GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON HIGHER EDUCATION

The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education

Is Japanese Education Really Changing?

John Mock, Hiroaki Kawamura and
Naeko Naganuma (Eds.)

Foreword by Roger Goodman

SensePublishers

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Volume 33

Higher education worldwide is in a period of transition, affected by globalization, the advent of mass access, changing relationships between the university and the state, and the new technologies, among others. *Global Perspectives on Higher Education* provides cogent analysis and comparative perspectives on these and other central issues affecting postsecondary education worldwide.

This series is co-published with the Center for International Higher Education at Boston College.

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Is Japanese Education Really Changing?

Foreword by Roger Goodman

Edited by

John Mock
Temple University, Tokyo, Japan

Hiroaki Kawamura
University of Findlay, Ohio, USA

and

Naeko Naganuma
Akita International University, Akita, Japan

SENSE PUBLISHERS
ROTTERDAM/BOSTON/TAIPEI

A C.I.P. record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN: 978-94-6300-167-0 (paperback)
ISBN: 978-94-6300-168-7 (hardback)
ISBN: 978-94-6300-169-4 (e-book)

Published by: Sense Publishers,
P.O. Box 21858,
3001 AW Rotterdam,
The Netherlands
https://www.sensepublishers.com/

Printed on acid-free paper

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ROGER GOODMAN

FOREWORD

On September 26, 2014, the Japanese Minister of Education, Hakubun Shimomura, announced details of the “Top Global University Project,” which would provide additional funding for 37 leading universities (selected from 104 applicants) in order to boost the international competitiveness of Japanese higher education overall and see more Japanese institutions among the top-ranked universities in the world.

The universities were divided into two categories. The thirteen Type A institutions, essentially Japan’s top research institutions such as Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, and Tsukuba, will each receive about ¥420 million (US$3.8 million) in annual subsidies, whereas the 24 Type B universities, expected to pioneer internationalization efforts more generally, will receive roughly ¥170 million (US$1.6 million) annually over the ten-year term of the project.

Each institution is expected to undertake project-related initiatives that will span a broad range of international engagement, including student exchange, faculty exchange, joint research, transnational education programs, and perhaps even the establishment of schools or campuses operated in collaboration with foreign partners. Hiroshima University, for example, has publically announced that it aims to be a top-hundred ranked institution by 2023 and plans to boost the number of students it sends abroad by more than 400% from just 423 this year. It similarly intends to double the number of international students it hosts (to 3,600 by 2023) and increase the number of classes taught in foreign languages from 397 today to 3,357 by 2023. Okayama University, a Type B institution, plans to significantly expand courses offered in English and to achieve a dramatic increase in the number of students scoring 700 or higher on the TOEIC English exam. According to Minister Shimomura, if all 37 universities meet their stated goals, half of their teaching staff will come from abroad and a fifth of their classes will be taught in English by the year 2023.

It is not difficult to see the motivations behind these new targets as Japan lags behind its OECD competitors on all of these measures. While over 40% of teaching staff in Oxford and Cambridge and over 30% in Harvard come from other countries, in Japan the proportion is currently just over 4%. While the OECD average for international students enrolled on undergraduate and graduate programs is almost 8%, in Japan it is currently under 3%. Perhaps most significantly for opinion formers in Japan, only two Japanese institutions (Tokyo and Kyoto) and three (Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka) are currently ranked in the top hundred universities in the Times Higher and the Shanghai Jiao Tong World University Rankings respectively.

The "Top Global University Project" is just the latest major government investment in internationalizing its higher education system. It builds on the foundation of internationalization plans already set out by the Japanese government. These include the Global 30 Project, which involved major government support for 13 universities to offer complete degree programs in English and a broader commitment to treble the number of international students in the country to 300,000 by the year 2020. At the same time, there has been major investment in expanding government financial support for Japanese students to study overseas (the collapse in which has led to something of an academic panic in the past decade) and the continuous internationalization of the Japanese education system from the introduction of English lessons in primary education to bringing university entrance more in line with global practices.

For those interested in the history of the development of Japanese education, there are some interesting similarities between the current debates about the need to internationalize and debates in earlier periods of Japan's modern history. As the Meiji government eased into power following the restoration of the emperor in the 1860s, it promulgated a policy of learning from overseas. During the first two decades of the Meiji period (1868–1912), a large number of Japanese were sent overseas at government expense to the United States and Europe, and between three and four thousand Western experts—known as *oyatoi*—were invited to Japan. During the first years of the Meiji government, almost a sixth of the national education budget was spend on sending officially designated *ryūgakusei* (overseas scholars) abroad and supporting them while they were there, a very large proportion of whom became professors in the newly founded imperial universities on their return. In the 1980s, during the administration of Prime Minister Nakasone, there were also major moves to internationalize the Japanese education system, especially at the higher education level. A target was set to increase the number of foreign students studying in Japanese universities to 100,000 by the year 2000, a target that was met a few years late. What is interesting is that in all cases, as with the Top Global University Project announced and financed in 2014, these programs have been characterized as government-led, top-down projects designed to meet national interests.

The reoccurrence of these debates suggest that there are some inherently conservative forces in Japanese society, which makes internationalization problematic. In many ways, Japan's curse in this context is that it is just large enough to have a higher education system (which is terms of total expenditure, public and private, is second in size only to that of the United States) to allow it to be self-contained. A Japanese sociologist, for example, could profitably spend the whole of a career dealing with the substantial Japanese-language material in sociology and attending study groups in Japan without ever needing to attend international meetings of sociologists. Indeed, the same could be said for scholars of English literature. This would not be so easy to do in, say, South Korea, Indonesia, or even China or India.

The key questions explored in this volume are not only why Japan needs to internationalize but also many of the reasons why this has proven to be so difficult. Most importantly, though, it explores what has been the actual effect of internationalization programs on the students and academics who have been incorporated by them. What is clear is that terms like "internationalization" and "globalization" carry multiple meanings and are interpreted in varying ways by individual actors, sometimes in very different ways from those anticipated by the architects of the programs themselves. In exploring these interpretations, the chapters that follow add greatly to our understanding of Japanese society and particularly Japanese higher education in the contemporary period. In doing so, we are much in the debt of the authors whose research informs the chapters and the editors who have brought together such a rich set of ethnographic accounts.

Roger Goodman
University of Oxford

PREFACE

During the last part of the 20th century, there were active efforts in Japan to recruit foreign, notably American, universities to Japan. There were also efforts to develop “international” universities. The idea seems to have been that having “international” universities would somehow make Japan a more “international society” and, among other things, more economically successful. The quotation marks on “international” is because the term (*kokusaika*, 国際化, in Japanese) is extremely vague with multiple meanings, a point taken up in several of the chapters in this volume.

Our question was to determine if we could actually measure, in some way, the impact, if any, of internationalized universities on their local communities. Because we could not go back in time and directly measure impact of, for example, the thirteen-year tenure of Minnesota State University–Akita (which morphed into Akita International University in what is now the Yuwa area of Akita City, Akita Prefecture), we decided to use the extensive community networks many of the authors had developed in order to attempt a very broad approach to this question.

THE ORIGINAL RESEARCH PLAN

The original research design had sixteen researchers primarily located in three “international” universities: Akita International University (9 faculty), Ritsumeikan Asia-Pacific University (3 faculty), Miyazaki International College (2 faculty) and two other universities (2 faculty). The intention was to use basic quantitative data as a foundation for qualitative analysis of the extended interviews derived from our members’ networks. Originally, we were targeting four groups—particularly in Akita where we had the most extensive connections. The four groups were 1) local “non-international” groups (i.e, groups with no “international” connections), 2) local “international” groups (groups who had international connections outside of the university—like language study groups or the Japanese-American Friendship Society), 3) local educators (primary and secondary), and 4) Japanese students at the “international” universities. Naeko Naganuma wrote a Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) Grant-in-Aid proposal, “The Impact of International Universities on Their Local Communities” 国際系大学の存在が地域社会に及ぼす社会・経済・文化的影響の比較研究: JSPS Grant-in-Aid # 18530389, 2006–2009 which was funded starting in fiscal year 2006.

THE ORIGINAL RESEARCH PLAN SCHEDULE

The research task was originally proposed as a four-year study. In Year One we planned to contact groups, develop relationships with informants, and administer pilot questionnaires using bilingual student interviewers with faculty oversight (many of the original faculty/researchers were language faculty without sufficient Japanese language skills to administer interviews). It was also thought that student interviewers would be less threatening, a technique favored by the Principal Investigator who had used the technique of student interviewers extensively in studying small Akita towns. In Year Two we planned to carry out intensive interviews with all four groups, and hold a small conference in order to compare notes and methodologies used by the various participants. In Year Three we were to undertake comparative analysis and further interviews. In Year Four we would complete the write up, the comparative analysis, and hold a second collaborative conference.

THE "REAL" RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

During Year One, the contracts of eight of the nine faculty at Akita International University (AIU) were not renewed, including that of the Principal Investigator. Six of the eight terminated faculty left Japan for positions in other countries. Of the two who stayed in Japan, one decided not to continue with the project. The PI was offered (and accepted) a professorship at the Graduate Program in International Political Economy at the University of Tsukuba.

Aside from the faculty not renewed at AIU, two other faculty members in the project moved to new universities within Japan, but continued on the project. However, since one moved away from Miyazaki International College (MIC), this weakened the contacts in that area. Although we lost an enormous depth of contact with the community, particularly in Akita, we tried to continue with essentially the same methodology. This included working with the "new" universities, the University of Tsukuba and Kansai Gaidai University where a MIC faculty member had moved.

This was not a successful tactic. We did not have the contacts or the background information to function effectively (see Shumpei Watanabe's chapter for a student perspective). At our collaborative conference at the end of the second year, therefore, we decided to change tactics and concentrate primarily on students. Further, in addition to interviews, we decided to use a commercial instrument, the IDI (Intercultural Development Inventory) to provide a comparative basis. What we wanted to do was actually measure, if possible, the impact of the "international" universities on their own students. Did students attending international universities become more culturally sensitive or in any other way display increased "internationalization"?

Under the supervision of Hiroaki Kawamura, one of our research members who had undergone the training necessary to administer the instrument, the IDI was administered to 160 students, 40 at each of the target universities, with Kansai Gaidai added to Ritsumeikan Asia-Pacific University, Miyazaki International College and Akita International University. In each institution, we tried to get a rough equivalence of students with similar kinds of international experience and, where possible, a gender balance. While there were difficulties in having exactly the same group makeup in each university, the four groups were roughly comparable. However, the IDI results (see the Kawamura, Occhi and Naganuma chapters in this volume) were inconclusive in and of themselves. Nevertheless, they did provide a basis for further qualitative analysis (see Occhi and Naganuma). This core of material also provided the basis for this edited volume. Other members of the original group (Poole, Eades, Cooper, Hardy and Mock) were all influenced by the results (and non-results) of the original study, although it may not be directly stated in their chapters.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are many people, including all of the members of the original research team who were not able to continue with the project for various reasons, who should be acknowledged as being influential to the project. We would like to thank the study participants, the student assistants, Naeko Naganuma for writing the original grant proposal, and JSPS for the grant-in-aid. Also we would like to thank Kim Schuefftan, our very diligent copy editor, who dealt with our various oddities in a positive manner making this work much more readable than it would have otherwise been.

JOHN MOCK

THE IMPACT OF INTERNATIONALIZATION ON JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION

Is Japanese Education Really Changing?

INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in the Preface, "internationalization", in various shapes and sizes, has been a major component of Japanese universities, indeed all of Japanese society, from the latter half of the 20th century to the present. As Japan became an increasingly important and successful economic participant in a globalizing world, the idea was that having an international/intercultural perspective, including language competencies in addition to Japanese, would make Japan both a more effective participant in the world economy and a more significant actor on the world stage.

This collection of essays, rooted in the experiences described in the Preface but including many "outside" perspectives, seeks to examine various aspects of the impact of "internationalization" on at least some Japanese universities and possibly partly answer the question posed in our subtitle, is Japanese higher education really changing?

The short and oversimplified answer would probably be something like a qualified, yes. Japanese education is changing but very slowly, somewhat erratically, and not necessarily at all in the directions that might be optimal. In fact, one could easily argue that while Japan is one of the top two or three economies in the world, it punches far below its weight in terms of tertiary education. The structure of the book follows, to a certain extent, a path similar to where our research led us. While there is substantial interconnectivity among the various chapters, there are five general divisions.

In Part 1 (Intercultural), Kawamura, Occhi, Naganuma and Fukuzawa all are specifically interested in the acquisition of intercultural skills. All of these chapters demonstrate rather clearly the inadequacy of quantitative data in support of qualitative analyses. Kawamura presents the IDI materials and contrasts the Japanese international university experience with high school students in non-metropolitan Ohio in the United States. Kawamura proposes thinking about the development of intercultural communication skills as the foundation of international education in Japan. He argues that this approach will reduce the gap between outward international education (国際化) and domestic intercultural issues

(内なる国際化). From the viewpoint of intercultural communication skills development, there is no fundamental difference between sending students abroad and training them with culturally distinct populations in Japan. Using Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) as the conceptual framework of reference and as a measurement tool, he has been working on an internationalization project in Ohio, USA. For the current project, he used IDI as one of the tools to measure international universities' impact on their students. He tentatively concludes that educational activities at international universities seem to have some positive impact on students' intercultural communication skills development.

