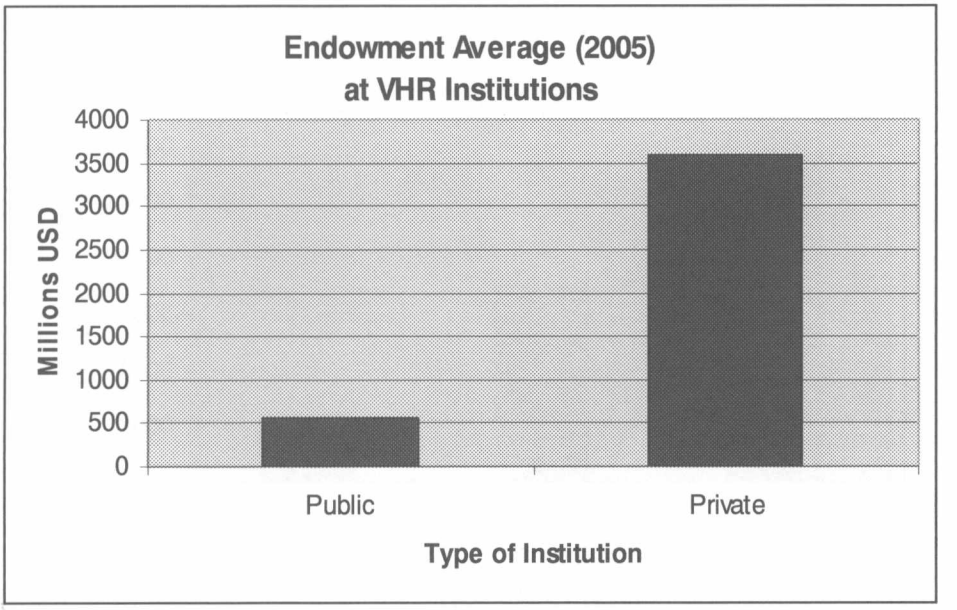
[54] The Harvard Guide: Harvard's Endowment Funds- http://www.news.harvard.edu/guide/finance/index.html

[55] International Monetary Fund, "World Economic Outlook, April 2006" http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2006/01/data/index.htm

[56] Hechinger John. "When $26 Billion isn't Enough" *Wall Street Journal.* 17 December 2005.

runs from 22.6 billion at Harvard University (figures based on 2005 *U.S News* data) to 468 million at Brandeis University.

Chart 3.

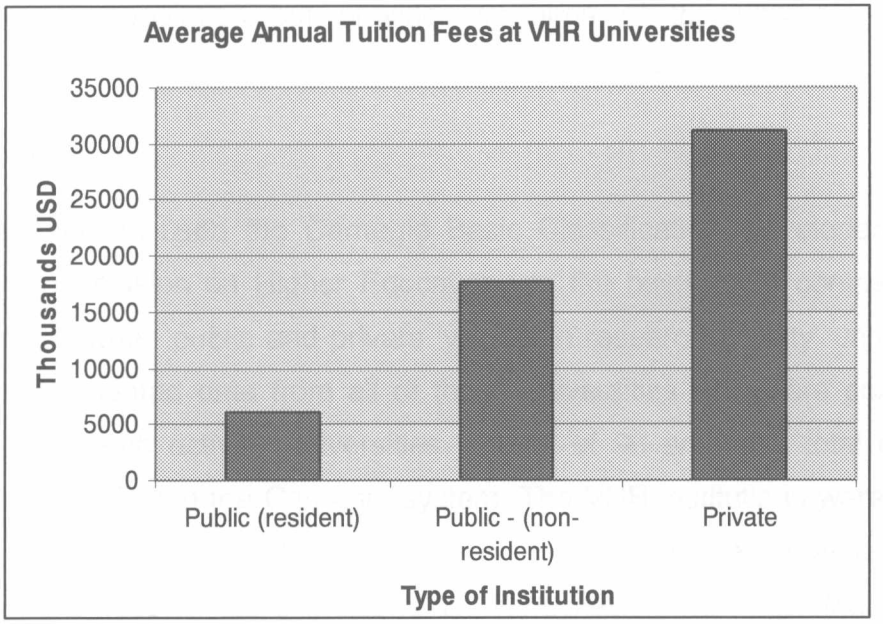


Source: compiled endowment statistics from U.S News & World Report, "America's Best Colleges, 2006" and university self-published data.

Finally, another factor distinguishing private and public VHR universities is the price of annual tuition fees paid by undergraduate students. On the whole, private universities charge more than public universities (for in-state tuition). In fact, there is not a single example of a public VHR university with lesser fees a private VHR university. For example, Rice University, the cheapest private VHR, charges $20,160 per year; the University of Pittsburgh, the most expensive public VHR, charges $11,436 per year. The situation changes when one considers the cost of tuition for non-resident at public VHR universities. Each state has at least one public university which is intended to provide affordable, quality higher education to the residents of the state. Some of these state universities – such as the University of Michigan, University of California at Berkeley, and University of

[57] See: footnote 47

Virginia – have well-respected reputations far beyond the state in which they are located. Thus, many non-resident students wish to attend these institutions. Because they are non-resident, these students must pay higher tuition fees and are subject to stricter selectivity for admissions (because the university should service a majority of students who are residents of the state; not those who are non-resident).



Source: U.S. News and World Report, "Best Colleges, 2006" and universities' self-published data.

At the University of Michigan, for example, approximately two-thirds of the undergraduate student population is typically resident of the state of Michigan. The differences in tuition fees for residents and non-residents are substantial and lead many prospective students to try, in any way possible, to secure residency status prior to attending. A recent article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* noted that the difference in tuition for residents and non-residents has been increasing over the past ten years, $7,673 today versus $4,500 ten years ago.[58] There are two reasons for charging high tuition fees to non-residents; first, it can be justified politically: non-residents do not pay state taxes to subsidize the

[58] Walters, Anne K. "A Losing Strategy? Looking to out-of-state students to close budget gaps backfires at public colleges" *Chronicle of Higher* Education. 27 January 2006

university; secondly, the state taxes are an insufficient source of revenue and so the non-resident student is presented, in effect, with the responsibility of off-setting the university's financial burden (including the burden of tuition fees for resident students). The *Chronicle* (27 January 2006) revealed that, for the University of Colorado at Boulder, which charges $21,900 for non-residents and $4,400 for residents, non-residents account for 32 percent of the total undergraduate population but provide two-thirds of the university's tuition revenue.

Conclusion

This section used the Carnegie Basic Classification, developed by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, as the basis for a comparison of differences between public and private 'very high research activity' universities. The charts presented data from all of those universities which are considered 'very high research activity' universities, a total of 96 among a total of 3,397 institutions classified in the Carnegie system. The VHR institutions were chosen because of their relative importance in American higher education, as evidenced by their prominence in the *U.S. News & World Report* rankings. Much of the information included in the charts was from compiled *U.S. News* data.

The exploration of the differences between private and public VHR universities was based on three criteria: average undergraduate student populations, average endowments, and average undergraduate tuition fees. It should be emphasized that grouping these private and public universities into distinct and uniform categories fails to reveal the rich diversity of institutions that fall within them. The intention, rather, was to use benchmark indicators in order to highlight some important, general distinctions. Most importantly, we can conclude that private VHR universities have a smaller student population, are wealthier in terms of endowment, and are more expensive to attend than public VHR universities.

Classification in France

The task of classifying higher education institutions in France is difficult because of the high variation in types of institutions. The classification, therefore, depends on the criteria used. Frans Kaiser, of the *Center for Higher Education Policy Studies*, used a legal approach and identified nine types of institutions.[59]

Public Institutions of the second degree: this includes public *lycees* (secondary schools) which offer instruction at a post-secondary level. Two examples of this type of instruction are STS (*Section de Techniciens Supérieurs*) and CPGE (*Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Écoles*). STS is a technical college department offering two-year BTS technician's qualification course. The BTS is a diploma received after two years of post-baccalaureate study. It provides specialized, career-oriented education. The CPGE are two-year preparatory courses are available for students wishing to sit the competitive examination for admission to one of the grandes écoles (including those specializing in teacher training, business studies and engineering). CPGE are also known as *classes preparatoires* and are reputed as being quite intense. Admission to CPGE can be very competitive and is based on secondary school achievement.

Public universities and attached institutes: these are multi-disciplinary institutions named after the cities in which they are located. In 2006, there were 81 universities, not counting their internal institutes. Each is composed of departments known as Units of Education and Research (UFR). Universities host three types of institutes:

- IUT (*Institut Universitaire de Technologie*): offers DUT diplomas. The DUT is a two-year higher diploma course in technology.
- IUFM (*Institut Universitaire de Formation des Maîtres*): trains of secondary school teachers

[59]Kaiser, Frans. "Higher Education in France: Country Report" (2001) *Center for Higher Education Policy* http://www.utwente.nl/cheps

- IUP (*Institut Universitaire Professionnalisé*): develops professional-oriented programs

Public institutions for higher education (mainly public Grandes École s): these institutions vary widely in instruction. The École Normale Superieur, a famous Grande École , has four branches (the most well known in Paris) and was originally established to train high school teachers, but is now an institution training researchers, university professors, high-level civil servants, as well as business and political leaders. Another famous Grande École is the École Nationale d'Administration (ENA), which actually functions under the control of the French Prime Minister. Most of France's leading politicians have graduated from ENA.

Private institutions with predominantly public funding of the second degree: this includes private lycees offering the STS and DUT.

Private institutions for higher education with predominantly public funding (private Grandes École s): these institutions include engineering schools, Grandes Écoles s for commerce and management, and Catholic institutes offering higher education. The Conference des Grandes Écoles s, a voluntary association for Grandes Écoles s established in 1969, lists 69 private Grandes Écoles s and 127 Grandes Écoles s as members. It is important to note that the term 'Grandes Écoles s' is not *official*, meaning that the Ministry of Education in France does not recognize Grandes Écoles s as a uniquely defined category of higher education. Using statistics from the Ministry of Education, Kais (ibid) counted 466 Grandes Écoles s, in addition to 240 Écoles s d'Ingenieurs, in 1999.