Fukuzawa links language skills, specifically ESL, with intercultural sophistication, examining the effect of English proficiency levels on the internationalization of university students as measured by their interest in studying or traveling abroad. A questionnaire study showed few significant differences between high-scoring and low-scoring groups. However, the effect of English level on the desire to travel abroad, but surprisingly not actual study abroad, was strong. Moreover, low-scoring students considered language barriers significantly more daunting than high-scoring students. An analysis of broad-ranging interviews suggests that study abroad is a distant dream for most students. This is perhaps the reason that the average range of language levels had no effect on desire to study abroad: the level of English required for effective engagement with a global society is beyond the reach of most students. Thus, only a small minority with extremely high-level language skills were actually engaged with the world outside Japan.

Occhi critically examines the situation in Miyazaki International College (MIC), and links it to the conundrum emerging between the goals set by tertiary education (that in this case fosters internationalization) on the one hand, and societal expectations for these young adults that necessitates increasing engagement in the world of off-campus (domestic) adult society on the other. Japanese tertiary students must navigate the role changes associated with attaining adulthood at age twenty while being enrolled typically between the ages of eighteen to twenty-two. Thus the implications of her findings should apply not only in the case of international universities, but generally to the broader realm of tertiary education that spans this boundary in the Japanese life cycle. She also provides a context for Japan's tertiary education internationalization policies, comparing it to Europe's Bologna Process and New Zealand's complementarity model.

Naganuma describes how the two international universities, MSU-A (Minnesota State University-Akita) and AIU (Akita International University, 国際教養大学) have influenced the community of Akita and focuses on the experience at AIU. She draws connections between the IDI, and overseas experience (a full year is required) and some evidence of increased student intercultural sophistication. Quantitatively, there is no significant difference among the groups with different lengths of study abroad experiences; however, she suggests reasons why some differences in the IDI results are found in each group. Qualitatively, interview data collectively demonstrate that there are some keys to success in overseas study experiences in order to gain intercultural competence through fruitful experiences.

In Part 2 (Administrative/Political), Eades, Cooper and Aspinall examine the administrative and political landscape in which Japanese universities exist. In particular they examine the administrative and bureaucratic structures in a highly centralized political system where universities fall under the more or less direct control of the national Ministry of Education (technically, Ministry of Education, Culture Sports, Science & Technology, often abbreviated as MEXT).

Eades' chapter starts from recent trends in Japanese higher education: the expanding number of institutions, the falling birthrate, and government efforts to raise the international profile of Japanese universities and increase the number of foreign students studying in Japan. It focuses on the meaning of *kokusaika*, internationalization, in four universities in which he has taught: one high- and one mid-ranking national university, a private women's college, and a private international university.

He examines the areas of administration, teaching and research in each of these institutions and focuses on the main axes of internationalization in each: international engagement, networking, marketing and foreign language capacity in the case of administration; diversity and qualifications of teaching staff, curriculum development, student mobility, cultural and linguistic awareness and evaluation systems in the case of teaching; and facilities, publishing, funding, and profile in the case of research. He argues that the accommodations to the international market taking place in the more innovative universities are having an impact on more prestigious if conservative institutions, and this could well have a knock-on-effect on the lower ranking institutions in each sector.

Looking at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU) where he was both a senior administrator and a member of the teaching faculty, Cooper notes that there is a significant divide between international faculty and Japanese administrators, with mutual incomprehension on both sides complicating the tasks of teaching and research. Similarly, graduate students did not initially get the respect they thought they were entitled to, and undergraduates often expressed dissatisfaction with the level of regimentation they were subject to. Even in 2015 no student union representation is allowed at APU.

Aspinall uses the "risk society" paradigm of German sociologist Ulrich Beck to help frame the problems and challenges experienced by the Japanese tertiary sector in light of both domestic and global trends and transformations. In 2009, the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development) published a report on Japanese tertiary education which discussed the efforts being made by the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT) to reform universities in the face of increasing competition from abroad and demographic and financial problems at home. The report questioned MEXT's attempt to promote "dynamism without risk," and raised concerns about the lack of development of a pool of academic administrators capable of the necessary strategic management and leadership. Aspinall argues that the language of the "risk society" paradigm is well suited to analyzing the stage of development Japanese national and public universities are now in. It not only helps throw light on the practical problems of transition to a new market-based model of higher education provision. It can also help in understanding the cultural and even psychological problems faced by employees of institutions that were once shielded as much as possible from the risks and uncertainties of the outside world and that only now are being exposed to the winds of market competition.

In Part 3 (Perspective from Below), Watanabe, Gonzalez and Hansen each look at the same university from the varying perspectives of an undergraduate (moving to graduate student), a Ph.D. candidate and a junior contract faculty. Not incidentally, five of the contributors of this volume were involved, in various ways, with the University of Tsukuba (albeit two different units). Thus it tends to be something of a focal point because of our unconnected involvement, not because we think it is a bad example of Japanese universities. In fact, the overwhelming opinion of the five of us is quite positive. However, we think that its strength is not internationalization.

Drawing on his experiences as an undergraduate and a graduate student, Watanabe points out some of the weaknesses of "internationalization", and presents a very different perspective (as does Gonzalez Basurto) from the faculty/researchers. Operating from his personal experiences, Watanabe suggests that internationalization is possible but it has to be sought. He was hired as a first year student assistant at the University of Tsukuba in the failed attempt to simply transplant the research paradigm from the original loci to the new ones. He then went on to spend a year in Holland and received a Master's from a double-degree program run by Tokyo University and the University of Singapore.

In a somewhat more direct approach, Gonzalez Basurto examines graduate student life at the University of Tsukuba, essentially demonstrating that there is very limited "internationalization" even at, what is for Japan, a very large and very "international" university. Gonzalez Basurto examines the dynamics of internationalization at the University of Tsukuba through the narratives of students, administrators, and faculty members. By focusing on the multivocality of expectations, motivations, and challenges embedded in the university's daily internationalization, the chapter casts light on stakeholders' readiness and responsiveness vis-à-vis the top-down enactment of the Global 30 program, an initiative by MEXT to try to "internationalize" Japanese universities. By the same token, the chapter addresses the current role of the university as mediator or meso-level structure of socio-cultural openness, particularly with regards to long-standing issues of otherness and acculturation in Japan.

As a junior faculty member, Hansen notes the lack of penetration of any sort of serious international or intercultural component in the same large national university. From the auto-ethnographic perspective of a limited term contracted junior faculty member, Hansen examines the practices and politics of a Japanese national university coming to terms with cosmopolitan neo-liberalism by force and by choice. In such a context, education is a business like any other that competes domestically and internationally to survive, a point reiterated and emphasized in Shumar's concluding chapter in this volume. He focuses on the conservative and nationalist deployment of terms like "*gurobaru*" ('global'), strategically utilized by established university bodies while underscoring that this neoliberal discourse can be subverted by low ranking non-permanent staff; effectively rebranding this contrived worldliness to fit their own research projects or employment aims.

In Part 4 (Context), contributors examine the larger contexts in which tertiary education exists in Japan. Issues addressed include the way that, in the Japanese educational system, internationalization may, indeed, be a re-invention and reinforcement of cultural boundaries; the impact of earlier levels of education, specifically language education, and the production of text materials, on concepts of internationalization; and the larger social impact of internationalization on Japanese society arguing that, essentially, it deepens the gap between metropolitan and non-metropolitan Japan.

Poole begins this section by raising three points. First, he places the need for "international" approaches to Japanese higher education within a twenty-first century conceptualization of Japan as an immigrant society, not merely as a reaction to capitalist discourses of "global competitiveness." Second, although acknowledging how the OECD report on tertiary education in Japan that Aspinall discusses in Part 2, notes numerous issues with governmental policy, Poole discusses at some length issues of institutional and individual practice as they relate to the internationalization of administration practices at Japanese universities. Finally, he suggests the need to reconceptualize "internationalization" to avoid what he refers to as the phenomenon of "de-internationalization", or further retrenchment and re-invention of cultural boundaries.

Hardy explores the ways one team of writers comes up with their own working definition of the concept of internationalization while constructing an English textbook for Japanese junior high school students. He finds that their sense of the international involves three primary components – actions and scenes set outside Japan; the international brought to Japan through characters learning about other cultures and countries in the Japanese English classroom; and bringing Japan to the international through characters explaining things Japanese to foreign characters. The writers' working definition, though broad, is not out of line with definitions used by researchers in the field. He closes with the observation that internationalization can include efforts that might appear to foster its counter – a more intense and limited sense of Japanese national identity.

Mock emphasizes how the process of urbanization leads to concentrations of resources in the metropolitan centers, the depopulation of the rest of Japan (most extreme in rural areas), and the aging of the entire country. Urbanization is both influenced by economic and demographic forces as well as governmental policies that severely "tilt" resources toward the metropolitan centers while penalizing regional Japan. Educational resources, particularly tertiary educational resources, are already concentrated heavily in the metropolitan centers. Internationalization, in its various aspects, mostly controlled by the highly centralized Ministry of Education, simply adds further "tilt" to the Japanese urban/rural divide.

In Part 5 (Overview), Wes Shumar, in his concluding essay looks at internationalization as a series of contradictions in the global era, specifying areas where the preceding essays have specifically enumerated various aspects of an overall problem. The specific context is the globalization of the world economic system and the shift of universities to try to cope. This involves dealing with a variety of adaptations, including the creation of a cosmopolitan elite, to deal with a rapidly changing environment. One of the key tensions noted is the conflict between the critical nature of universities dealing with regional economic development and, especially in the United States, universities becoming increasingly dependent on their own revenue generation, often unsuccessfully. He notes that while Japan has a substantial economic role in the global economy, its tertiary education systems have been far less effective.

PART 1

INTERCULTURAL

HIROAKI KAWAMURA

1. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION AS INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION

Using the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) as a Framework of Reference

INTRODUCTION

Internationalization (*kokusaika*; 国際化) is a familiar topic for most Japanese. In Japanese higher education, the internationalization initiative is one of the top priorities. Ninomiya et al. (2009) summarize the history of internationalization efforts by Japanese higher education since the end of WWII. They conclude that internationalization is "a lifeline" (Ninomiya et al., 2009, 123) of Japanese universities for securing enrollment and increasing competitiveness in the global education market. The Japanese government has launched a number of initiatives to accelerate the speed of internationalization in education. To name a few, in 2007, the government launched the Asian Gateway Initiatives, the Plan of 300,000 Foreign Students in 2008, and Global 30 in 2009. The key goals of these initiatives include increasing the number of Japanese study abroad university students, making Japanese universities open to international students, and utilizing these international students as an important human resource for Japan's future.

Some have voiced concerns over the slow progress of Japan's internationalization efforts. The *New York Times* (July 29, 2012) points out that internationalization of Japanese universities has been painstakingly slow. Jackson (2013) posted a comment for TEDxTokyo that declining enrollment in overseas undergraduate and graduate programs by Japanese students might have impact on Japan's economic competitiveness in the future.

It is important to point out that internationalization has become recognized not only overseas but also as a domestic issue. With the growing number of foreign workers and resident-aliens in Japan (See the table below) the issue of coexistence with non-Japanese within Japan (多文化共生, *tabunka kyosei* [coexistence with cultural diversity] is receiving increasing attention from researchers and policy makers (内なる国際化, *uchi naru kokusaika* [internationalization within]). Aiden (2011) examines how local and central governments have coordinated activities to promote multiculturalism since 2006, when the Ministry of International Affairs

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 3–17.

and Communications (MIC) began taking a more active role in cultural diversity issues. Flowers (2012) conducted an ethnography of Tokyo's Shinjuku Ward that tries to respond to the influx of non-Japanese residents. Kobayashi's study (2012) shows how small nonmetropolitan communities responded to an influx of resident aliens. Today, internationalization is a part of ongoing socio-political and economic discourse in Japan.

(Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice 2012: 23, sic.)

In this context, what does international education mean for Japanese higher education? What are the goals of international education? The author suggests that the essence of international education is development of intercultural communication competence whether interaction takes place within or outside of Japan. Here, intercultural competence is defined as "a set of cognitive, affective, and behavioral skills and characteristics that supports effective and appropriate interaction in a variety of cultural contexts" (Bennett, 2011). This perspective intersects three areas: cognitive (e.g., general and culture-specific knowledge and cultural self-awareness), affective (e.g., curiosity, cognitive flexibility), and behavioral skills (e.g., listening, relationship building), and help individuals avoid acting like a "fluent fool" (Bennett, 1993). A "fluent fool" refers to a person who may have knowledge of linguistic codes of a foreign language (i.e., vocabulary, grammar) but do not know how to use them in culturally appropriate manners. Here, the term, culture, is broadly defined and covers meta- (e.g., gender, ethnicity) and micro-level cultures (e.g., organization). By defining the goal of international education from the intercultural communication perspective, we eliminate the cognitive boundaries between issues inside Japan (domestic internationalization) and those with other nation-states (internationalization). This chapter will use the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) as a framework of reference to achieve the above goal. The IDI is a widely recognized instrument to measure an individual's intercultural competence based upon the theoretical framework developed by Bennett

(1986).[1] The author has received Qualified Administrator training in 2007 and has conducted several projects using the IDI.

In this chapter, following general discussion on IDI, one of the author's ongoing projects will be presented as an IDI case study, and the IDI data of the current project on internationalization in Japan will be discussed. The current project used the IDI to examine if students' experiences at their "international" universities have impact on their intercultural competence development. Although the data are not sufficient to draw any conclusion, they seem to indicate that education at an international university has some positive impact on students' intercultural competence development. This chapter will conclude with a suggestion that institutions of Japanese higher education address domestic internationalization as part of their international education and develop pedagogical schemes to train students both in and outside of Japan.

INTERCULTURAL DEVELOPMENT INVENTORY

The IDI measures one's orientation toward cultural differences based on the Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) (Bennett, 1986). The DMIS, with an aim of explaining how people construe cultural differences, identifies an orientation ranging from more monocultural to more intercultural mindsets. Adapted from this continuum, the IDI identifies an orientation that people move in the process of developing intercultural competence. The underlying assumption here is that intercultural sensitivity, i.e., the ability to "discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences" is associated with intercultural competence, i.e., "the ability to think and act in interculturally appropriate ways" (Hammer et al., 2003). The IDI has been developed through cross-cultural psychometric protocols and has been translated into a total of 15 languages through back translation procedures (http://www.idiinventory.com/) (Hammer, 2011).

The continuum of intercultural competence development is divided into five orientations, that is, Denial, Polarization, Minimization, Acceptance and Adaptation, and individuals develop their competence on the continuum step by step. The current IDI (version 3) uses the following five orientations.

- Denial: One's own culture is experienced as the only real one, and other cultures are not recognized at all or only at the superficial/explicit level (e.g., clothes, food). People with a Denial orientation are generally not interested in cultural differences, fail to discriminate cultures, and use an undifferentiated "other" category such as "foreigner."
- Polarization (Defense/Reversal): People recognize cultural differences beyond the superficial level. However, the world is organized into "us" and "them," where one's own culture is superior and is experienced as the only viable one. Other cultures become a threat to those with Defense orientation. The Reversal worldview also divides the world into "us" vs "them." Unlike the Defense

orientation, "them" is not a threat, and the other culture is experienced as superior to the culture of one's primary socialization. People of dominant cultures tend to experience Defense as an attack on their cultural values and assumptions. On the other hand, people of nondominant cultures are likely to experience Defense as solidifying a separate cultural identity vis-à-vis the dominant group.

- Minimization: One's own cultural worldview is experienced as universal. Cultural differences are recognized but subordinated to the overwhelming similarity among peoples. Unbalanced focus on universality (e.g., people's biological nature, people's religious and philosophical concepts) will lead to obscure deep cultural differences, which may lead to other cultures trivialized or romanticized. Expecting similarities, they may expect to correct other peoples' behavior to match their own. For people of dominant cultures, Minimization tends to be associated with institutionalized privilege it affords its members.
- Acceptance: People see their own culture just as one of many and see others equally complex. Cultural logics and assumptions of others are recognized on their own without value judgment, although it does not mean people in this orientation
- Adaptation: People can engage in empathy and shift frame of reference between cultures. This shift is not only cognitive but also means a change in the organization of lived experiences.

In addition, the individual's sense of disconnection or detachment from a primary cultural group is measured under "cultural disengagement." For example, "Third Culture Kids" (Pollock & Van Reken, 1999) might show distinctive feature in this orientation.

The individual/group profile will show "perceived orientation" and "developmental orientation." The former reflects how the individual/group places one's own orientation, and the latter indicates actual orientation measured by the IDI. When the gap between the two is large (i.e., more than seven points difference), the group is overestimating its intercultural competence, whereas the group is underestimating its competence when the gap is small (e.g., less than seven points difference). It is often the case that the individual/group overestimates competence.

One important measurement result is "trailing orientation." This refers to the orientation that is not resolved. Depending on the circumstance (i.e., time, topic, situation), trailing orientation may pull you back to the unresolved orientation. This is important when the practitioner develops a coaching plan to help the individual/group move toward the next orientation.

There were some cautions when administering an IDI. First, it is not appropriate to administer IDI among youngsters. It is recommended that sampling be done among adults (high school ages and above). Also, it is important that respondents focus on their regular state of mind. For example, if they answer IDI questions when having had or being currently experiencing a significant professional or personal transitional experience, their orientation may reflect their recent/current struggle.

It is equally significant that the respondents think of actual intercultural experiences instead of idealized/imagined culture they have had little experience with.

There have been some studies that indicate that the IDI orientations may not accurately reflect developmental orientations among Japanese. Yamamoto (1998) pointed out that the characteristics of Minimization orientation shown by Japanese tend not to follow the DMIS model. Also Sakata (2004) found that Reversal might be observed among Japanese differently from the DMIS model. Sakata notes that it may be due to the tendency for Japanese to dichotomize the world into English-speaking and non-English speaking countries by adding positive values to the former.

CASE STUDY

The author is currently conducting a three-year project (2011–14) entitled "Internationalize K-12 Education in Hancock County, Ohio" funded by the Findlay-Hancock County Community Foundation (https://community-foundation.com/). For this project, the DMIS model provided theoretical framework, and the IDI data were collected and analyzed as the primary data set to develop a strategic plan for the project.

Hancock County is a rural community located in the midwest region of the United States. The size of the county is 534 sq miles (1,383 km²), and it is home to approximately 74,782 individuals. The county is predominately agricultural, with 85.3% of its area utilized for cropland and pasture (2010 United States Census). Also according to the 2010 Census, the population within Hancock County is primarily white (93.3%) , followed by Hispanic (4.5%) and Asian (1.7%). The county seat is City of Findlay, and there are ten additional villages within the county. The University of Findlay, where the author teaches, is located in the City of Findlay.

The goal of the project is to raise the quality of life for local residents—both citizens and temporarily residing internationals alike—by making the community a culturally welcoming place. The project has two objectives. First, the Hancock County youth will develop intercultural competence through face-to-face interaction with international students of the University of Findlay. Second, international students of the University of Findlay will gain opportunities to use English outside of the university setting and participate in community life through cultural exchange. The core component of the project is to develop a system that will provide intercultural experiences for the youth in a consistent manner, and the main activities are classroom visits to local K-12 schools by international students of the intensive English language program of the university.

Three years after the project began it expanded and is part of the Hancock County Workforce Initiative, whose goal is to raise the quality of workforce available within Hancock County. Development of intercultural competence is defined as one of the core components of the initiative. The project was featured with a short video entitled "Different But the Same" by the Community Foundation (https://community-foundation.com/about/youtube/).

During Year I of the project, the IDI was administered among high school seniors. The goal was to administer the IDI among 10% of high school seniors. Project staff administered the IDI in seven high schools and collected IDI data from a total of 368 respondents (89% seniors, 9% juniors, 1% sophomore). Following are the results of the data.

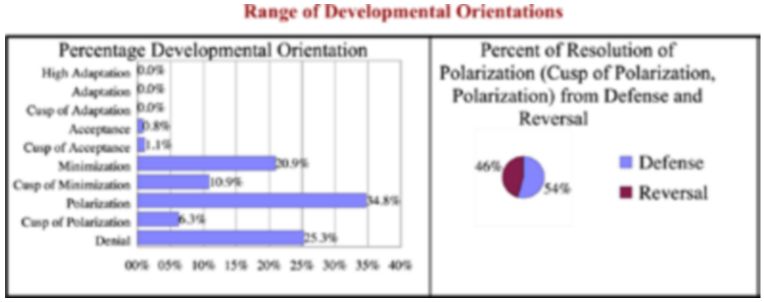
Perceived Orientation (PO)

Intercultural Development Inventory© and for IDI©

Developmental Orientation (DO)

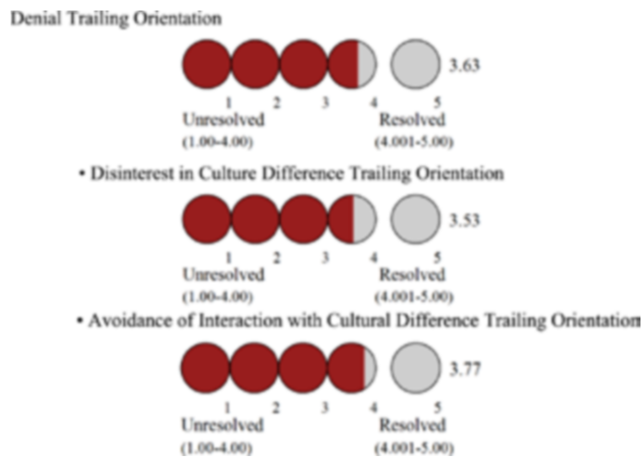
There are more than seven points gap between perceived and developmental orientations. It shows that Hancock County high school seniors tend to overestimate their intercultural competence. In general, the group's orientation is Polarization.

Range of Developmental Orientations



The above charts show that Hancock County high school seniors have more Defense orientation than Reversal. Distribution of orientations is that 66.4% of the respondents have Denial and Polarization orientations with 31.8% in Minimization and 1.9% in Acceptance.

It was also demonstrated that Denial orientation is not totally resolved (See the above graphs). It suggests that under certain circumstances, characteristics of Denial may surface again (i.e., may only recognize superficial cultural differences and not recognize deeper cultural values and assumptions, may avoid interaction with culturally different individuals).



Overall, the analysis of the IDI data suggests that Hancock County seniors tend to recognize cultural differences as “us” vs. “them” and attach positive meanings to their own. The percentage of developmental orientations and trailing orientation suggest that the group still have strong Denial characteristics. Based on these data, the following action plans were developed for the project:

- The key emphasis must be that the project will emphasize the commonalities among different peoples so that individuals could start reducing the perceptional division between “us” vs. “them” (i.e., transition toward Minimization). Another emphasis is to increase cultural self-awareness, which can lead to recognition of deep cultural meanings that may have been overlooked.
- Since Denial is the noticeable mark of the group, some activities will focus on cultural differences among various peoples, especially cultural values and assumptions, with an emphasis on activities that illustrate commonality. So, the key message is “They are different but the same.”
- A significant percentage of the Hancock County youth (25.3%) shows little interest in different cultures. Therefore, activities need to be designed so that they will attract the attention of the youth.

In the elementary school setting, international students are encouraged to do “show and tell” activities. The important point is that international students will avoid using the lecture-style format and actively interact with local school students. Cultural practices of the international students’ home countries are presented and discussed in a personalized manner. International students are encouraged to conduct physical activities such as a group dance during their visits.

In middle and high schools, facilitated small-group discussion is organized whenever possible. Discussion will be guided by the facilitator, who will pose "interesting topics" for both American and international students, although the topics are often adjusted according to the needs of the hosting local schoolteachers. Typical questions include:

- What is a typical school day in XX (international students' home countries)?
- What do you do/where do you go when you go on a date? When do you introduce your boy/girlfriend to your parents?
- What sports do you like? What are popular sports in your country?
- When can you earn a driver's license?
- What kind of music do you listen to?

It is crucial not to lose sight of the focus of the project. The project does *not* aim at providing information about non-US countries *but* increasing the amount of face-to-face interaction between international and domestic students. The role of the project is not *teaching* Hancock County youth about other cultures but *helping them experience cultural differences and commonalities firsthand*. In order to maximize the impact of each encounter, it is crucial to create a comfortable and informal atmosphere for the participants.

Through various experiential learning opportunities, the project has been sending the youth the message of "In the world, there are people who are difference from you not only outside but inside. They are definitely different. But, they are very cool—as cool as you are!" This message represents the minimization stage on the intercultural development continuum. The above "Range of Development Orientation" graph shows that there are individuals who are at the minimization, acceptance or denial stages. However, all the project activities are targeting on individuals who could move from polarization to minimization stage. In a few years, we are planning to administer IDI among high school students again. The author hopes to see more students having moved from the polarization to minimization stage. The IDI provided the theoretical framework for the project and is serving as its guiding tool.

It is important to note that the Hancock County project is not trying to help the youth develop intercultural competence by sending them overseas or teaching a foreign language. The focus is to facilitate interaction with resident-aliens.

The author took part in the current Japanese higher education project with a plan to use IDI to gain general sense of where students of international universities stand on the intercultural development continuum.

IDI DATA FOR THE CURRENT PROJECT

For the current project, the IDI was administered at four "international" institutions in Japan. The purpose was to examine if students' experiences at international universities/colleges have positive impact on development of intercultural competence among students. IDI was administered at Akita

International University in Akita, Miyazaki International College in Miyazaki, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University in Oita, and Kansai Foreign Language University in Osaka. Each institution administered the IDI with slightly different research questions. Akita and Miyazaki were interested in finding whether the educational experiences at their institutions helped their students develop higher intercultural competence. Ritsumeikan APU and Kansai Foreign Language University were interested in finding where their students stand regarding their intercultural development competence in light of their culturally diverse student and faculty demography.

This chapter will focus on three institutions—Miyazaki International College, Ritsumeikan APU, and Kansai Foreign Language University—leaving discussion on Akita International University to Naganuma (Chapter 3).