Other higher education institutions: these institutions include teaching centers within the private sector (approximately 500 schools for para-medical profession and social works) and also *Grandes Écoles s* for commerce and defense, which fall under ministries outside of the Ministry of Education.

Private higher education institutions: these include institutions which have not been recognized by the state (and do not wish to have any relation with the state). These institutions can become part of the formal higher education system by asking for state recognition; state recognition implies the possibility to receive state subsidies or grants. According to Kais (ibid), there are no official statistics on this sector and most of these institutions fall into 'for profit enterprises' with small enrollment.

Distance learning: under the auspices of the National Center for Distance Learning (CNED), a component of the Ministry of Education. This type of education uses a variety of media for students who are not physically with France. The percentage of students enrolled in this type of education is negligible.

Apprenticeship schemes: this type of education combines study towards a diploma with employment related to the studies. (In the United States, it is often called 'co-operative education'). Most of the diplomas awarded under this arrangement are BTS (*Brevet de Technicien Supérieur*). The BTS is similar to the DUT (see above), but more highly specialized and more specifically employment-oriented. BTS courses are taken at STS technical college departments (*section de techniciens supérieurs*), which may be hosted by state-funded secondary schools, grant-assisted private establishments or independent private establishments.

This classification scheme, provided by Fras Kais, is useful because it considers the type of control – private, public - for different institutions. In France, a large majority of institutions are recognized by the state and receive state subsidies. Private Grandes Écoles are the most important non-public exception; but these are almost always recognized by the Ministry of Education. France is often described as having a 'dual-system' of post-secondary education, with mass higher education found in the public universities, and a more *elite*

education found at the highly selective Grandes Écoles. Most of the well-known Grandes Écoles are considered public.

In its 2005 summary of national education statistics, the *Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherché* (Ministry of National Education, Higher Education and Research) identified six types of institutions[60]:

Universites: (see description above)

Grands établissements: the Ministry of Education includes nine institutions in this category. The *grands établissements* are French public institutions under ministerial charter within the Ministry of National Education, Advanced Instruction, and Research. They are counted among France's most prestigious research and higher education institutions. The distinction between grandes écoles and grands établissements is unclear. A possible explanation for creating the category of grands établissements would be that grandes écoles are not recognized as an *official* category, but serve more as a popular description for specialized, *elite* education. Instead, the Ministry of Education lists types according to instruction: for example, many engineering schools (*écoles d'ingenieurs*) are often considered grandes écoles, but in the typology of the Ministry of Education, these schools comprise a unique category (see below).

Écoles s d'ingenieurs: institutions authorized to deliver a diploma of engineering (*diplome d'ingenieur*)

Instituts universitaires de formation des maitres (IUFM): a law passed in 1989 created IUFM in each *academie* (a total of 30). These are teacher training schools that prepare students for the competitive examinations held to recruit

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[60] For the purpose of simplicity and translation, the *Ministère de l'éducation nationale, de l'enseignement supérieur et de la recherché* is referred to as the Ministry of Education. In August 2005, it released a statistical analysis of the national education system entitled, "*Evaluation et statistiques*: *Repères et références statistiques sur les enseignements, la formation et la recherché*" The full report is available at http://www.education.gouv.fr/stateval/rers/rers2005.htm#10

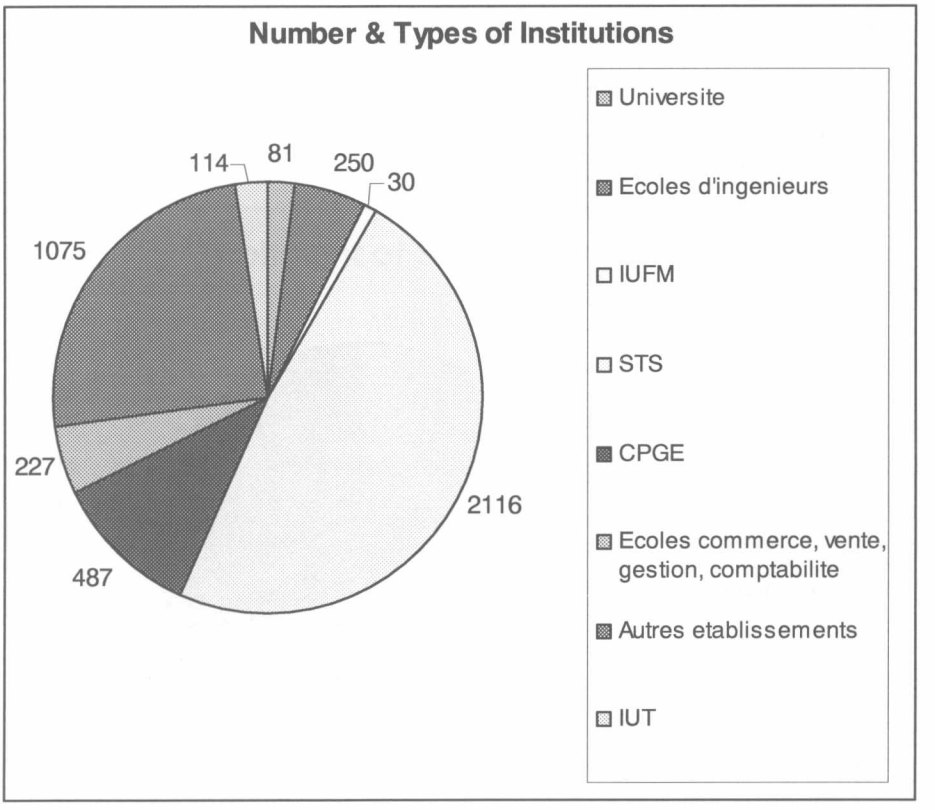
teaching staff.

CPGE, STS: (see description above)

***Écoles s paramedicales et sociales*:**

***Autres écoles*:** 'other schools', which the Ministry of Education describes as forming a 'non-homogeneous group'. Included in this category are veterinary schools, schools of journalism and schools belonging to other ministries.

Using the classification from the Ministry of Education, we can observe the distribution in total number of institutions:

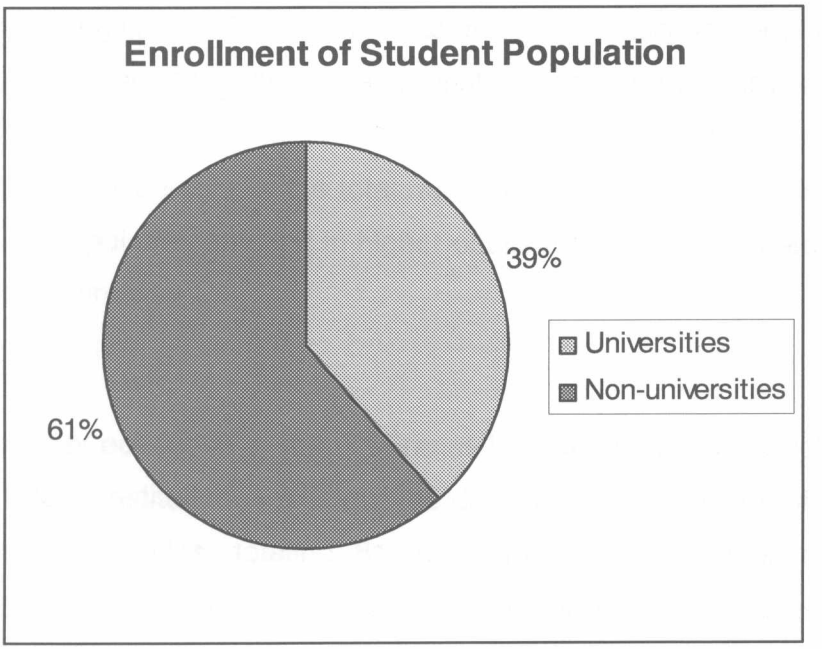


Note: Écoles s d'ingenieurs include schools both within or outside of universities.
Note: Écoles s commerce, vente, gestion, comptabilite include schools of commerce and finance. Some are recognized and administered by the Minsitry of Education (51); some are recognized but not administered by the Ministry (27), and some are neither recognized nor administered by the Ministry (143). Numbers in parentheses based on "Repères et références statistiques." (Edition 1997)

Here, we can see that STS account for a significant number of higher education institutions. However, this is slightly misleading because STS are located within *lycées* (secondary schools) and offer short-term training of two years towards a professional-oriented diploma. Similarly, CPGE also offer only two-year study, preparing students for entrance into prestigious grandes écoles, such as the écoles d'ingenieurs. Beyond these short-term study options, the other institutions in higher education reflect a high degree of specialization, with the exception of universities and some grands etablissements. For example, IUFM train students for teaching examinations and *autres etablissements* ('other establishments'), which account for a high number of the total in Chart 5, are also very varied and specialized (for example, veterinary schools fall into this category). Thus, in the end, we find that universities and the grandes écoles, many in the category of commerce, finance, and engineering schools represent the two pillars of French higher education, even if they do not comprise a majority of the total number of institutions.