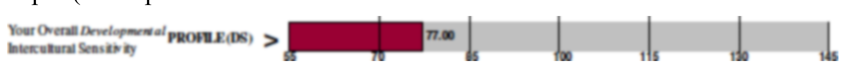
(1) Miyazaki International College

At Miyazaki, the IDI was administered among the four small groups of students. (Please refer to Occhi [Chapter 2] for Miyazaki International College's institutional characteristics.)

- Group 1: Freshmen who have had no or little international contact
- Group 2: Juniors or seniors who have had no or little international contact
- Group 3: Freshmen who have had significant amount of international contact
- Group 4: Juniors or seniors who have had significant amount of international contact

Here, the "significant" refer to at least ½-year study/living abroad experiences. The results are as follows:

Group 1 (10 respondents: Freshmen who have had no or little international contact)



Group 2 (10 respondents: Juniors or seniors who have had no or little international contact)

Group 3 (10 respondents: Freshmen who have had significant amount of international contact)

Group 4 (10 respondents: Juniors or seniors who have had significant amount of international contact)

These graphs show that Group 1 and 2 are at the Denial/Defense stage (55–85), Group 3 is approaching to and reached the Minimization stage (85–115). It seems safe to state the educational experiences at Miyazaki International College did help students move toward ethnorelativism on the intercultural development continuum.

(2) Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

At Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, international students make up 45% of the total student population (as of November 1, 2013), and 49% of full-time faculty members are non-Japanese (as of April 1, 2012). Ritsumeikan was featured in *The New York Times* article on internationalization of Japanese higher education (July 29, 2012) with Akita International University. The article presents these two institutions as success stories and states that international universities are leading internationalization of Japanese higher education far ahead of all traditional universities.

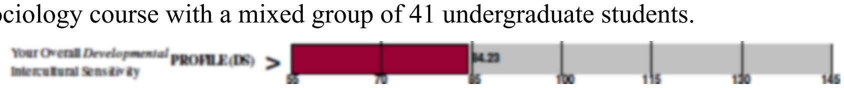
The graphs below show that the educational experiences at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University have positive impact on its students' development in intercultural competence.

Group 1 (21 respondents: freshmen without any significant study abroad experience)

Group 2 (20 respondents: junior or senior with study abroad experiences)

(3) Kansai Foreign Language University

Kansai Foreign Language University (often referred to as "Kansai *gaidai*") prides itself as being a cosmopolitan institution. Its web site (http://www.kansaigaidai.ac.jp/contents/info/publicity/overview.html, accessed on November 30, 2013), characterizes the university as "borderless campus (世界５０ヶ国、地域に広がるボーダーレスな学びの空間 [learning space without national borders encompassing 50 countries and areas of the world])" with approximately 200 non-Japanese faculty (3rd ranked in Japan), 50% of the undergraduate students studying abroad (1st ranked in Japan for those seeking more than 16 credit hours), and more than 600 international students from 40 countries. The IDI was administered in one sociology course with a mixed group of 41 undergraduate students.

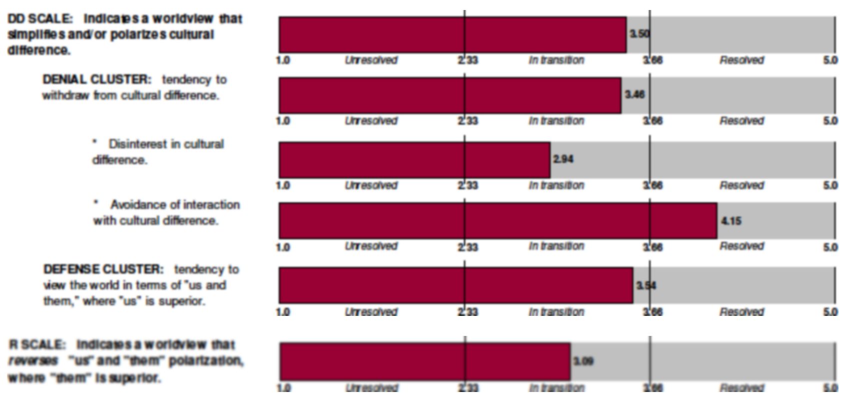


Though the sample size is too small, and sampling was not controlled, the IDI results at least indicate that students at Kansai Foreign Language University are approaching the minimization stage.

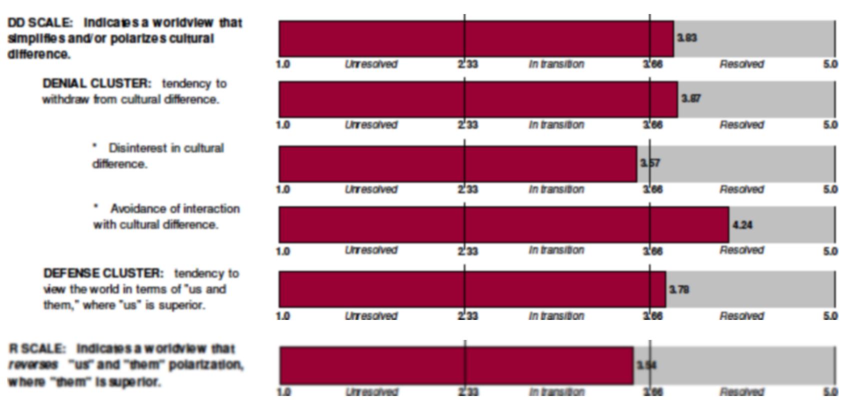
Looking at the developmental issues of these three groups closely (see below), it is clear that students at international universities/colleges are interested in meeting people with different cultural background with culturally different people. All the groups showed that "avoidance of interaction with cultural difference" is resolved (e.g., Group 1 of Miyazaki International College). This might mean that those who enter "international" universities have interest in other cultures and meeting people with different cultural background from the beginning. However, "disinterest in cultural difference" is "in transition" for both Group 1 and Miyazaki International College and Group 2 of Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. This means that there are certain times, topics, or situations when Denial orientation may occur.

DEVELOPMENTAL ISSUES

Group 1 of Miyazaki International College (Freshmen who have had no or little international contact)



Group 2 or Ritsumeikan APU (20 respondents: junior or senior with study abroad experiences)



The analysis of the above IDI data seems to indicate that the educational experiences at "international" universities have some positive impact on students' intercultural competence development. In order to fully examine the impact of "international universities" on their students' intercultural competence development, it will be necessary to compare IDI data between traditional and "international" universities in a more controlled manner. Also, close examination of "international experiences" at those "international universities" will be required since mere presence of people from difference cultures does not necessarily mean meaningful intercultural interaction for attending students.

Both Occhi and Naganuma (this volume) point out that both Miyazaki International University and Akita International University emphasize English language education as the first step of international education. Although it is true that study of a foreign language and interaction with non-Japanese using that language helps individuals move along the intercultural development continuum, foreign language skills are not the requirement for intercultural competence development. Any substantial intercultural communication experiences will help individuals move along the continuum regardless of the means of communication. Considering the level of efforts by these international universities to provide opportunities for their students in engage in face-to-face interaction with non-native speakers of Japanese, it is not surprising that their students reach the minimization stage during the senior years.

LINKING DOMESTIC INTERNATIONALIZATION WITH INTERNATIONALIZATION: A NEW APPROACH TO INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION IN JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION

Training in intercultural competence development entails intercultural experiences, not necessarily overseas experiences. As stated earlier in this chapter, there is a growing need for Japan to create an equitable environment for people with different cultural background. The author will argue that Japanese higher education can incorporate domestic internationalization into the pedagogy of international education as the Hancock County project is attempting.

Many local governments started addressing domestic internationalization as part of multicultural co-existence in the 1980s. In the 1990s, with a large influx of Brazilians of Japanese descent due to the modification of immigration law in 1990, domestic internationalization began receiving increasing attention. Hosomi (1997) promotes domestic internationalization from the business viewpoint. He argues that Japan should change unbalanced emphasis on overseas investment (i.e., internationalization) and direct more attention to domestic internationalization so that more non-Japanese companies begin investing in Japan. Kobayashi (2012) examines how small communities in Japan (city of Wakkanai, Hokkaido and former city of Shinminato, Toyama) responded to sudden influx of foreign residents in the 1990s. He points out that many Japanese do not recognize foreigners as individuals and perceive them as foreigners only. He uses the term "mixed presence of multiple cultures" (多文化混在; *tabunka konzai*) instead of "coexistence of multiple cultures" (多文化共生; *tabunka kyosei*) to describe the current socio-cultural environment of small communities in Japan. The term suggests lack of meaningful personal interaction between Japanese and non-Japanese residents.

Why can't Japanese higher education start training their students by incorporating domestic internationalization projects into their internationalization programming? Why does Japan solely focus on sending Japanese youth overseas and inviting international students? As part of ongoing effort to expose Japanese youth to people with different cultural values and assumptions, why don't Japanese universities take more initiatives to create welcoming communities for non-Japanese individuals residing in Japan? This is, of course, not an easy task.

Outside of Japan, the division between internationalization and domestic internationalization is commonly observed. For example, in U.S. higher education, the division is represented by separate administration offices—a minority service/diversity office and an international office. The programming of the former office is strongly influenced by the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s, and the notions of equality and human rights are the guiding principles. If you visit such an office, you often find a poster of such figures as Martin Luther King Jr. On the other hand, an international office promotes expansion of perspectives through overseas cultural experiences. You would find posters of different countries there. This division is a historical product, but in light of intercultural competence, internationalization and domestic internationalization have a lot in common.

The Hancock County project discussed earlier presents a case of an effort to link internationalization and domestic internationalization programming. The ultimate goal of the Hancock County project is to develop a system that will consist of three components: (1) direct exposure of youth to different cultures using international students at the university, (2) direct exposure of the youth to different cultures using individuals of ethnic minorities residing in the area (e.g., Hispanics), (3) indirect exposure of the youth to different cultures by exposing adults (e.g., K-12 teachers) to different cultures. Development of a new foreign language program or promotion of youth international exchange/study abroad are not even considered in the project design. The focus is to facilitate interaction between the American youth and resident-aliens, especially international students of the University. As Mock (this volume) points out, opportunities of international education in urban centers and rural areas are not evenly distributed in Japan. Can't small non-metropolitan communities in Japan use the same or similar approach to the Hancock County project?

CONCLUSION

Bhawuk and Brislin (1992, 416) state, "To be effective in another culture, people must be interested in other cultures, be sensitive enough to notice cultural differences, and then also be willing to modify their behavior as an indication of respect for the people of other cultures." Fulfillment of all the elements contained in this statement means that the individual will be at the Adaptation stage on the IDI scale. This approach to intercultural competence clearly applies to both internationalization and domestic internationalization. Knowledge and skills that enable individuals to be sensitive to other cultures and modify one's viewpoints and courses of action are necessary both in and outside of Japan today.

This realization leads to a suggestion that institutions of Japanese higher education need to find ways to train their students both outside and inside Japan. Institutions not only use international students and faculty as a resource but also other foreign residents living in Japan. The author would argue that mid-sized and small communities have resources, probably more than people expect to identify. For intercultural training in and outside of Japan, IDI provides a useful conceptual framework and serves as an effective tool.

NOTE

[1] Other instruments include the Intercultural Behavioural Assessment Indices (Ruben, 1976), the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2000), and Arasaratnam (2009). For review of currently available instruments, see Matsumoto and Hwang (2013).

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Hiroaki Kawamura
The University of Findlay

DEBRA J. OCCHI

2. GLOBAL AND LOCAL PERSPECTIVES ON DISCOURSES AND PRACTICES OF UNIVERSITY INTERNATIONALIZATION

As Japan continues its reform of higher education, official discourses comparative to those employed in Europe and known as "the Bologna process" (Fairclough, 2006) have emerged, legitimized both through reference to perceived economic needs and cultural values. In the Japanese case, a December 2008 MEXT (Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology) report "Towards the construction of BA/BS level education" provides an example of such discourse. The report expressed the need for universities to nurture "citizens of the twenty-first century" possessing various attributes and skills relevant to "global society." Along with this comes a push for accountability, specifically for institutions to make clear what knowledge and skills they are imparting to their students. But how can these skills be measured?

Though the project from which this chapter emerges was designed to investigate what impact international universities have on their communities, this chapter discusses how the universities themselves have been studied. Following questionnaire-based peer interviewing of students, a commercial testing instrument, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), was employed in 2008. It provides a set of statistical data on student populations in four "international" universities located in peripheral communities across Japan. The IDI claims to assess "intercultural development" along categories familiar to anthropologists as the stages of culture shock and adaptation. Examining the research instruments and whether their findings provide adequate response to the MEXT imperatives provides a case study of how the implementation of these imperatives may be assessed in higher education institutions already claiming to produce such desirable citizens. MEXT's imperatives follow a growing neoliberal trend among developed states and regions worldwide.

This section of the chapter follows Fairclough (2006) in its examination of discourse in the context of globalization, a framework for Critical Discourse Analysis within political economy. Globalization, in Fairclough's analysis, is a process of change in the institutions and organizations of a political entity, for example, the nation-state; specifically, in the relations between social fields of government and business (33). The increasing neoliberal application of business models to government organizations – in this case MEXT and its international

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 19–33.

counterparts – makes the setting of goals connected to measurable outcomes in many cases. Hussey and Smith (2002) focus on learning outcomes as an emerging part of the late-capitalist paradigm through which the state asserts greater power over universities in the UK, their area of research. In Europe, the OECD has been increasingly scrutinizing universities since the 1980s under the watchword of "quality;" and in Saarinen's words, "The assertion is that internationalization increases quality, which as such is a desirable thing" (2008, 354).

The Bologna process reflects one outcome of increasing globalization on education in European Union member states. The Bologna Declaration set forth by the European Ministers of Education in 1999 started the push for comparability of degrees across agreeing states. Fairclough describes it as:

> one of many 'European areas' or 'spaces' which have been discursively and in part materially constituted (through operationalization and implementation discourses) in recent years as part of the broader process of constructing a European scale. Its emergence is closely associated in turn with EU strategy for constructing the KBE [knowledge-based economy] adopted at the Lisbon Council (The Council of the European Union, 2000). The Lisbon Declaration itself calls for changes in education (including higher education) which are necessary to achieve the KBE. These include a 'European Area of Research and Innovation', the development of 'lifelong learning' [a phrase that should sound familiar to scholars of Japanese—ed], and changes in education and training: Europe's education and training systems need to adapt both to the demands of the knowledge society and to the need for an improved level and quality of employment. They will have to offer learning and training opportunities tailored to target groups at different stages of their lives: young people, unemployed adults and those in employment who are at risk of seeing their skills overtaken by rapid change. (in Fairclough, 2006, 73)

HISTORY OF THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

We can trace the internationalization of Japanese education back to the *Kojiki* book of legends, with the introduction of the Chinese writing system through the content of Confucian analects via the Korean scholar Wani to the son of prince Oji somewhere around the sixth century and follow it through the poetry and Buddhist scriptures that entered Japan not long after. The so-called *rangaku* ("Dutch learning") of the 1700s was another notable stage in Japan's history of educational exchange with other countries, as was the prior contribution of Portuguese missionaries, though limited in range. However, widespread democratization and internationalization of education for Japanese did not arrive until the Meiji period (1868–1912), which was also a time when foreign scholars from European countries as well as native English-speaking countries were imported in the fledgling years of the country's opening to the west, e.g., the public Tokyo University, and the private Doshisha University, Tsuda School, etc.

Contemporary MEXT verbiage reflects emphasis on global competitiveness as universities feed research into the private sector placing Japan at the “Asian gateway,” and interestingly, without reference to global or even pan-Asian educational quality assessments (an overall lack of measurable outcomes relative to the Bologna Process and the NZ version).

While the Bologna Process is intended to provide internationalization — in the sense of providing a comparable standard for tertiary education — amongst participating European countries, the Japanese process is outlined as a means to increase competitiveness in a “catch-up to the west” sort of way (Ninomiya et al., 2009).

Kuwamura (2009) focuses on (and in so doing probably reflects Japan’s focus on) what Japan can do to accommodate the new target number of foreign students [300,000], targeted by MEXT. This is useful, but again does not address the issue of what Japanese universities can do to assure quality relative to a global standard or to prepare their own students for studying abroad in a comparable institution or for that matter, to participate in a globalized society, i.e., “quality” or transferability as we see in the UK/EU cases.

Ninomiya et al. (2009) explains that Japan has also begun to emphasize short-term study abroad programs for its own students, for which support requires organizational systems and funding to send Japanese students to study in other counties. They point out that these plans move Japanese universities “from a passive stance to a more proactive and perhaps elitist one” focusing on improving their research agendas and thus their competitiveness (ibid, 122).

Yonezawa et al. provides an overview of public/private institutions, (especially interesting given the stated focus of private on curricular development as public emphasizes research)—but takes a broad brush of private institutions compared to the sample represented in our Kaken group.

COMPARISON OF IMAGINED OUTCOMES

A comparison of Japan to New Zealand with regard to internationalization of tertiary education provides an alternative take on the application of the Bologna Process. New Zealand’s mission statement includes clear assessments and also refers to two issues that need resolution in the Japanese case. First is the idea that by sending local students on study abroad, New Zealand identity will be “strengthened by their international experiences and interactions” (MOE, 2007, 9). This contrasts with well-worn homogeneity arguments of Japanese, who fear that the study of English and other aspects of international education work in subtractive detriment of a Japanese identity, as described in Fujiwara Masahiko’s *Kokka no hinkaku* (The Dignity of the Nation; Fujiwara, 2005).

Furthermore, the issue of what foreign students will do after graduation varies in the proposals. In the European case, EU member states are already active in the flow of workers across national boundaries. For Japan, Ninomiya et al. projects that

> It is expected that many graduating students will remain in Japan for a period to work at Japanese universities and companies and contribute to improving the global competitiveness of Japan. This has massive implications regarding the acceptance and integration of foreign works into a traditionally homogeneous Japanese society. (2009, 122)

This is certainly an area in which Japan has traditionally put up great resistance, evidenced both in the macro level of governmental policies and at the micro level discourse of its citizens; therefore it is no surprise that Ninomiya uses the hedge phrase "for a period." This casting of foreign graduates as temporary workers contrasts sharply with the more inclusive discourse of New Zealand's policy, which asserts that international students will benefit from their experience but that "employers benefit from their talents, supported by responsive immigration policies" (MOE, 2007, 9).

MEASUREMENT STRATEGIES IN OUR RESEARCH

In the project represented in this book, our research (which began prior to the Asian Gateway and 300,000 initiatives) has been focusing on what international universities are doing for their students and communities and attempting to measure it through qualitative and quantitative means. We represent universities that are actively participating in internationalized education through reliance on foreign faculty, English language, and liberal arts instruction. In respect to emphasis on the latter, we are thus short of exploring education in the math-based sciences/engineering, which is certainly part of Japan's focus for foreign student influx. My context as part of this project is a small, private, English-based liberal arts college with a unique and innovative educational format including mandatory study abroad, Miyazaki International College (MIC), where I have been teaching anthropology and related subjects since 2001.

The team research project has evolved over time. Its first questionnaire, designed in Akita, was devised to explore contact/familiarity issues between town/gown, especially "interaction with the foreign" faculty and language. This attitude survey was originally intended to be accompanied by long-term ethnography, whose implementation was rendered impossible by personnel issues during the grant period. The bulk of research was performed by a smaller and less Akita-centric group than originally envisioned.

The next quantitative instrument employed by the reconfigured research group was the Intercultural Development Index, or IDI, which as Kawamura's and Naganuma's chapters discuss, is aimed at measuring attitudinal aspects reflecting the respondent's positionality vis-à-vis the phases of culture shock and adaptation. The IDI defines its object of measurement as intercultural competence based on a developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS), reflecting passage from ethnocentric vs. ethnorelative orientations, with three levels of each orientation, comprising six total attitudinal states.

The IDI was administered in the various institutions where research group members were employed. The overall data analysis revealed that clear-cut, significant differences emerging from this measure of attitudinal change are not forthcoming; however, this may be artifactual to inherent issues of the subject pool. For one, students in international universities may already be more ethnorelative than the norm before they enter university. We can also ask whether such a measure is even relevant to assessment under an internationalization model framework projecting an increase of research-business intellectual flow from an influx of foreign students.

In the MIC scenario, students clearly link the necessity of learning English to their imagined future careers. Also frequently mentioned in writing prompts is the need to use English to explain Japan to non-Japanese people, as well as the utility of English in traveling outside Japan. Like most other Japanese college students, exposure to English education and foreign speakers in the classroom has been a part of their experience since middle school, so they must be considered "false beginners" in both linguistic and experiential terms upon their entry to this English language-based college with its largely foreign faculty.

One major unplanned factor that probably affected MIC's results for the IDI was the time of its administration, which was delayed until after its planned administration date by the local IRB-like body. Though originally the first-year students were to take the IDI immediately upon matriculation (i.e., before they had grown accustomed to MIC), the administration did not take place until the third week of semester and, notably, after the orientation weekend, where much early socialization takes place. Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that slight differences were apparent between the groups who had experienced life abroad prior to entering MIC, in both the prestudy abroad first-year students and the third-year students who had experienced study abroad during the fall semester of second year. The qualitative assessment of student inter- and intracultural development while enrolled at MIC is also worth examining, as the following case study shows.

PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS AND PERSONAL OUTCOMES

This chapter also describes the structure, functions, and implications of an ongoing educational experiment in internationalization taking place at MIC, a small private college in southern Kyushu, Japan, which has from its early beginnings in 1994 provided a Western-style liberal arts education in English to a mostly Japanese student body. Though at the time of MIC's founding this focus on critical thinking skills development along with English education in an active-learning based pedagogy was a radical departure from typical Japanese tertiary education, the MIC model has been emulated to various degrees by newer (e.g., AIU) as well as more established institutions (e.g., Sophia, Ritsumeikan, Waseda, etc.).

This section is based on a case study conducted via participant observation by the author, a long-term faculty member and anthropologist. It may be helpful to consider the experiences students have during their four years' study as an extended rite of passage following Van Gennep's stages of preparation, separation, limination, and reincorporation. This rite is nested into a larger rite institutionalized in Japanese society as university attendance. Thus, differences between this particular college's practices and the more familiar patterns of university practice in Japan overall have notable repercussions within both layers.

The institution of focus in this section, MIC, has from the beginning been unusual among Japanese tertiary institutions in providing a Western-inspired liberal arts curricula to English language learners. The liberal arts orientation of the school runs contra to the prevailing models of Japanese tertiary education described by Patience as Confucian in ideology, for which the various efforts to incorporate aspects of "globalization" or "internationalization" have received critical assessment. (2007, 7). While older and better-known universities[1] offer liberal arts to Japanese and other students already proficient in English, this college's simultaneous incorporation of language and content learning goals is unusual, as well as ambitious. The word "international" in the name of the institution points to its recent vintage as a college founded in the mid-1990s, when such naming was trendy, though as Askew discusses, is often a misnomer used by schools with few foreigners (2009, 18). In this case, the majority of students are Japanese, and the majority of faculty are not. A small-scale exchange with a Korean university sends two upper-level students per year and affords local students the chance for another study abroad beyond the typical sojourn in an English-speaking country undertaken in the latter half of sophomore year. Recently, Chinese students have enrolled who are graduates of an international high school in Ebino, fifty-six kilometers away, and Korean exchange students of various backgrounds are increasingly joining the student body as well as occasional Japan-based enrollees with European ethnicities. These changes are welcomed in the interest of further internationalization of the college as a whole.

Teaching is stressed along with faculty development; research is also supported fiscally and with release time for conference attendence during semester or more lengthly projects undertaken during semester breaks. Faculty publish their research mostly in English-language publications. In these respects this institution fits Poole's description of *sotomuki* "outward-orientated" tertiary institutions with regard to most realms of faculty/student life (2009, 50–52). It would be misleading, however, to ignore the *uchimuki* "inward-orientated" egalitarian practices. These include souvenir giving and consensus seeking, the extant old-boys network of retired high school principals hired to administrate or to teach the handful of courses necessarily taught in Japanese, and the hierarchical jockeying for larger offices and status. The overall organization of the college administration follows the *rijikai shihai* "university president/board control" system described in Goodman (2009). Though advisory faculty committees discuss and make recommendations regarding local issues of self-governance detailed in the faculty handbook, these decisions do not contravene the official College Rules, to which changes are made when necessitated by MEXT edict, labor law, or the emergence of some new circumstance in need of a governing policy.

The following sections present data showing how the college's unusual pedagogical aims manifests in classroom practice. First, the structure of the educational program at the college is outlined. Knowledge sharing begins with precollege recruitment events such as open campus, visits to high schools by instructors and administrators, and visits to the college by prospective students, parents, and educators. The college's distinctive practices of team-taught content-based English education and its largely foreign faculty are more easily grasped by outsiders than the notions of liberal arts and comparative culture that inform the curriculum. Indeed, English education and study abroad are the two things students often mention that drew them to the college, along with the high postgraduation employment rates, which lend merit to this little-known institution (Bradley, 2009: 39). In response, the explicit examination of critical thinking pedagogy and assessment has led to a revised course evaluation system as well as faculty development activities.

Preparation

After admission to the college, students undergo an orientation weekend at which they meet faculty and staff. More importantly, their senior classmates attending as volunteers share insider knowledge about the college, helping the freshmen select their initial courses. Though the "comparative culture" major is divided into humanities, liberal arts, and mixed concentrations, course selection seems as much determined on the basis of insider knowledge about the instructors (and one's place in the registration queue) than on one's academic preferences per se which may not be fully developed at this stage, except for the enrollees who chose teaching certification or psychology programs whose curriculum is heavily predetermined.

Classes begin the following week, separating students from the typical Japanese educational milieu. Contra to their junior high and high school years, the first-year students are placed in small classes usually capped at twenty students, with two teachers (one English and one content specialist). The active-learning philosophy of the college dictates that students engage in English tasks that deliver content and language learning objectives simultaneously. *Participation* as well as attendance is required, contra to other Japanese universities. Lectures are short; students are often given pair or group work. The students, having just finished six years of lecture-based instruction in large classes, sometimes liken the college's educational format to that of elementary or even preschool, though most find the tasks challenging. In many cases, the tasks require critical thinking, another focus of the college. Though students may be initially perplexed and frustrated by these learning scenarios that insist on autonomy, and by facing questions that may not necessarily lead to a single correct answer, they are able to adapt to the method, and by second semester are usually able to cope. Students' progress is closely monitored not only in class but via peer and faculty advisement, and grades are crucial for student advancement into the second year and the study abroad program. English language classes are also part of the lower division curriculum; a minimum TOEIC score is required to qualify for third-year status, and Japanese courses are required during all four years to provide the advanced skills students need to acquire a job and succeed in postcollege employment in Japan.