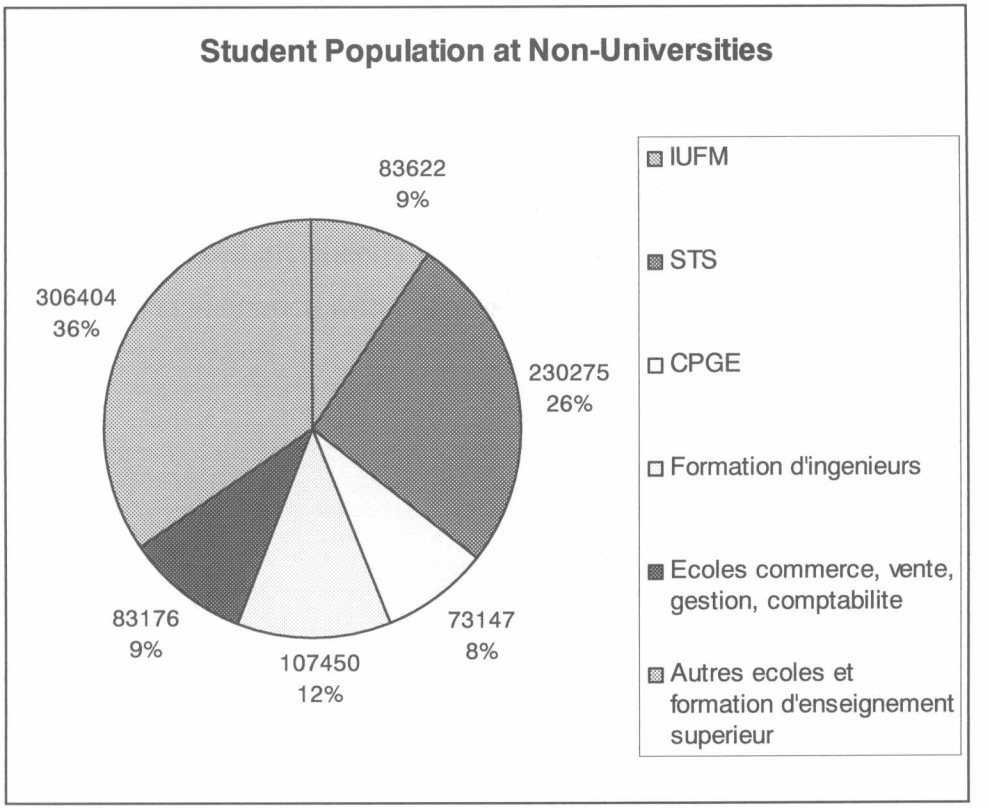
Chart 6 reveals the total student enrollment in universities versus non-universities:

Chart 6



Total number of university students: 1,424536 (figure includes IUT population).
Total number of non-university students: 2,268423. This figure includes IUFM, STS, CPGE, *Formation d'ingenieurs, Écoles s commerce, vente, gestion, comptabilite, and Autres écoles et formation d'enseignement superieur*.

Chart 7.



Considering Charts 5-7, we see that universities account for just 2 percent of the entire number of higher education institutions, but that they also account for 39 percent of the student population enrolled in higher education. Whereas, STS account for 47 percent of the total number of institutions, but just 6 percent of the student population enrolled in higher education and just 26 percent of non-university total enrollment.

Conclusion

The higher education system in France is characterized by a rich variety of institutions. Many institutions fall under the direction of the Ministry of Education. The national universities, totaling 81 in number, are characterized by high student populations and much broader instruction than the specialized schools. National universities also represent values of uniformity and equality throughout the system, as we shall see later. From this point, we will consider *universites* and *grandes écoles* as the two components of a 'dual-system' of higher

education. This approach will necessarily overlook many aspects of French higher education, such as the STS, CPGE, and many private establishments. As a side remark, it should be noted that 'rankings' of higher education institutions in France, as attempted in the United States, are impossible for two reasons: first, national universities are supposed to be 'equal', and second, because it is futile to compare specialized institutions using the same criteria: for example, *grandes écoles* specialized in finance with *grandes écoles* specialized in engineering.

2.2 GOVERNANCE AND ORGANIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE

The governance and organization of institutions of higher education in the United States and France offers insight into the classification in the previous section. In this section, the following institutions will be examined:

United States
Private VHR institution: Harvard University
Public VHR institution: University of Michigan

France
National university: University of Paris IV (Sorbonne)
Grande école: Ecole Normale Supérieure

These institutions have been chosen because they are considered, in their respective countries, as classic examples of the categories to which they belong. At the same time, by virtue of their highly-esteemed statuses, they are also exceptional institutions. The composition of the Harvard Corporation at Harvard University, with men who have served Presidents and directed the World Bank, should not be considered typical of all private VHR institutions. Likewise, the *École Normale Supérieure*, with a director who is appointed by the President of France, is not representative of all *grandes écoles*. By choosing these special institutions for presentation, the hope is that we will be able to learn something not only about the way in which these institutions structured, but about the national systems of higher education in both the United States and France. Of course, the picture is by no means complete, but differences in governance and organization between institutions in each country could provide special insight into the unique characteristics of each national system.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Founded in 1636, Harvard University is the oldest, richest, and most prestigious university in the United States. Seven Presidents of the United States have graduated from Harvard University: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, John F. Kennedy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Theodore Roosevelt, Rutherford B.

Hayes, and George W. Bush. Countless political and business leaders have attended Harvard. In addition, fifty Nobel Prize winners have been associated with the university.

Harvard University Governance

Harvard University is governed by two boards: the President and Fellows of Harvard College (also known as the Harvard Corporation) and the Harvard Board of Overseers.

The Harvard Corporation: The Harvard Corporation was established in 1650 by a charter with the colonial government of Massachusetts. It is the self-described 'oldest corporation in the Western Hemisphere'. The board has seven-members, including the university president, and is responsible for the day-to-day management of the University's finances and business affairs. Members of the Harvard Corporation are usually not directly connected with the university and are often perceived as 'outsiders'; the board is also criticized for being too secretive.[61]

As of 2006, here is a list of Harvard Corporation members (presently, only six members due to a recent resignation)[62]:

Lawrence H. Summers, President (recently resigned due to campus controversies)

James Rothenberg, University Treasurer, and President and Director, Capital Research and Management Co.

James R. Houghton, Chairman of the Board and Chief Executive Officer, Corning Inc.;

Nannerl Overholser Keohane, past president of Duke University and Wellesley College; Robert Reischauer, President, The Urban Institute

Robert E. Rubin, Director and Chair of the Executive Committee, Citigroup, Inc.

Patricia A. King, the Carmack Waterhouse Professor of Law, Medicine, Ethics and Public Policy at Georgetown Law Center

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[61] Seward, Zachary M. "Secretive Corporation Holds Final Key to President's Fate" *The Harvard Crimson* (17 February 2005)

[62] "The Harvard Guide: History, Lore, and More" http://www.news.harvard.edu/guide/about.html

It is interesting to note that most of the members of the Harvard Corporation have connections to private industry or government. Robert Rubin served as Secretary of the Treasury, from 1995 until 1999, under President Bill Clinton. In 1991, Lawrence Summers served as Chief Economist at the World Bank. James R. Houghton is heir to Corning, Inc, a company founded by his great-grandfather in 1850 and producing 55% of the world's LCD glass.[63] To put it succinctly, the members of the Harvard Corporation are powerful beyond the confines of Harvard University.

The Harvard Board of Overseers: the Harvard Board of Overseers, the second governing body of Harvard University, has no formal institutional relationship with the Harvard Corporation. The Board of Overseers has thirty members, all nominated and elected by Harvard alumni. Each year, five new members of the board are elected. Terms are limited to six years. The Board's responsibilities include: evaluating university teaching, management and research; providing formal consent to major university appointments and initiatives; and providing assistance in fundraising. However, a recent report in *Harvard Magazine* notes that "among alumni, faculty, staff, and students, its [the Board of Overseers] status and operations are mostly out of sight and relatively little understood."[64]

Harvard University Organization

Harvard University is divided into nine faculties:

-The Faculty of Arts and Sciences, including Harvard College (for undergraduate students), the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, the Harvard Division of Continuing Education

- The Faculty of Medicine, including the Medical School and the Harvard School of Dental Medicine

- The Harvard Divinity School

- The Harvard Law School

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[63] Schuker, Daniel. "Houghton Retires As Corning Chairman" *The Harvard Crimson* 2 May 2006 - http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=513223

[64] "Governing Harvard" *Harvard Magazine* (May-June 2006) http://www.harvardmagazine.com/on-line/050688.html

- The Harvard Business School
- The Graduate School of Design
- The Graduate School of Education
- The School of Public Health
- The John F. Kennedy School of Government

Each faculty is headed by a dean who is appointed by the President; each faculty is responsible for its own finances and organization. Within each faculty, there are departments. In the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at Harvard, for example, you can find a wide range of departments: Music, Mathematics, Philosophy, Chemistry and Chemical Biology, Slavic Languages and Literature, to name just a few. Each department is headed by a Chair, who is also a member of the department's teaching staff. A form of representative participation within faculties exists in the form of faculty councils, which are elected by members of the faculty to represent the faculty before the Central Administration.[65]

In 2005-2006, a scandal enveloped Harvard University when the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences, William C. Kirby, resigned. Many people suspected that his resignation was forced by the President, Lawrence Summers (who has the power to appoint and fire deans). This led to an escalating conflict between the Faculty Council for the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and the President and Harvard Corporation. Faculty members criticized the President for his top-down management style. Eventually, the conflict reached such a climax at Harvard University so as to cause President Summers' resignation. It should be added that the issue of Dean Kirby represented, for faculty members, the final act in an accumulation of offenses.[66]

The organization and governance of Harvard University can be better understood with the following insight from Henry Rosovsky. Rosovsky is intimately familiar with the functioning of Harvard University; he is former acting President, former

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[65] News and information about the Faculty Council for the Faculty of Arts and Sciences is available at the Faculty's Office of the Secretary website; however, information regarding rules and procedures require faculty login and password.

[66] See: "President of Harvard Resigns, Ending Stormy Five-Year Tenure" *New York Times* (22 February

Harvard Corporation member, and former Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.

"Technically, probably almost every decision that's made at Harvard is under the purview of the President and Fellows. For example, the Harvard Management Company [which invests endowment assets] has a board, but nevertheless I think ultimately they report to the President and Fellows. By tradition, by history, the President and Fellows have delegated some of their powers to the people who work below them. The most important thing they delegate—and again I don't think you can find this written down anywhere—is educational policy. The faculties are in charge of degree requirements, admissions, curriculum, and the like."[67]

Conclusion

The main locus of power in Harvard University is the Harvard Corporation, which legally owns the university. The Harvard Corporation is composed of seven members, including a treasurer and a president. The Corporation reserved the right to appoint new members. Members consist mostly of people from outside the university's daily functioning (although members may have attended or taught at Harvard University in the past). The decision-making process within the Harvard Corporation is characterized by informality. Rather than voting on certain issues, the Corporation merely reaches a consensus or an approval of decisions taken. As Rosovsky put it, in reference to voting at the Corporation, "But you know, we don't say four to three. I mean it *never* happens." (see: footnote 60) The President, in addition to acting as a highly visible public spokesman for the university, is a member of the Harvard Corporation. One of his most important powers is to appoint faculty deans, who are responsible for finances, personnel and academic programs within his/her faculty. (Important

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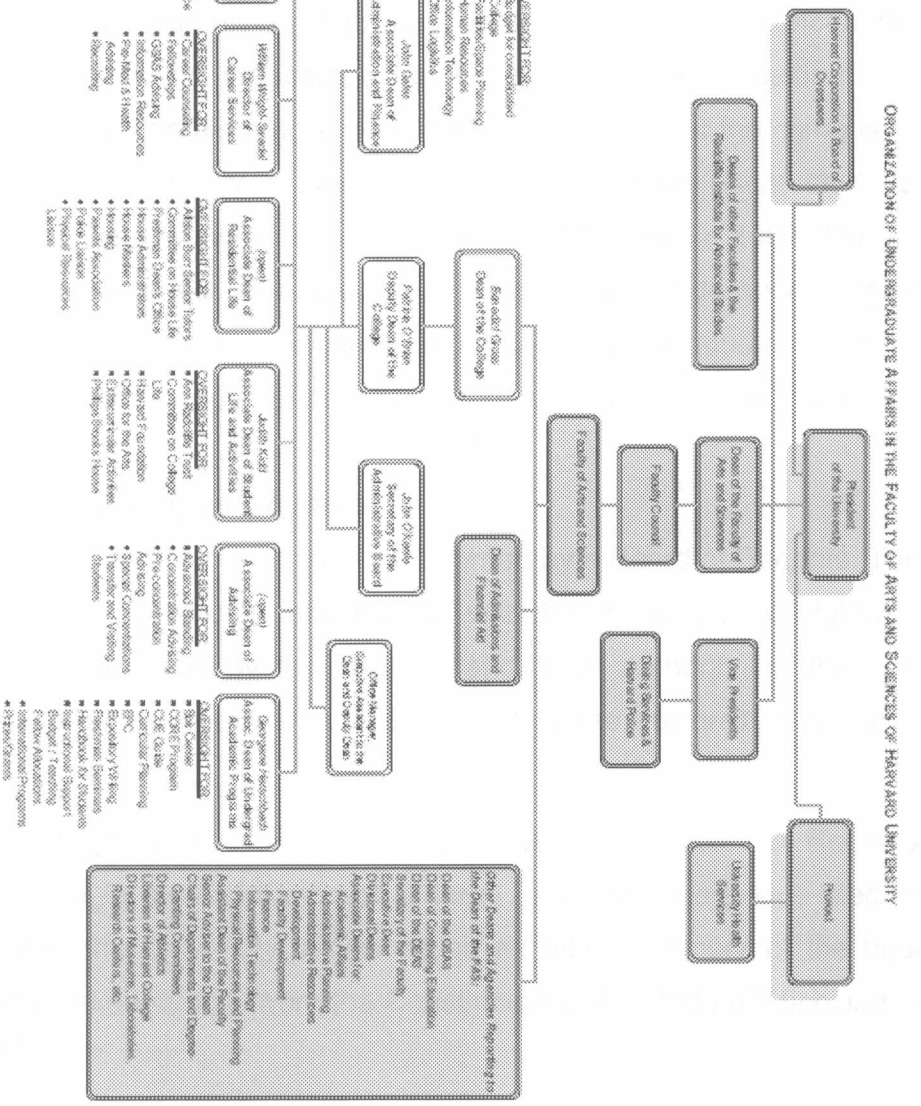
2006)

[67] Comments made by Henry Rosovsky during a discussion moderated and recorded by *Harvard Magazine*. "Governing Harvard" *Harvard Magazine* (May-June 2006) http://www.harvardmagazine.com/on-line/050688.html

appointments must be approved by the Board of Overseers, which is elected by Harvard alumni.) In essence, faculty deans have a great amount of autonomy from the Harvard Corporation. Deans must manage the dual role of appearing sufficiently representative of the department personnel in their faculty (a task made more plausible because deans are chosen from members of the faculty) and satisfying the wishes of the Corporation. In recent times, relations between faculty and the Harvard Corporation have become stressed due to the faculty's perception that the Corporation – and particularly, President Summers – has become too distant from the university community. This became a real issue when the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences resigned in 2005, allegedly at the urging of President Summers. The governance of Harvard University could be characterized by informality; so long as the relationships between faculty deans and the Harvard Corporation are sympathetic (it helps if members of the Corporation have personal relationships with the deans), then the system runs smoothly. If the relationship is disturbed, then the Harvard Corporation becomes vulnerable to the criticism of being outsiders.



Source: Harvard University, Faculty of Arts and Sciences Handbook for Students

http://webdocs.registrar.fas.harvard.edu/ugrad_handbook/current/

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

In many ways, the University of Michigan is *the* example of a public state university. Founded in 1817, the University of Michigan is one of the oldest state universities in the United States. The university has hosted many historic moments in American history. President John F. Kennedy announced his plan for the Peace Corps on the campus in October of 1960. President Lyndon B. Johnson announced his program for the 'Great Society' at the campus in May of 1964. The Students for a Democratic Society, an important student activist organization, was founded at the University of Michigan in 1962. More recently, in 2003, the university was involved in Supreme Court decisions regarding the use of affirmative action in admissions policies. Many graduate departments (for Master's and Ph.D. degrees) are considered among the best in the country.

University of Michigan Governance

The University of Michigan is governed by a Board of Regents. The faculty are bound to operate in accordance with the rules (called Bylaws) of the University established by the Regents and given authority for the "immediate government" of the units and subunits into which the University is divided.

Board of Regents: The University is governed by the Board of Regents, which consists of eight members elected at large in biennial state-wide elections. The president of the University serves as an ex officio member of the board. The following is taken directly from the Constitution of the State of Michigan, adapted in 1963[68]:

[68] State Constitution of Michigan, Article VII on Education, available at http://www.legislature.mi.gov/documents/publications/Constitution.pdf

§5 University of Michigan, Michigan State University, Wayne State University; controlling boards.

Sec. 5. The regents of the University of Michigan and their successors in office shall constitute a body corporate known as the Regents of the University of Michigan; the trustees of Michigan State University and their successors in office shall constitute a body corporate known as the Board of Trustees of Michigan State University; the governors of Wayne State University and their successors in office shall constitute a body corporate known as the Board of Governors of Wayne State University. Each board shall have general supervision of its institution and the control and direction of all expenditures from the institution's funds. Each board shall, as often as necessary, elect a president of the institution under its supervision. He shall be the principal executive officer of the institution, be ex-officio a member of the board without the right to vote and preside at meetings of the board. The board of each institution shall consist of eight members who shall hold office for terms of eight years and who shall be elected as provided by law. The governor shall fill board vacancies by appointment. Each appointee shall hold office until a successor has been nominated and elected as provided by law.

History: Const. 1963, Art. VIII, §5, Eff. Jan. 1, 1964.
Former Constitution: See Const. 1908, Art. XI, §§3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 16.

Elections for the Board of Regents at the University of Michigan are public and any eligible voter in the state of Michigan may vote for candidates. As of 2006, the eight members of the Board of Regents, with a brief description[69]:

David A. Brandon: Republican, University of Michigan alumnus, Chairman and CEO of Dominos Pizza, Inc. in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Laurence B. Deitch: Democrat, University of Michigan alumnus, partner in Detroit law firm

Olivia P. Maynard: Democrat, University of Michigan alumnus, president of the Michigan Prospect, a non-profit public policy institute

Rebecca McGowen: Democrat, senior staff member in the White House to Vice President Walter F. Mondale from 1977-1980

Andrea Fischer Newman: Republican, University of Michigan alumnus, ice chair of the George W. Bush for Presidential campaign and co-chair of the Bush for President Finance Committee in Michigan in the 2000 presidential election

Andrew C. Richner: Republican, University of Michigan alumnus, served three terms in the Michigan House of Representatives

S. Martin Taylor: Democrat, previously served as director for both the State of Michigan Department of Labor and the Michigan Employment Security Commission

Katherine E. White: Democrat, Fulbright Senior Scholar, a White House Fellow 2001-2002, and a registered patent attorney

From this survey of the Board of Regents at the University of Michigan, we can note two major distinctions between the Board and the Harvard Corporation: first, Board members are public candidates and therefore affiliate themselves with a

[69] "About the Board of Regents" http://www.regents.umich.edu/about/bios/index.html

political party. Second, most of the members of the Regents attended the University of Michigan or have been in some way connected with Michigan politics and business.