This process of socializing students to the college's unusual pedagogy separates them from the typical Japanese university process in a sense, even as it prepares them for Study Abroad. Also during the first semester, an exhibition is held by the third year students, who have just returned from Study Abroad. Each site is represented by posters and student volunteers who share information about their experiences. Portfolios of their work are also on display. First year students are again encouraged to seek advice from their senior peers to aid them in site selection.

Typical first-semester students are excited but apprehensive about their chosen path. Socializing them into the act of studying academic topics in English, not just studying English as a subject in its own right, is an important part of the content-based class. Still, by the end of the first semester, they are able to articulate their ideas and state their future goals much more freely than when they first enter the classroom. All students have accepted the unsurprising dogma of Japanese employers that communication and problem-solving skills are vital for success in the contemporary working world; they are further encouraged by the recent turn towards English use in corporate settings. Interpreting is a goal held by some students. One popular goal students share is to become a career teacher of English (the university offers a certification program following MEXT standards) or of Japanese language or culture. Employment at an airport or in a travel-related business is another imagined outcome. All students enter the college with the wish to communicate with other English speakers; some even desire marriage with a non-Japanese.

The challenge inherent in teaching the average Japanese high school graduate an English-based liberal arts curricula is real but manageable. When possible, I tend to use applied topics that engage with students' lives or imagined futures, with realia as the source for English input. These students are typically unable to read native-level texts; therefore, teaching materials have to be designed from the bottom up. The range of proficiencies and motivation among the students also makes material design challenging, especially in designing tasks for the beginning of their first semester. Teaching anthropology in this setting necessitates a different approach than that used in undergraduate courses aimed at native English speakers. In anthropology courses in the USA, my professors often showed ethnographic movies or used texts about foreign cultures as a foil to illustrate various theoretical debates, methodologies, or topics germane to the study of human behavior. With these students, that method if unscaffolded takes them a step too far outside their linguistic comfort zone.

First year. In a first-year anthropology and environmental issues class I have taught, my immediate goals for the students are: 1) to acquaint them with cultural anthropology as the study of human behavior; 2) to socially integrate them successfully into the college, whose norms and expectations differ markedly from those of Japanese precollege education; and 3) to break them out of the "false beginner" English learner mode in which most of them enter college. They will design and conduct interviews based on reverse-engineering the results of a similar project conducted in a university in an English-speaking country.

Interview design emerges from students' repeated viewings and analysis of the project results depicted in the video "A Vision of Students Today."[2] This video is the project of Micheal Wesch, the anthropologist, and his students in Kansas, USA, and it consists of the answers to a set of questions used in his students' survey, which are held up by students on placards. My students watch the video with pauses, transcribe the answers, and then brainstorm questions. They will have to reverse-engineer the project, first finding the "meta" questions, (e.g., "How many hours do students spend online?") and then, the "field" questions they will use in interviews (e.g., "How many hours do YOU spend on line?") to recapture the original survey. We'll also brainstorm some open-ended questions to ask their upperclassmen. This activity will generate a list of shared vocabulary terms used in the video and as needed for the questions, along with reinforcing what they know about question-answer grammatical patterns. Further data about the physical classroom environment of students in the video is available for students to note. The brainstorming process helps teachers assess students' capabilities at this early stage.

Then, students conduct the survey, practicing first with each other and then interviewing other students (locally and by contacting HS-era friends at other universities) as homework. As a class we compile their data, giving them practice in quantitative and qualitative data analysis. Finally, we make a similar video with our local results.

To summarize, here are the meta processes that are useful in Content Based Instruction (CBI) design and their rationales. Test scores aren't terribly reliable in judging how well students will fare in our college; we must engage them in tasks and observe. Japanese students typically have a strongly objective test-based precollege education, so designing tasks to strengthen their interpretive and critical skills as well as their tolerance for "multiple right answers" is important. Visual texts, like the video already discussed, can be disarticulated in a number of ways to meet language- and content-related goals. These could include cloze exercises, grammar work that spins off from some frequently occurring pattern in a piece of audio material, information retrieval or interpretive questions, or reflective writing on content.

This discussion of CBI and course design also takes the notion of content in the holistic sense, asking not just "what do students need to know about anthropology" but rather "what do students need to know" in the broader sense. With this in mind, we can ask not only what these students bring to the classroom but where they are headed. Learning how to explicitly investigate the situation through interviews in their new educational environment helps socialize them towards its expectations while acquainting them with senior students. It is hoped (and expressly stated in class) that the students will continue to employ these practices in new environments. For instance, each of my students will undertake a semester abroad in their second year. Practice in asking and learning "what to ask" and "how" will contribute to their success abroad, beyond their initial adaptation to our college's educational format. Giving students the opportunity to work cooperatively towards shared goals thus meets a variety of objectives. Of course, it also provides an introduction to ethnographic practice.

During the first years' second semester, Study Abroad preparation begins in earnest. A series of meetings with both parents and students provides information about the various study abroad sites where students may attend as well as financial- and visa-related issues. Fall semester is also when the students participate in organizing and conducting the school festival, the extracurricular highlight of the year.

Second year. The first semester is the time when students seem to study most feverishly. Meetings continue, and the paperwork for overseas study comes due. Posters announcing these appear in the halls, and instructors are asked to remind students of various dates and deadlines. Students in the second year are accustomed to the college and are often keen to improve their English skills as much as possible in order to place into the study abroad site of their choice. At the same time, worries about how they will manage life abroad are apparent. The professors' task therefore is to help students gain fluency and lower stress by designing classroom activities that meet these needs. One fun and successful strategy is to foster electronic exchange with students in a foreign country, through which students can interact directly with peers who are native English speakers learning about Japan (Dunn & Occhi 2003a, b). Here is another example from a Cultures of the USA class designed to reinforce skills in working with numerical data while engaging students' concern with health (and the common stereotype that Americans subsist on fast food hamburgers). For students who may be living at home or in the catered dorms, the concern about being responsible for their own nutritional choices is engaged by this project.

Feisty muscles. This lesson plan was part of a second-year content-language integrated team-taught class titled Cultures of the USA. It was used as the final project, representing roughly one month's work, following individual research projects using U.S. census data wherein each student studied the ethnic and income diversity within a state. Thus, this data reinforced the previous unit's emphasis on analyzing statistics and using numerical as well as qualitative data properly in writing. Contentwise, it gave the students, who would soon depart for Study Abroad, a chance to investigate issues of obesity, nutrition, and corporate vs. personal responsibility in light of their own physical needs.

Students visited the "Bag a McMeal" part of the McDonalds website[3] and were told to pretend that the instructors were buying them lunch. After they finished choosing the meal, they were requested to print out the nutrition information for the meal. Then the 2004 documentary *Supersize Me* was viewed. In this documentary film, the main character decides to test the effects of fast food by limiting his diet to the McDonalds menu for 30 days and foregoing any exercise beyond the average amount of steps an American takes in a day. At the beginning and throughout the movie, he undergoes health checkups. As he gains weight, his health deteriorates. An afterword discusses his return to health. The English input in the movie was scaffolded with vocabulary and listening exercise handouts. Students were then instructed to use web tools to evaluate their own dietary requirements[4] and to construct a day's menu including the McMeal that meets their needs within a reasonable number of calories.

In spring 2006, McDonalds complicated the question of corporate responsibility prompted by Supersize Me by providing free exercise DVDs available with salad meals as a corporate tie-in with Yourself Fitness video game software. To engage the question of whether this benefitted McDonalds' customers, students were divided into groups to learn exercises from DVDs, both as TPR (total physical response)-based English listening and comprehension tasks, as well as to provide experience from which they could analyze and discuss the corporate promotion in their final papers. This activity combined multimodal English learning tasks with calculation tasks as well as with content on nutrition, diet, and exercise.

Students are thus guided to an understanding of the relative levels of nutrition in fast foods and in other foods they may choose to eat. They are made aware of their own dietary needs relative to exercise level. In the context of our Cultures of the US class we were able to connect content to our studies of ethnicity, state and regional differences, etc. as well as to flesh out some of the factors regarding the problem of obesity as students headed abroad.

Towards the end of the second semester, a send-off party for the second-years is held by the upper division students, complete with speeches on both sides. A typical comment from an upperclassman's speech that encapsulates the gap between pre- and post-Study Abroad students is "*Ōkiku natte kaete kudasai*," "Please come back as a grown-up." I take this as evidence that the students themselves conceptualize Study Abroad as a rite of passage coinciding roughly with passage into Japanese adulthood at age 20.

Separation

Students leave for their various sites during summer vacation of the second year and take classes until the end of the fall term. The college's schedule is set up to allow an extended stay abroad (preferably) or a part-time job upon return, since classes end in December and restart in April. Most Japanese universities hold classes after New Year's holiday until late February or March; however, this college has a relatively short summer break with a longer gap in winter to accommodate the Study Abroad students. Therefore, students may separate from Japanese society (and to a lesser extent, the college as well) for a maximum of eight months.

Limination

During this liminal period, students are assigned a faculty mentor for email exchange. Students' ability to adjust to life abroad varies, but except for the post-9/11 period, few students have returned midway. Adjustment problems are often couched in various (nonfatal) physical ailments; one student returned to have impacted wisdom teeth removed (despite the availablity of a Japanese dentist in the area) and resisted return until told that the entire semester's credits would be forfeited otherwise. That provided the necessary leverage to the parents who had aided this student's return, and the student returned to the Study Abroad site. Most students cope well with societal separation, however, and go on to happily include aspects of foreignness into their identity display upon return.

At each site mentors are also assigned to students, and must monitor the thirty-page portfolio of work that students complete while abroad. This portfolio includes not only class work but also an independent study project each student must complete on a topic of interest. The independent study project often forms the basis for the student's senior thesis, which is completed two years hence.

Reincorporation

As third year, first semester begins, students return in various guises. Many who in the first two years of college dyed their hair or reveled in various manipulations of appearance once freed from the high school uniforms return having undergone further modifications, reflecting their consumption of "foreign" cultural elements. These range from wardrobe choices and hair styles to piercing and tattooing. (Recruitment publications produced by the college avoid including images of such students as much as possible). Interestingly, students who invest greater energies in their personal appearance are often the students lower in English proficiency, which brings up the notion of identification with various kinds of cultural capital. The majority of students report having changed mentally more than externally.

These changes emerge in their writing as seen in upper division classes. In most cases, the capacity for English expression has increased, but moreover, students have learned to bring new perspectives to their consideration of various topics. They are more clear about their own beliefs and understandings and can compare them to those of other foreign students, teachers, and host family members with whom they interacted abroad. Even students who continue to struggle with grammatical and lexical forms can more eloquently express their own ideas in increasingly diverse ways.

The problem, however, lies in the reincorporation process itself. Not only are students returning to this English-based college environment, they are reincorporating into Japanese society as well. As third-year students, many have reached the age of twenty, the age of majority in Japanese society. As proper adults, they are often expected to undertake more responsibility in their own affairs, including part-time wage work, which takes time away from study. Students have often recounted sadly that they sense language attrition from the day the get off the plane in Japan on return from Study Abroad.

Concomitantly with these changes, the education of upper division students changes as well. No longer are classes team taught; only content instructors run upper division classes, and no English language instruction is provided. It is assumed that students can "swim" in the content-based English curriculum by this point, even as they themselves express a sinking feeling when faced with the challenges of their new 'adult' environment.

Fourth year increases the sense of reincorporation into the larger sphere of Japanese society as students begin to separate from the college environment. Though about 10 percent of students undertake graduate study or other postgraduate training, the majority are headed for the workforce. Thus most students in the fourth year undertake job hunting that requires missing class time, part-time work that eats up study time, and try to experience in some way the "typical college life" that their peers in other universities have been having. Along with this, their credit requirements are largely fulfilled by the fourth year, so their class contact hours are reduced to essentially a part-time school schedule. Despite this increasing distance from the educational program, they are required to produce 6,500 words – approximately thirty pages of English text – as a senior thesis graduation requirement. Sometimes they reach back to the study abroad portfolio to provide the core of this thesis, with not just a little nostalgia. At the same time, they undergo job examinations and interviews that require them to show a combination of evidence of English proficiency along with other appropriate Japanese cultural capital (including, on some exams, a knowledge of old proverbs) necessary to acquire paid employment.

In this process we see, therefore, not only a steadily ascending path towards a pinnacle of acheivement at graduation, but a bell curve of engagement with English in its natively spoken cultural context, as experienced by the majority of students who engage with the foreign in order to find a niche in the Japanese workforce. This is not always the case, however, as students increasingly find ways to maintain English through various means including social networking software. Though there is no far-reaching statement to be made by this description of the MIC milieu, I hope that it may be useful in characterizing a particular set of processes undertaken by students and educators in a Japanese college for whom internationalization through English language, liberal arts, and study abroad are central concerns.