The University Senate: the other arm of university governance, complimenting the Board of Regents, is the University Senate. The University Senate consists of all members of the professorial staff, the executive officers of the University, the dean of each school or college, and certain members of research and library staff. The Senate makes recommendations to the Board of Regents. Faculties are in charge of designating academic policies which affect them; however, if issues concern several faculties or schools, they should be brought before the Senate, in which case the Senate's decision is considered binding. The President is permitted to address the Senate when he/she deems it worthwhile. Voting functions according to simple majority; all members of the Senate may vote. The Senate Assembly is legislative organ of the Senate; the Assembly consists of seventy-members, distributed proportionally according to number of Senate members in each faculty or school. Members of the Assembly are elected by Senate members within each faculty or school.[70]

Academic Organization at the University of Michigan

The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor is home to twenty faculties and schools:

- Architecture & Urban Planning
- Art & Design
- Business
- Dentistry
- Education
- Engineering
- Graduate Studies, Rackham School of
- Information, School of
- Kinesiology
- Law
- Literature, Science, and the Arts
- Medicine
- Music
- Natural Resources & Environment
- Nursing

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[70] Central Faculty Governance Structure, University of Michigan: http://www.umich.edu/~sacua/structure.html

- Officer Education Programs
- Pharmacy
- Public Health
- Public Policy
- Social Work

Each faculty is headed by a dean appointed by the Board of Regents. The dean is formally responsible for his/her faculty and communication about the faculty to the Board of Regents. Each faculty is comprised of departments. For example, the Faculty of Literature, Science, and the Arts has over fifty departments offering a wide range of subjects. Each department is headed by a chair, who is a member of the faculty. The role of faculty in universities governance was developed and endorsed in a 1997 statement by the Senate Assembly.[71] Among the major points:

- the faculty has primary responsibility for curriculum, subject matter, methods of instruction, research, status of faculty members, standards and admissions of students
- the faculty sets degree requirements
- the faculty participates in the determination of salaries for its members

Conclusion

The status of the University of Michigan as a *public* VHR institution is best affirmed by the State Constitution of Michigan, which outlines the role, terms, and appointment procedure of the Board of Regents. The Board of Regents, as appointees elected after state-wide public elections, represents the *public* character of the university. The Faculty Senate and Senate Assembly provide an organ by which the academic community can represent itself before the Board of Regents. The Senate Assembly also introduces a sense of unity and cohesion among faculties. The State Constitution of Michigan grants institutional autonomy to the Board of Regents; the Board of Regents, in turn, delegates many powers to the faculties; thus, the faculties have a great amount of responsibility, as outlined above. The University of Michigan is characteristic of the public VHR institution in the United States in that it is nominally public because it is 'owned' by publicly-elected Regents; but, within itself, the university is actually quite

[71] The University of Michigan Faculty Handbook, 2005: http://www.provost.umich.edu/faculty/handbook/4/4.B.html

decentralized and unfettered by state influence.

UNIVERSITY OF PARIS-SORBONNE (PARIS IV)

After the Loi Faure abolished faculties following the crisis of 1968, the University of Paris was divided into thirteen separate, interdisciplinary universities. Four of these universities, including the University of Paris IV, inherited the site of the historic Sorbonne. For this reason, the University of Paris IV refers to itself as *Universite Paris-Sorbonne – Paris IV*. The University of Paris IV carries the tradition of the Sorbonne by specializing in instruction of Sciences and Arts. In 2004-2005, 25,876 students were enrolled at the Paris IV.[72]

University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) Governance

Considered a public university, the University of Paris IV falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. The framework for its governance is found in the *Code de l'Education*, which is a compilation of binding French laws and decrees concerning education. Therefore, when you examine the Statutes of the University of Paris IV, you observe redundancy with regard to the *Code de l'Education*.[73] University governance consists of four main parts: the President, and three university councils (Council of Administration, Scientific Council, and Council of Curricula and University Life).

President: the President represents the university before law; he prepares and executes the budget; he presides over the three councils; he has authority over all university personnel; and he is in charge of maintaining order at the university. The President is chosen among permanent professorial staff (*enseignants-chercheurs*) and must be of French nationality. The President is elected by assemblies of the three councils when an absolute majority is achieved. The term is five years. The president is assisted by an office which includes Vice-Presidents, the General Secretary, the Accounting Officer, and the Director of the

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[72] http://www.paris4.sorbonne.fr/en/article.php3?id_article=9

[73] *Code de l'Education* available at http://www.legifrance.fr

Note: Redundancy between the Statutes of the University of Paris IV and the Code de l'Education is evident in the oft-repeated phrase found in the Statutes: '*Conformement a l'article...du code de*

Cabinet. (In Figure , the organization chart for the University of Paris, the President's office is represented by black color.)

Conseil d'Administration: (Council of Administration) this body is the most powerful of the three councils. It is comprised of 60 members, with the following composition:

- 26 professorial staff - *enseignant-chercheurs* representing a variety of disciplines
- 16 representatives from outside the university ('*personnalites exterieurs*'), including 1 representative from the Ile de France region, 1 represent from the city of Paris, 5 representatives from national unions (CGT, CGT-FO, CFDT, CFE, CFTC), and 5 representatives from employers' unions (MEDEF, CGPME).
- 12 student representatives, including 5 from the first cycle of studies, 5 from the second cycle, and 2 from the third cycle.[74]
- 6 representatives consisting of university personnel from administration, services, etc.

The powers of the council include: determining the priorities of the university through deliberation about budget contracts, approving the statutes of the university, creating departments and research laboratories after consultation with the Scientific Council, approving programs of activity for the academic departments (academic departments are known as *U.F.R.*), voting on the budget, approving agreements signed by the President, approving loans, creations of subsidiaries, acceptance of donations and legacies, and acquisition of property, and advising about the recruitment of professorial staff based on recommendations from the Scientific Council.

The council is elected by members of the university community as defined by the decree of 18 January 1985.[75] Students serve two years; other representatives serve four years.

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l'education…'

[74] NOTE: 'Cycles' of studies will be explained in next section.

[75] Full text of *Décret 85-59 18 Janvier 1985* fixing the right to suffrage available by search at http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr

Conseil Scientifique: (Scientific Council) the Conseil Scientifique consists of a total of 40 members: 28 teachers, 4 non-teaching personnel, 4 postgraduate students and 4 key figures from outside the university. The Scientific Council mainly serves as a consultative organ for the Council of Administration. The Scientific Council advises on matters relating to: the programs and contracts of research proposals by various sections of the university; creation of new academic posts, appointment of the posts for authorizing and delivering national diplomas, and the budget contract of the university. In essence, the Scientific Council is a source of wisdom for the Council of Administration; it does not exercise true decision-making powers. The guidelines for election of members to the Scientific Council are the same as those described for the Council of Administration.

Conseil des Etudes et de la Vie Universitaire: (The Council on Curricula and University Life) is comprised of 20 members: 8 professorial staff, 8 students (3 from first cycle, 3 from second cycle, 2 from third); 2 administrative, technical, departmental staff or workmen and 2 key persons from outside the university. The Council makes suggestions to the Council of Administration regarding the orientation of education. It concerns itself with the availability for students of professional, cultural, sporting, and social connections at the university.

University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) Academic Organization

The University of Paris IV is divided into 19 departments (in French universities, departments are known as '*Unites de Formation et de Recherche*', or *UFR*). These departments include:

- French and Comparative Literature
- French Language Studies
- Latin
- Greek
- Philosophy and Sociology
- History
- Geography and Urban Development
- Art and Archaeology
- English
- Germanic Studies
- Iberian and Latin American Studies
- Italian and Roman Studies
- Slavic Studies

- Applied Foreign Languages
- Music and Musicology
- Applied Human Sciences
- Information and Communication
- University Sport and Physical Education
- Modern Western Civilizations Research Institute

Each department is headed by one director and two deputy directors. In fact, the duties for the director of each department (*directeur d'UFR*) are rather ill-defined. Technically, directors are responsible for the teaching and research staff within the department. This could include overseeing the hours that each teacher or researcher is actually working, and making sure that it is consistent with the recorded hours. In terms of decision-making and university governance, however, department directors do not play any important role. Christine Musselin writes that "UFR directors often have a hard time finding a role for themselves in running the university. They are not members of decision-making bodies unless elected to them (not often the case)."[76] Musselin notes that some directors of departments, who view their power as insignificant next to the President, have re-assumed the title of "dean" (*doyen*) as an act of symbolic rebellion. The use of the title "dean", of course, is a reference to the strength of faculties and disciplines before the Faure Law of 1968.

Conclusion

The University of Paris IV is governed according to the uniform standards of the national education system in France. The *Statuts de L'Universite Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV)* are written in accordance with the *Code de l'Education*, a compilation of national laws and decrees related to French education. (While the statutes of French universities will contain the same basic components throughout the Republic, each university is free to determine specific statutes so long as they don't contradict the *Code de l'Education*.) The President and his office, and the *Conseil d'Administration* are clearly the two most powerful bodies in university governance. Decision-making within French universities functions according to almost paradoxical logic: the ministry addresses each university as

an autonomous institution; but the actual exercise of university autonomy manifests itself most clearly in agreements between the university and the ministry concerning budget contracts. It is autonomy *before* the state, but not *from* the state. The four-year budget contracts with the ministry are the main impetus and evidence for university autonomy. University governance is structured in such a way as to focus on the contract system; universities do not reserve the right to hire new professors, establish new programs, confer degrees, set admissions policies or fees for enrolment. The university can suggest certain proposals before the ministry and the ministry can either grant the necessary resources or not. Often, the ministry realizes the requests of the university, and this is why the governance structure within the university is so important; the university must engage in a form of self-assessment and reach a consensus about university priorities on the whole. Here, the consultative bodies of the *Conseil Scientifique* and *Conseil des Etudes et de la Vie Universitaire* play an important role.

One striking difference between the French universities and their American VHR counterparts (especially private VHR) is the wide range of representation within university governance. While it is plausible, at least in the University of Michigan, that university students could be elected to the Board of Governors, this has never happened. (It seems absolutely unimaginable that a student would be placed within the Harvard Corporation.) Meanwhile, students in France are represented in each of the three university councils. Students can vote for council candidates, and if they are within a council, they necessarily participate in the election of the university president. Also, the *Code de l'Education*, as well as the specific statutes for Paris IV, guarantees that there will be representatives from many disciplines and different sectors of society. The high degree of representation within this system is clearly a legacy of the student movement of 1968 and its demands for democratization of the universities.

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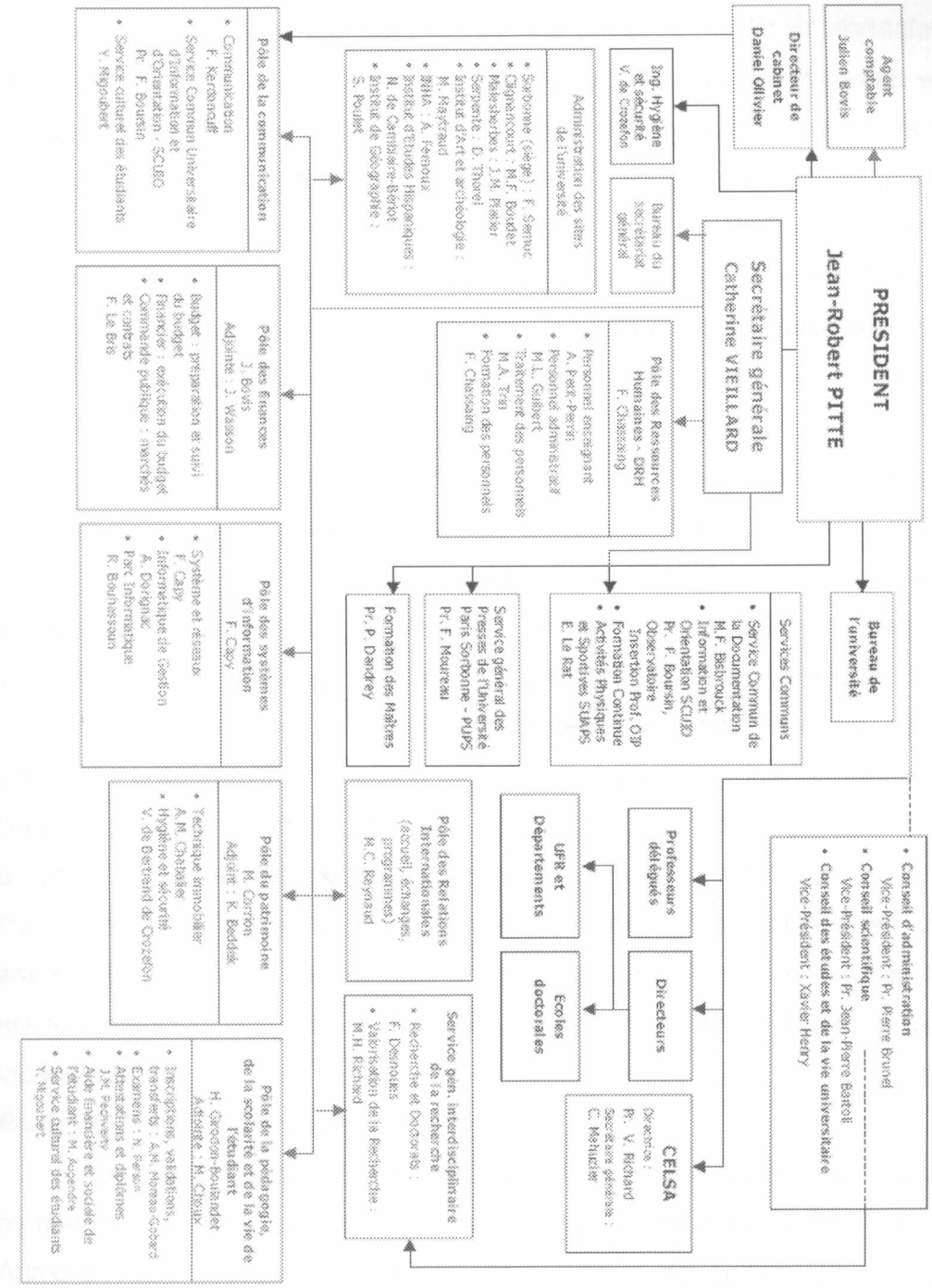
[76] Musselin, Christine. *The Long March of French Universities.* (New York, 2004). pp 98-99



Source: http://www.sorbonne.fr

ÉCOLE NORMALE SUPÉRIEURE

The École Normale Supérieure was originally founded in 1794 to train excellent teachers. The founding convention declared "an École normale will be established in Paris, where citizens from all corners of the Republic who are already educated in the useful sciences will be instructed in the art of teaching by the most skilled of professors in all fields".[77] Today, the original purpose of training excellent teachers has been superseded by the a mission to train researchers, high-level civil servants, and political and business leaders. The École Normale Supérieure falls under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, and is characterized as a non-university public institution of higher education in the *Code de l'Education*.

Many factors distinguish the École Normale Supérieure from a public university such as the University of Paris-Sorbonne. The most striking differences relate to admissions and the total enrolment; the École Normale Supérieure only accepts approximately 100 students for humanities and 100 for sciences. The admissions process is highly selective, generally requiring previous study at a CPGE (see description in typology above) and sitting for the demanding *concours*, a competitive entrance examination. (In 2005, just 60 students were chosen for sciences among an applicant pool of over 2000; and just 106 were accepted in humanities among an applicant pool of over 1500.[78]) Once admitted, the students are considered civil-servants in training (*fonctionnaires stagiaires*) and receive a monthly stipend after agreeing to serve France for ten years. There are four branches of the École Normale Supérieure; however, the most famous is located in Paris.

École Normale Supérieure Governance

The École Normale Supérieure is governed by a director, who is assisted by two assistant directors. The structure of the School also includes a Council of Administration (*Conseil d'Administration*) and a Scientific Council (*Conseil*

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[77] Presentation of Ecole Normale Superieure - http://www.ens.fr/ecole/presentation_en.php

[78] *ENS - Statistiques generales de tous les concours* - http://www.ens.fr/concours/Resultats/Statgene.htm

Scientifique).

The Director: represents the institution in legal matters; prepares and executes meetings of the Council of Administration; holds executive power over budget matters; has authority over all personnel; is responsible for order within the institution. The Director also appoints the head librarian.

The Director is a member of the professorial staff who is nominated by a special committee appointed directly by the Minister of Higher Education. The committee nominates three candidates (one will become Director, while the other two will become Assistant Directors). The committee appointed by the Minister of Higher Education consists of twenty influential members from French academic society: the permanent secretary of the Academy of history and archaeology; the permanent secretaries of the Academy of science; the permanent secretary of the Academy of social and political science; the president of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (French National Library); the Director of the National Institute of Health and Medical Research; four professors from the Collège de France; four section presidents from the National Center for Scientific Research's National Council; four section presidents from the National Council of Universities; the presidents of the School's Board of directors and Science Council.[79]

After considering the report from the special committee detailing the candidates, the chosen Director is appointed by the President of France. The Director is appointed for five years, and is immediately renewable for one extra term.[80] The Assistant Directors are appointed for three-year terms, which are renewable by the Minister of Higher Education. Assistant Directors - one representing sciences and the other humanities - are responsible for implementing scientific and pedagogical policies.

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[79] Information included in this text, regarding administrative organization and procedure of Ecole Normale Superieure, is taken from *STATUT DE L'ECOLE NORMALE SUPERIEURE*; full text available at http://www.ens.fr/ecole/statut.php

[80] In public universities, the president is not permitted to serve consecutive terms.

Conseil d'Administration: the Council of Administration determines internal rules and procedures; it deliberates budget adjustments, financial and property acquisitions, loans, gifts, legacies, and the creation of subsidiaries. The Council of Administration consists of twenty members, including: ten prominent figures elected by the Minister of Higher Education; one proposed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs; one proposed by the Minister of Culture; two representatives of the State's high-level technical bodies, two university professors representing sciences and humanities respectively; two representatives of other teaching and research personnel; four student representatives, two representatives of non-academic university personnel.

Conseil Scientifique: the Scientific Council determines the academic orientation of the university based on its capacity as an advisory body; it makes recommendation and for budgetary allocations related to research and teaching, which are then referred to the Council of Administration and the directors. The Scientific Council consists of four *ex-officio* members (the Director, Assistant Directors and the Head Librarian) and seven members elected by the academic colleges, including: two university professors, two other representatives of research and teaching personnel; one research engineer; and two student representatives. In addition, the Minister of Higher Education appoints eleven external public figures who are prominent within French academia.

Academic Organization of École Normale Supérieure

The École Normale Supérieure is organized into departments, sections and services. The departments or sections are formed according to the subjects taught. Each department is headed by a director, appointed by the director of the School, assisted by a Scientific Council, which the latter chairs. The director of the School, together with the department heads, establishes the organization and operation of the Science Council for each respective department.

The École Normale Supérieure has fourteen departments with sub-disciplines:

- Biology
- Chemistry
- Computer Science

- Mathematics
- Physics
- Earth, Atmosphere, Ocean
- Cognitive Sciences
- Geography
- History
- Literature and Languages
- Gateway to the Arts
- Philosophy
- Classics
- Social Sciences

Based on the list of academic offerings, it is clear that the subjects offered by the École Normale Supérieure do not differ that greatly from those offered at the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), at least not on the surface. The difference is in the intimate academic atmosphere of the École Normale Supérieure, with its emphasis on research and training of the academic, governmental and business elite.

Conclusion

The École Normale Supérieure, when placed next to the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) highlights the 'dual-system' approach of French higher education, with grandes écoles on the one hand, and universities on the other. Both the University of Paris-Sorbonne and the École Normale Supérieure offer similar subjects of instruction and both fall under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education. Thus, the difference between these two institutions is not an issue of 'public versus private' or 'general versus specialized education'; rather, the École Normale Supérieure is intended to serve the *elite* student (based on principles of academic merit), whereas, the public universities serve the mass student (based on principles open and free education for any student with a baccalaureate degree). Framing the relationship as 'elite versus mass' is a crude simplification.

Nevertheless, if we compare the governing structure of both *public* institutions, striking differences emerge.