Inquiry into the other major anticipated outcome, the acquisition of critical thinking skills, has not typically been as frequently conducted, nor is it as easily performed as with the quantitative examination of English skills by TOEFL, TOEIC, and other widely used measures. However, a locally produced eighty-item survey conducted at MIC provided indications that upper-division classes are significantly perceived by students to provide such skill-building opportunities (Murguia et al., 2011). Results of this research fed back not only into its initial impetus of improving the course evaluation forms used each semester but also into furthering faculty development and thus student outcomes as well.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has provided a brief review of global discourses of university internationalization including Japanese, European, and New Zealander perspectives. These alone provide interesting material for comparison of country-specific desired goals and outcomes among players in a global higher education scenario. The project resulting in this book also employed the IDI instrument to measure self-reported attitudes towards internationalization. In the institutions studied, the results were not particularly revealing; in the local case this is perhaps due in part to the timing of its administration. However, I do not find the results of the IDI problematic, particularly in light of Greenholtz's assessment that the IDI language (and its translation into Japanese) may not be cross-culturally valid, and thus would be best regarded as "a work in progress" rather than a "'reliable and valid instrument' ready to pull of [sic] the shelf for all research contexts" (Greenholtz, 2005, 88). Furthermore, my positionality as a long-term content faculty in an international institution and my training as an anthropologist affords the ability to assess my institution from a participant-observer perspective and thus offer concrete examples of pedagogy. The flow of students through university intersects with their official entrance to adult society. This offers a distinct set of challenges to their engagement in tertiary education overall, and, as described here, particularly with regard to English language-based programs. However challenging and contested the process of tertiary education in this international-orientated educational environment and in the context of Japanese society may be, my assessment may at least stand as an honest report from the chalkface as comparison to lofty global discourses.

NOTES

[1] e.g., Sophia and Waseda are indigenous universities offering such liberal arts curricula; Temple University's Japan branch is an American import.

[2] viewable at http://mediatedcultures.net/mediatedculture.htm

[3] http://app.mcdonalds.com/bagamcmeal

[4] standard/metric BMI calc http://nhlbisupport.com/bmi/
women http://nutrition.about.com/library/bl_nutrition_guide.htm
men http://nutrition.about.com/library/bl_nutrition_guide_men.htm
exercise http://www.caloriesperhour.com/index_burn.html
calories in food http://www.thecaloriecounter.com/

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Debra J. Occhi
Faculty of Comparative Culture
Miyazaki International College

NAEKO NAGANUMA

3. MICROSOCIOLOGY OF INTERNATIONALIZATION OF THE AKITA COMMUNITY

"International" Universities and Impact of Study Abroad on Students

INTRODUCTION

It seems that the word "internationalization" (*kokusai-ka*) has been the target in a variety of domains in Japan, including, for a long time, the field of education. The definition of the word is not always clear-cut; it is safe to claim that most Japanese would associate "internationalization" with proficiency in English. In the 1989 Course of Study (*gakushū shidō yōryō*), the senior high school English curricula were revised to provide oral communication classes; furthermore, the 1999 Course of Study emphasized the importance of practical communication competence in English (Mochizuki, 2010). Despite all the effort by MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology), as Seargeant (2009) states, "One of the most frequently voiced opinions about English in Japan is that the high profile of, and immense interest in, the language is not matched by an equally high level of communicative proficiency among the population" (p. 3). It is true that the past government initiatives and policy reforms in the area of English education have not proven successful in cultivating "international/global citizens" who can function in the language. Concurrently, during the so-called bubble economy starting in the late 1980s and ending in the early 1990s, many American universities opened campuses at various locations in Japan. This trend presumably impacted the local communities economically, linguistically, and culturally, since the existence of such international universities in local communities, especially in the countryside, altered residents' perspectives toward foreigners and themselves through interaction with foreign faculty and staff.

Originally, this present project was initiated to examine whether communities where international universities were established have been "internationalized" or not by giving questionnaires and interviews to students and teachers at all levels (preschool to university), to the elderly, and to working adults. Because of personnel issues, it proved impossible to execute the original plan. Our project team then decided to shift the focus from communities to students who are enrolled in "international" universities and see how students with varied experience in studying abroad differ in terms of intercultural competence by a means of the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) as well as individual interviews.

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 35–52.

This chapter discusses how a local community in northern Japan has coexisted with an international university, how the present research was devised, and what results were found from the study.

YUWA TOWN AND INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITIES

Why an International University in Yuwa, Akita?

Akita prefecture has a total population of about 1 million in a total area of 11,434 km^2 (a little smaller than the state of Connecticut), one of the lowest population density prefectures in Japan. The birth rate was 6.7 in 2005, compared with 8.4 in the country as a whole (Akita Prefectural Office, 2006). Yuwa town (now merged with Akita city) was comprised of merged villages; in 1956, three smaller villages, Daishōji, Tanehira, and Tomegawa, became Yuwa village, and in the following year, Kawazoe village, which originally sought merger with Akita city, was decided to merge to become Yuwa town (Akita City Office, 2011). Although located adjacent to the prefectural capital, Yuwa town had long been a rural agricultural community. Because of the lack of a good transportation system along with financial difficulty, many students who wanted to study in high school had to give up their hope to pursue further education. Concerned by this situation, the then town mayor, Seiichirō Kudō, began seeking an opportunity to establish a high school in Yuwa town. Eventually, however, he had to give up the idea. Instead, Mr. Kudō proposed that the new airport be located in Yuwa township; in 1981, the new airport was constructed on township land, offering possibilities of better financial opportunities for Yuwa residents.

Since the 1980s, Japan has experienced several phases of American university involvement, and during Japan's "bubble economy," many American branch campuses were established throughout Japan (Mock, 2005, 184). During this "American university boom," Yuwa town, led by Mr. Kudō, started the process of inviting an American university in 1988 (Akita City Office, 2011).

While it is natural to wonder why a small and somewhat isolated community was chosen as the venue of American university campus, a precedent existed in that the connection had been already built between Akita and Minnesota in the 1970s, when the friendship between Junji Miura, then professor at Akita University, and Bill Nunn, then professor at Saint Cloud State University in Minnesota, started. Then, Akita and Minnesota initiated a partnership in a variety of forms back in the 1980s. For example, in 1984, an agreement about professor exchanges between Akita University and Saint Cloud State University was reached, and the two universities became sister schools (Nara, Azumi, & Nakamura, 2004, 23). The connection between Akita and Minnesota encouraged the final decision concerning which American university would be selected. After all the details were discussed and agreed upon, both Akita and Minnesota signed the contract in 1989; finally Minnesota State University-Akita was established and started its operation in 1990 (Akita City Office, 2011).

Minnesota State University-Akita (MSU-A)

MSU-A was unique in various ways. Since it was a branch school under MnSCU (Minnesota State Colleges and Universities System), all the classes were taught in English. Japanese freshmen were required to live in a dormitory for a year with other Japanese and/or international students mainly from Minnesota. After matriculation, all the Japanese students were placed in an appropriate level of EAP/ESL (MSU-A's intensive English program) according to their English proficiency and took English classes to acquire and improve overall English competency so that they could complete the General Education (GE) curriculum. After the completion of GE at MSU-A, usually a two-year process after completing the ESL component with a minimum TOEFL of 500, students transferred to one of the seven universities under the MnSCU system; they then would complete and receive their undergraduate degree from a respective university in Minnesota.

Since all the classes were taught in English, the EAP/ESL program was the core of MSU-A. There were six levels in the program, and students were placed in an appropriate level according to their TOEFL score. The lower end of the curriculum (three levels) was called ESL (English as a Second Language), and the higher end was called EAP (English for Academic Purposes). The ESL classes aimed at preparing students for more "academic" contents so that they could deal with materials in the EAP classes. In ESL classes, each level focused on improving certain skills; for example, Level 1 focused on listening skills and Level 2 focused on reading skills. The EAP classes were taught following the content-based instruction approach, each level dedicating to a certain theme, such as sociology, psychology, environmental science, world history, etc. One instructor was responsible for covering all the linguistic skills (reading, writing, listening, and speaking) spending about 12–15 contact hours per week with the same group of students. Students were promoted to a higher level in the program by passing the class and achieving a target TOEFL score for each level.

In 1990, MSU-A welcomed its first group of 259 regular Japanese students and celebrated its opening with esteemed guests from MnSCU and Akita prefecture. However, after the second academic year of 1991, it had already started suffering from a decreasing number of new admissions and an increasing number of dropouts. One of the most unfortunate aspects was that MSU-A was not considered as an officially accredited junior college in Japan because it did not meet all the conditions set by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT; then called Ministry of Education). Therefore, students who completed the curriculum at MSU-A and transferred to a university in Minnesota could not earn the Japanese equivalent of an associate degree in the United States. This fact heavily handicapped the administration of MSU-A and discouraged its continuation. Lack of subsidies was another source contributing to the discontinuation of MSU-A, which was regarded as an independent corporation, not an educational institution by the Japanese government. The lack of financial and educational support from the government negatively affected the number of incoming students every year (Nara, Azumi, & Nakamura, 2004, 40).

The Japanese economy started declining in the early 1990s, the so-called the post-bubble economy, with American branch campuses disappearing one after another. By 2003, only a few such American universities remained, though about forty institutions had existed at the peak (Mock, 2005, 184). Demographic changes also had a strong influence. The generation of the second baby boomers, who were born between 1971 and 1974, turned 18 years old, the age of starting tertiary education, around 1990. The peak of the 18-year-old population occurred in 1992, and since then, there has been a rapid decline in the young population in Japan. This factor was partly responsible for the disappearance of American universities, including MSU-A.

Also, how MSU-A was managed influenced the decision to close the school. MSU-A was run by the administration office under a provost appointed by MnSCU and Akita International Academy, which was an independent organization created by Yuwa town. Those two offices were supposed to have interacted to run the school smoothly and effectively: The school administration office was in charge of providing students with high-quality education, while Akita International Academy focused on managing financial affairs (therefore constantly struggling with budgetary difficulties). However, the two offices suffered from miscommunications and misunderstandings from the opening of MSU-A. The result of the disharmony might have contributed to MSU-A's closure.

The fact that MSU-A was supported only by Yuwa town, not by Akita prefecture, served as yet another contributing factor toward its closure. From the beginning, Akita Prefecture Assembly was divided over the establishment of the school and how much support Akita prefecture should give to the institution. About ¥700 million of financial support from Akita prefecture was allowed to build school facilities, but the prefectural assembly constantly showed its objections and concerns about further involvement in school management. In the end, the then governor, Kikuji Sasaki, declared in 1989 that Akita prefecture would not support MSU-A and would not get involved in its management (Nara, Azumi, & Nakamura, 2004, 32). Yuwa town was left alone to support MSU-A. All the factors above forced MSU-A to close at the end of the academic year of 2002 after thirteen years of operation.

From MSU-A to Akita International University

The 1990s saw the closure of many American university campuses throughout Japan; MSU-A survived until March 2003. Having faced and overcome several major school closure crises since its opening, MSU-A was officially closed at the end of academic year of 2002 by the MnSCU Board of Trustees. Despite the fact that already in 1999 MnSCU started considering the school closure, MSU-A was able to continue to exist thanks to the efforts of Yuwa town and school supporters as well as the administration. Coincidentally, Akita prefecture under ex-governor, Sukeshiro Terata, finally initiated its process of creating a new university in collaboration with MnSCU and was hoping to keep the tight connection between Akita and Minnesota created through the existence of MSU-A.

Although the closure of the school was sensationally reported in the Japanese media, 61 new students were matriculated in April 2002; 46 students transferred to a college or university in Minnesota, though students who could not complete the EAP/ESL curriculum within the year were required to complete the ESL program at Century College before being transferred to one of the seven universities of the MnSCU system (Nara, Azumi, & Nakamura, 2004, 41).

In March 2003, MSU-A held the closing ceremony, sending the last group of students to Minnesota. That officially concluded the school's thirteen-year history. Following the closing of MSU-A, Akita International University (hereafter AIU) was founded as the first public university corporation in Japan and opened in April 2004. The establishment of AIU met a variety of difficulties, including objections from Akita Prefectural Assembly, lack of budgetary support, and fear of another "failure" among concerned community members in Akita Prefecture.

Despite the anxieties, AIU has been successful in attracting prospective students, providing its students with quality education and sending out "good citizens" to Japanese society. According to the official AIU website, for the 2012 academic year, there were 2,318 applicants for the quota of 175 (Akita International University, 2014). AIU has started to be considered as a competitive and high-ranking university, and through the media, its name started to be known among high schools all over Japan. Several television programs featured AIU, and the media coverage supposedly influenced the increased number of applicants. Also, almost all of the AIU graduates have been able to find employment at such big corporations as Mitsubishi Material, Meiji Holdings, Honda, and Sumitomo Trading, during the so-called "employment ice age." Various media reported this achievement of AIU as one of the most successful. One of the *New York Times* articles on Japanese higher education featured Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU) and AIU as leading universities to foster internationalization (Tanikawa, 2012).