The École Normale Supérieure maintains a special relationship with the Minister of Higher Education, who appoints a special committee of prominent figures in French academic society to decide upon who should lead the institution as Director. This process is affirmed by the formal appointment courtesy of the President of the Republic. In contrast, the University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) elects its President through the Council of Administration, which in fact includes a wide range of representatives from the university community and also outside. At the University of Paris-Sorbonne, the members of the Council of Administration from outside the university are mostly comprised of workers' and employers' unions. At the École Normale Supérieure, outside representatives on the Council of Administration are from the 'high society' of French academia, including appointments by several ministries. The difference in numbers of representatives is another indication: 60 members of the Council of Administration at the University of Paris-Sorbonne and just 20 at the École Normale Superieur. This is in part due to the great difference in size of student and professorial populations (which is, again, a reflection of elite versus mass types of higher education). In general, the École Normale Supérieure appears to sacrifice the representative form of governance found within the universities with a more intimate relationship with the French leadership class. Still, when contrasted with the American VHR institutions, both the University of Paris-Sorbonne and the École Normale Supérieure appear overwhelmingly reliant on the Ministry of Education for governance and organization.

2.3 ADMISSIONS AND DEGREE CONFERMENT

After having presented the governance and academic structure, this section will explore the admissions requirements and procedure of degree conferment in the four chosen institutions. In this way, the institutional character of these institutions and the differences between them will become clearer. Admissions and degree conferment should also reveal distinctions, more generally, between institutions in the United States and France.

Harvard University, Admissions and Degree Conferment

The admissions process at Harvard University is notoriously competitive; in 2004, Harvard reported an admittance of just 10.3%, or 2,029 students for its incoming undergraduate class. The application process is structured according to two paths: early action and regular decision. Early action is for those applicants who have completed and submitted all of the application materials by a November of the year prior to desired enrolment. Early action candidates receive notification about their decision in mid-December. Generally, the early action program is a way for applicants to demonstrate serious interest in Harvard and also to ease the anxiety of the waiting process. The other option, regular action, requires that candidates submit applications by January 1st; these applicants do not receive notification until May 1st.

The admissions criteria at Harvard are based on a variety of factors, including: high school academic record including a ranking of where the applicant stands relative to his/her class, standardized test scores (SAT and SAT II)[81], extracurricular and volunteer activities, academic honors, work experience, responses to short-answer questions, a personal essay of 250 to 500 words, and teacher recommendations. The personal essay is often seen as an opportunity for an applicant to express himself/herself beyond the quantitative indicators of academic records and standardized tests. In the 2005-2006

[81] The SAT is a test of developed language skills and mathematical reasoning abilities given on specified dates throughout the year at test centers in the United States and other countries. The SAT is required by many colleges and sponsors of financial aid programs. The SAT is sponsored by the College Board, a non-profit membership association. Increasingly, the SAT has become an industry unto itself, with numerous preparation courses and books; some argue that this has given a competitive advantage to those students who can afford to prepare for the test because courses and private tutors are often very expensive.

application, the following essay topics were offered[82]:

- Evaluate a significant experience, achievement, risk you have taken, or ethical dilemma you have faced and its impact on you.
- Discuss some issue of personal, local, national, or international concern and its importance to you.
- Indicate a person who has had a significant influence on you, and describe that influence.
- A range of academic interests, personal perspectives, and life experiences adds much to the educational mix. Given your personal background, describe an experience that illustrates what you would bring to the diversity in a college community, or an encounter that demonstrated the importance of diversity to you.
- A topic of your choice.

Other considerations for admission include intended field of concentration, languages spoken, legacy connections to Harvard, summer activities, supplementary materials (artistic, musical, etc.), and the option of indicating your ethnic background. The issue of ethnic background relates, in part, to affirmative action policies. As a rule, universities are not allowed to establish quotas for specific ethnicities, but they are permitted to promote 'diversity' when choosing from the applicant pool in terms of ethnic identity, religion, gender, geographical distribution, and other possible indicators.

The actual weight given to various criteria remains shrouded in mystery; however, it is assumed that if an applicant is not situated in the top of his/her class in terms of academic performance, he/she will stand a much lesser chance of acceptance. Likewise, low scores on standardized tests significantly hurt a candidate's chances. However, it is possible that a candidate from a poorer school district and belonging to an underrepresented group will be accepted with lower scores than a candidate from an overrepresented category. The recommendations and essays are an attempt to 'personalize' the application, but the actual weight given to these categories is difficult to judge due to their highly subjective nature. Decisions are made by an Admissions Committee after

[82] Harvard University Undergraduate Application, 2005-2006, electronic version available at http://www.admissions.college.harvard.edu/

thorough review.[83]

All undergraduate students are enrolled in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. At the conclusion of their studies (usually four years), they receive either a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree with specific requirements defined by the Faculty. The actual degree is conferred by the authority of the President of the university. A Bachelor's degree is considered the first full degree in American higher education. After, students may apply to programs for a Master's degree (usually lasting between one and two years); or, in exceptional cases, they may apply directly to Ph.D. programs.

University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Admissions and Degree Conferment

The University of Michigan at Ann Arbor is one of the more selective state universities (public VHR institution) in the United States. For the undergraduate class entering in 2005, the University of Michigan received 23,842 application, of which 13,565 were admitted, with 6,000 of those admitted actually enrolling.[84] The admissions criteria are not very different from that found at Harvard, or, for that matter, most institutions granting undergraduate Bachelor's degrees: high school academic record, standardized test scores (SAT), extracurricular activities and demonstration of leadership, special skills and talents, unique personal background, recommendations from teachers and personal essays. According to the Admissions website, 'grades and curriculum will continue to have the biggest impact on the admissions decision.' Each college or school within the University of Michigan sets specific high school curriculum requirements and when applying, applicants are applying to a specific college or school. For example, the College of Literature, Science, and Arts requires that applicants "have completed the following: 4 years English, 3 years mathematics, 2 years biological and physical sciences, 3 years history and social sciences, 2 years foreign language." (see: footnote 77) The University of Michigan functions

[83] It is difficult to find specific information about the Admissions Committee (number of members, decision-making process, appointment, etc); Harvard probably prefers it this way.
[84] Information regarding admissions and statistics is available at University of Michigan, Undergraduate Admissions website: http://www.admissions.umich.edu

on a 'rolling admissions' process, which means that the deadline for applying for the fall semester of the following year is February 1st, but that students may apply any time between October 1st and February 1st, and that admissions decisions are mailed to applicants on a 'rolling basis'. Thus, it is more advantageous to apply closer to October 1st, when places in the incoming class have yet to be filled.

The actual decision-making process concerning applicants is performed by 'review committees', which in the early stages include faculty members. Applicants are classified by reviewers into the following categories: outstanding, excellent, good, average/fair, below average/poor. Following this classification, reviewers submit a recommendation of the candidate, subject to review, based on the following categories: high-admit, admit, admit with reservation, deny with reservation, deny. In 2003, the undergraduate admissions policy at the University of Michigan was challenged in the Supreme Court case, *Gratz v Bollinger*. Two applicants who had been rejected contested the 'points system' upon which the admissions policy had been based, wherein applicants were rated with points received according to various criteria, including ethnic background; under that system, applicants from ethnic minority backgrounds received more 'points' (with 100 as a minimum number of points for admission). This system was ruled by the Supreme Court, in a 6-3 decision, as violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. Since that decision, the University of Michigan has abandoned the 'points system' in favor of a 'holistic review' of each candidate's application, considering a variety of factors as a whole, rather than weighing too heavily on any particular factor such as ethnic background. The Undergraduate Admissions department is highly transparent and many details of the review process can be found in university publications or on the university website.

According to section 9.01 of the University of Michigan Bylaws[85], "All degrees of the University in course and all honorary degrees are granted by the Board of Regents on recommendation by the several authorities as hereinafter prescribed." Degrees are awarded after a student has satisfied the requirements

[85] University of Michigan, Bylaws: http://www.regents.umich.edu/bylaws/

of his/her school or college and after the governing body of that school or college has recommended the student to receive the degree.

University of Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV), Admissions and Degree Conferment

Students seeking university admission must have the *baccalauréat* or an equivalent diploma. This is the secondary school leaving certificate, familiarly known as *le bac*. It is usually received at the age of eighteen. The *baccalauréat* gives automatic entry into French public universities. In effect, it is the only requirement. This mass access to university education is consistent with the values of uniformity and equality which are so prevalent in French education and arguably, in French society. Here, it is worth quoting Musselin at length:

"The Cognitive framework imposed by the principles of uniformity and equality is clearly quite a limiting one...That each and every holder of the *baccalauréat* degree is assured of university admission; that university studies (those leading to a national degree) are virtually free; that what are the minimal enrollment fees will be identical from one institution to another; and that study program content will be determined at the national level cannot be considered merely formal arrangements. Such rules are indiscociable form the principles of uniformity and equality on which their legitimacy rests."[86]

French universities issue national degrees. National degrees are subject to national regulations known as *maquettes. Maquettes* define the minimum conditions for accreditation of study programs. In this way, an equivalency is established between a degree in History received Paris university with a History degree received in Toulouse, for example. Typically, in the first two years, university study begins with a broad foundation course leading to the DEUG preliminary degree. Students then begin a process of gradual specialization, leading to a full degree (*licence*), a master's degree (*maîtrise*), then a DESS or DEA postgraduate degree (*Diplôme d'Études Supérieures Spécialisées or Diplôme d'Études Approfondies*). The doctorate represents the final stage in this

process.

UNIVERSITY STUDY CYCLE

LEVEL	*Premier* cycle and first year of *deuxième* cycle	Second year of *deuxième cycle*	*Troisième* cycle
DIPLOMA	DEUG, *Licence* (first year of *deuxieme* cycle)	*Maîtrise*	DEA, DESS; Doctorate
DURATION	DUEG - 2 years *Licence* - 1 year	1 year	DEA, DESS - 1 year Doctorate - 3 years or more

Table 4.

École Normale Supérieure, Admissions and Degree Conferment

The admissions process at the École Normale Supérieure is very competitive. Students admitted into the École Normale Supérieure are considered civil servants in training and receive a monthly stipend from the State. The main criteria for acceptance is successful score on the *concours*, which is a competitive examination. There are two types of *concours*, one for letters and sciences, and one uniquely for sciences (medicine and pharmacology). Beyond the concours, international students who demonstrate academic excellence and who perform well on a series of tests – commentary on a French text, written responses on a given theme - before an admissions panel. The *concours* is a very rigorous examination, involving written and oral components. Candidates usually spend two years, after the baccalaureate degree, preparing for the *concours* in a CPGE (*Classes Préparatoires aux Grandes Écoles*).

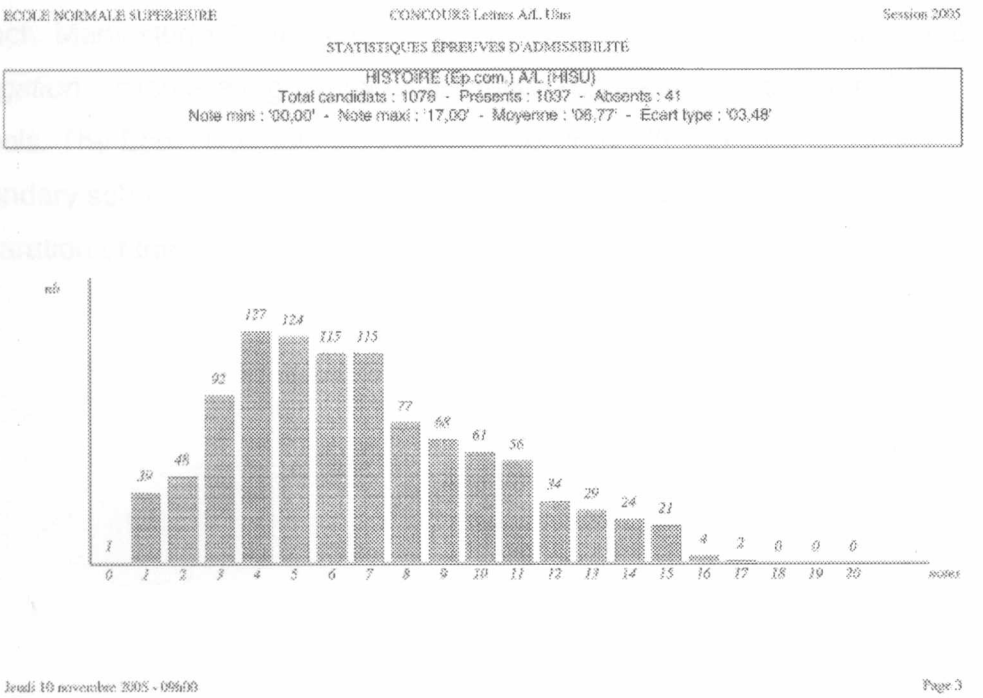
For example, the *concours* for letters, in 2006, consisted of:

Written examination: six parts, approximately 30 hours. French composition, philosophy, contemporary history, Latin or Greek, and a modern foreign language (German, English, Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, Modern Greek, Hebrew, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Portuguese, or Russian), and one topic chosen among a list of ten possibilities..

[86] Musselin, Christine. *The Long March of French Universities.* pp 54-56

Oral examination: six parts, approximately three hours (not including preparation time). Explanation of a French text, philosophical topic, contemporary history, Latin or Greek text, foreign language, and a choice among a list of topics.

Sample of written test scores, scale of 0-20, for Contemporary History, 2005:



Source: *Rapports du concours, AL Section, 2005:*
http://www.ens.fr/concours/Rapports/2005/AL/index.htm

The number of available places each year is fixed by the Ministry of Education. Candidates for the *concours* must be twenty-three years old or younger by the 1st of January during the year of the *concours*. The *concours* is evaluated on a 0-20 scale. The jury which evaluates candidates is named by the director of the school, with the advice of vice-directors. The jury consists of professors specialized in each subject area; the professors can be from within the École Normale Supérieure, or from other institutions of higher education, including universities. In 2005, the composition of the jury for the letters *concours* included 24 professors for the major subjects, and between 1-2 professors for each

foreign language.[87] Admitted candidates enjoy the prestige of having their names published in the annual *Journal official*, also known as the 'JO', the 'official gazette' of the French Republic.[88]

Students at École Normale Supérieure follow a typical university program. Students must obtain a bachelor's degree (*licence*), master's degree (*maîtrise*) and a diploma of higher education (*DEA*), with one-year maximum being devoted to each. Many students enrolled at École Normale Supérieure prepare for the *agregation*, which is a high-level examination required for teaching at secondary schools. The École Normale Supérieure was originally founded to train secondary school teachers and it remains one of the best institutions for preparation of the *agregation*.

[87] *Composition du Jury, Concours B/L 2005:* http://www.ens.fr/concours/Rapports/2005/BL/composition_jury_BL.pdf

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to provide an exposé of higher education in France and the United States by presenting the historical conditions and structural aspects of higher education in both countries. Often, France and the United States are viewed as representing the ideal, or even extreme, embodiments of the *social* versus *liberal* models, respectively. This distinction can also be characterized as centralization versus de-centralization, or even according to national terminology: the *French* model versus the *Anglo-Saxon* model. As we move further into the twenty-first century, the issue of globalization and neo-liberalism becomes everywhere more apparent. Higher education is just one sector among many in which the debate about how to reconcile the free-market with social welfare rages. The usefulness of presenting higher education in France and the United States, as evidenced by this paper, is not to demonstrate that there is a tendency of convergence of models, or that higher education inevitably leads in one direction. Rather, by emphasizing the unique historical conditions which gave rise to modern education in each country, we are able to see why and how institutions are organized, make assumptions about the values which guide this organization, and perhaps offer judgment about the sustainability of these organizations into the future.

Christine Musselin, a renowned scholar of French universities, notes that comparative analysis of higher education, on the national level, has traditionally focused, independently, on three factors[89]: the state's role in system steering; the organization of higher education into different institutional sectors in order to assess the powers and purposes of universities, for example, against other postsecondary institutions; and lastly, the organization of academic professions. Musselin claims that none of these approaches fulfill their comparative purpose. Instead, she proposes a 'university configuration' of comparative higher education at the national level as an attempt to unify the three traditional factors.

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[88] *Arrete du 9 Septembre 2004* :http://www.ens.fr/concours/Organisation/arrete_2004_admission_3ENS.pdf

[89] P 110

She believes that "We cannot begin with a predetermined national model; we have instead to gradually "unveil" it, to reconstitute it as the analysis of local interactions advances." By extracting two institutional types from each nation, this paper has attempted to fulfill Musselin's calling. By exploring different forms of governance and organization, admissions and degree conferment, among different institutional types in each nation, I have hopefully contributed a small part in "unveiling" the national models.

It is certainly evident that the organization of higher education in France and the United States is very different. In France, the state, through the Ministry of Education, exerts strong influence on almost all aspects of higher education for public institutions: the governance of institutions is codified on the national level, the organization and content of academic instruction must be certified, the hiring of professors is based on an elaborate system of national examinations in which institutions of higher education have little control over *who* they can hire, the admissions process is controlled by state regulations, and the degrees, for public universities, are considered *national* and uniform throughout. Funding is based on contracts and relationships with the state. Tuition fees are a minimal source of revenue.

This situation contrasts sharply with the United States, where institutions of higher education have been mostly free from state influence over internal functioning since colonial era. Indeed, even nominally 'public' institutions, such as the University of Michigan, exercise a great amount of autonomy, as explicitly granted in the Bylaws. The public university, in the United States, is in fact a mixture of public *and* private. The private university is entirely private, in the sense that it is even 'owned' by a private corporation. In the United States, there is no Ministry of Education or similar institution. Voluntary associations of universities, as well as competition between them, have thus far ensured an impressive level of quality and standards. With the absence of a ministry and a seemingly chaotic mixture of institutions of higher education prescribing their own sets of guidelines and delivering institution-specific degrees, it seems tempting to characterize the United States as lacking any sort of system of higher education,

that the system is in fact a *non-system*. This would be accurate, but it fails to acknowledge that the guiding principles of this 'non-system' are in fact the self-regulating market mechanisms, decentralization and a laissez-faire higher education industry in which students are the consumers and universities are the producers. The producers must compete with each other for the consumers. Consumers, in turn, are willing to pay the price (or accumulate student debt) if they believe that the product or service (often, status and prestige of the institution) are worthy. This 'non-system', with its roots in the colonial era and nineteenth century, has become, for its many admirers, what the 'Humboldt model' was for the nineteenth century.

Recently, social unrest by students in France, in opposition to a new law designed to introduce flexibility into the labor market[90], shut down many universities and lycees and recalled the imagery of May 1968. Once again, French society is being forced to reevaluate the role of universities. Advocates of change perceive the system as archaic, rooted in the nineteenth century and not well-suited for the competitive challenges of the twenty-first century. Furthermore, as recent social unrest in November 2005 in France's poor suburbs - *les banlieues* - highlighted, the gulf between the elite and those excluded from French society remains wide, and nowhere is this more apparent than in the dual system of state-supported universities and grandes écoles. It remains to be seen what types of changes will be introduced into the French system or if the French people will be willing to embrace reforms, even if these reforms require shattering the ideals of equality and uniformity. It is likely that future proposals will seek to move higher education in the direction of the *liberal*, *Anglo-Saxon* model because of its demonstrated flexibility and dynamism relative to the state-centralized approached. Claude Allègre, a former education minister who tried without success to reform French universities, expresses this feeling: "In the United States, your university system is one of the drivers of American prosperity. But here, we simply don't invest enough. Universities are poor. They're not a priority

[90] The anti-CPE student unrest culminated in March and April of 2006; the main supporter of the reforms, Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin, was forced to revoke the law because of public opposition.

either for the state or the private sector. If we don't reverse this trend, we will kill the new generation."[91]

[91] Sciolino, Elaine. "Higher Learning in France Clings to its Old Ways" *New York Times.* (12 May 2006)