Akita International University (AIU)

Opened in April 2004, Akita International University is an English-language university and continues several features of MSU-A. All the classes are conducted in English (except for foreign language courses and teacher licensing program courses), like MSU-A. Requiring freshmen to live in a dorm for the first year is another feature that AIU has in common with MSU-A. At AIU, however, students can have a single room when available or share a room with another Japanese student, while MSU-A required students to have a roommate not of the same country origin. The other similarity between AIU and MSU-A is that students are required to study abroad for a year, though MSU-A sent the students to Minnesota to graduate from one of the seven universities there. AIU students study abroad for a year and come back to graduate from AIU, earning a Japanese undergraduate degree.

AIU has set its mission as fostering individuals of competence in foreign languages with rich knowledge who can contribute to the current globalized society. As the Japanese name of AIU, Kokusai Kyōyō Daigaku, represents, AIU aims to provide international (*kokusai*) liberal arts (*kyōyō*) education for its students (Akita International University, 2014). To achieve the objective, AIU has several characteristics unique in Japan: all the classes are taught in English (except for foreign language courses such as Japanese and Chinese as well as teacher licensing courses); one-year study abroad is required; and all first-year students live in a dormitory. Each characteristic will be discussed in the following.

In order for students to be able to fully function in classrooms where English is the medium, every regular student is required to take at least one semester of EAP (English for Academic Purposes) courses, depending on their language proficiency. EAP offers three levels—EAP 1, EAP 2, and EAP 3—where students are placed according to their highest TOEFL scores: EAP 1 with the TOEFL score up to 459, EAP 2 with the TOEFL score between 460 and 479, and EAP 3 with the TOEFL score over 480. In order to advance from EAP 1 to EAP 2, a student needs to achieve a TOEFL score of 460 with at least a 2.0 GPA. Similarly, an EAP 2 student needs a TOEFL score of 480 with a 2.0 GPA, and to exit from EAP, it is required to achieve a TOEFL score of 500 with a 2.0 GPA.

Each EAP level offers a reading, writing, listening and speaking, and TOEFL preparation course. A basic computer literacy course is offered in EAP 3 only. As of April 2012, all EAP students at all levels participate in 4 hours of reading, 5 hours of writing, 4 hours of listening and speaking, and 2.5 hours of TOEFL Preparation courses in a week. In EAP 3, students can choose to opt out from the TOEFL course if they have already achieved a TOEFL score of 500 or more. Each course is taught by a different instructor, and he or she is responsible for each course grade of A, B, C, D or F. At the end of each semester, each student's GPA in EAP (EAP-GPA) is calculated based on the reading, writing, and listening and speaking course grades. Since TOEFL preparation is for students to improve their test-taking skills and to get used to types of questions dealt with in TOEFL tests and the content in Computer Basics is not directly related to linguistic competence, they are excluded from the final calculation of the EAP-GPA. Students are expected to have a 2.0 EAP-GPA or over to advance to the next level or to exit from EAP.

After completion of EAP, students advance to Basic Education (BE), taking social sciences courses as well as humanities, natural science, computer literacy courses to further broaden knowledge and academic skills. Students can sign up to take teacher licensing program (TLP) courses if they want to get a certification to teach English in Japanese high schools. The credits in the TLP courses are not counted toward their graduation. There are two majors that students can choose: Global Studies or Global Business. Global Studies offers three different paths: North American Studies, East

Asia Studies, or Transnational Studies. After deciding on a major, students move on to take preparation and advanced courses in their respective major fields. After meeting the requirements, a TOEFL score of over 550 and overall GPA of 2.5, students go to one of the partner institutions to study abroad and take courses there for one year (in most cases eight to nine months). They can choose one school among 158 partner institutions in 44 countries all over the world as of January 2014 (Akita International University Center for International Affairs, 2014). After coming back from a study abroad destination, students can take seminar credits and complete their study in a respective major field as they initiate their employment seeking efforts.

Through living in a dormitory for the first year, often sharing a room with another student, Japanese or international, AIU students are expected to improve their social, human and communication skills as well as to develop problem solving capability. AIU expects that students can grow to be “good citizens” in a globalized society by overcoming all the hurdles they may face through their campus life in Akita and abroad.

As mentioned above, AIU and MSU-A share several characteristics: teaching classes all in English, requiring freshmen to live on campus, and providing students with the opportunity to study abroad. In addition, MSU-A helped the Akita community to realize the importance of intercultural communication. AIU has been making effort to contribute to the local community in a variety of ways. AIU provides support for local residents who hope to learn English; dispatches faculty members to give lectures for local communities and schools; facilitates communication between students, both Japanese and international, and community members through seasonal events and home-stay; and gives workshops for senior high school students in the prefecture.

It is safe to say that one of the most significant differences between MSU-A and AIU is whether or not MEXT (formerly the Ministry of Education) accredits the school. With the accreditation of MEXT, AIU can provide its graduates with a Japanese undergraduate degree; on the other hand, MSU-A could not do so. Another difference is how the schools are/were operated. AIU takes full advantages of being a public university corporation. Partly supported by Akita prefecture financially and administratively, AIU can make its own decisions under its president based on approval of the management committees and advisory board. MSU-A had difficulty in managing the school with two separate administrations (school administrative office/MnSCU vs. Akita International Academy). Also, the tuition and other living expenses of AIU is about ¥1 million per year, much lower than that of MSU-A. Regular Japanese students at MSU-A paid about ¥2.5 million per year (¥1.3 million for tuition and ¥1.2 million for meals and board).

With all the similarities and differences, both MSU-A and AIU were created under the same concept that good education gives the power to foster human beings who could be instrumental in the globalized community with the ability to communicate at least in English. MSU-A was founded based on the assumption that it would help the community to be more “internationalized” and cultivate people’s intercultural competence through its own existence and communications between foreigners and local community members. In this sense, it is certain that MSU-A successfully and positively influenced local citizens. Before MSU-A, there had been residents in Yuwa town who had never even seen a foreigner. Many residents offered to host students at MSU-A as home-stay families. Yuwa town and the city of Saint Cloud became sister cities, and for several years, Yuwa sent junior high school students to Saint Cloud for cultural exchange. English classes were offered in elementary schools, a first in Akita Prefecture. From the second year on, MSU-A held its school festival along with a Halloween festival; many community members, especially children and parents, enjoyed such cultural events. MSU-A was also expected to give Yuwa financial benefits, which was not accomplished. However, the value of the school cannot be determined by how much money it generated. Its accomplishment in terms of human communications and overall "internationalization" of the community should be addressed and recognized.

AIU has been successful in a variety of ways, and one of the reasons for its success is that AIU continued several vital features that MSU-A had developed. For the establishment of AIU, Akita prefecture was able to look at the precedents that MSU-A was unsuccessful with and to learn from them in order not to repeat similar mistakes. Since there was a one-year gap between the closure of MSU-A in March 2003 and the opening of AIU in April 2004, time was allowed for discussions on curricula and other educational and administrative matters as well as for recruiting students throughout Japan. The time gap also allowed building renovations for facility improvement. AIU was established as a public university corporation supported by Akita prefecture, but it is legally able to make important independent decisions, unlike MSU-A, which had to suffer from the separate administrations of MnSCU and Akita International Academy.

After the opening of MSU-A in 1990, has the Akita community witnessed and experienced a degree of "internationalization" of its citizens? Are they more "interculturally" competent? Starting with these specific questions, the present study first wanted to see through interviews if residents of Akita were influenced by the existence of international universities from various aspects, including intercultural competence of Akita citizens and changes in their social life due to proximity to foreigners. Due to the unfortunate change of researchers for this project in the middle of the process, however, it was decided to focus only on how study abroad experiences could influence AIU students' intercultural competence, using the Intercultural Development Inventory (called the IDI) and interviews.

THE CURRENT STUDY

Research Questions and Focus of the Research at AIU

Originally the present study at AIU was launched with the following research questions:

1. Is studying abroad effective to develop intercultural competence?
2. What encourages or discourages people to develop their intercultural competence?
3. How is each group different or similar qualitatively and quantitatively?
4. What aspects of study abroad experiences influence intercultural competence?

Since it is on a small scale, with only 40 students participating, this research should be treated as a case study or a pilot study. Also, implementing the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) and giving interviews do not answer all the above research questions. Therefore, quantitatively, this study mainly focuses on the validity of the following hypothesis: Groups with different degrees of study-abroad experiences receive different scores in the IDI profiles (in other words, they are placed in different intercultural sensitivity orientations). Qualitatively, it tries to answer the question: What aspects of study abroad experiences influence intercultural competence?

The current study is part of a four-year project funded by JSPS (Japan Society of the Promotion of Science), and AIU is one of the four "international" universities (the other three being Miyazaki International College, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University and Kansai Foreign Language University) where the IDI was administered. As Kawamura delineates it (this volume), the IDI has been one of the most commonly utilized instruments to measure a person's orientation toward cultural differences worldwide. The IDI measures intercultural sensitivity, which was conceptualized in Bennett's Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS). The DMIS is supposed to work as "a framework for explaining the reactions of people to cultural differences" (Hammer & Bennett, 1989). Depending on how they answer the 50 items, individuals or groups of individuals are placed on the scale of intercultural sensitivity on the IDI profiles, indicating their orientation toward different cultures.

Research Subjects

Forty students at AIU volunteered to participate in both the IDI and 30- to 40-minute interview in the present research. They consist of four groups (each group with ten students) with different backgrounds:

Group 1: Students with the study aboard experiences both in high school and university
Group 2: Students with the study abroad experience only in high school but not yet in university
Group 3: Students with the study abroad experience only in university
Group 4: Students without any long-term study abroad experience

"Study abroad" above is defined as study in a foreign country for more than 8 months while they were in high school and/or at AIU as part of the graduation requirement. Short-term stays abroad, for instance for two months, were excluded from the "study abroad" period.

RESEARCH RESULTS

IDI Research Results

The IDI profile is composed of the three sections: (1) Intercultural Sensitivity; (2) Worldview Profile; and (3) Developmental Issues. The following tables show the IDI results of AIU participants by groups.

Table 1.

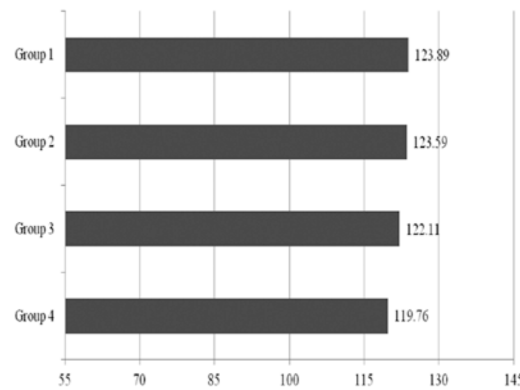
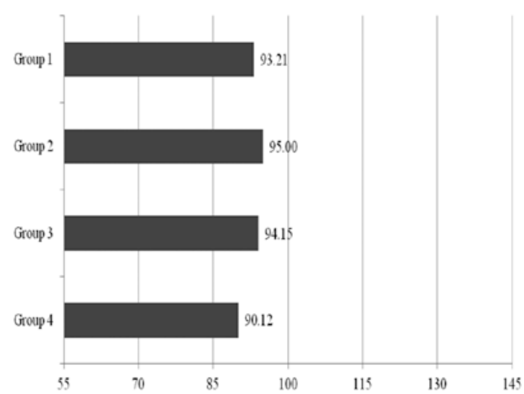


Table 2.



Tables 1 and 2 show the results of the overall *perceived* and *developmental* intercultural sensitivity earned by all the participating groups at AIU. Group 1 has the longest experiences abroad, having studied in high school and at AIU. Group 2 studied abroad in high school only, not yet at AIU. Group 3 did not study abroad in high school but studied abroad at AIU. Group 4 has never studied abroad yet. Kawamura explains *perceived* and *developmental* intercultural sensitivity in more detail (this volume), but simply put, a *perceived* intercultural sensitivity score is based on a person's own judgment, while a *developmental* intercultural sensitivity score is a person's real disposition.

In both tables, no significant difference among the groups can be identified, the scores ranging from 119.76 to 123.89 in Table 1 and from 90.12 to 95.00 in Table 2. According to Hammer and Bennett (1998), the score of the *perceived* intercultural sensitivity profile is typically higher than that of the *developmental* intercultural sensitivity profile, and in the present study, all the groups score much higher in the *perceived* intercultural sensitivity profile than in the *developmental* intercultural sensitivity profile. In general, it can be claimed that the participants overestimated their intercultural competence.

Among five orientations, Denial, Polarization, Minimization, Acceptance, and Adaptation, all the groups are placed in the stage of "Acceptance/Adaptation" in the *perceived* intercultural sensitivity profile, while all of them are placed in the stage of "Minimization" in the *developmental* intercultural sensitivity profile. (See Kawamura, Chapter 1)

The second section of the IDI profile, called "Worldview Profile," consists of five scales: DD, R, M, AA and EM. All the five scales range from 1.0 to 5.0, with three areas: (1) Unresolved (1.0 to 2.33), (2) In transition (2.33 to 3.66), and (3) Resolved (3.66 to 5.0). If their score is placed in the "Unresolved" area, individuals or groups potentially have some issues to be resolved in the field. The same can be applied to the result placed in the "In transition" area. They have resolved issues in the specific area if the score is in the "Resolved" area. Because the AA scale demonstrated the biggest gap among groups, though not statistically significant, it will be discussed here.

Table 3.

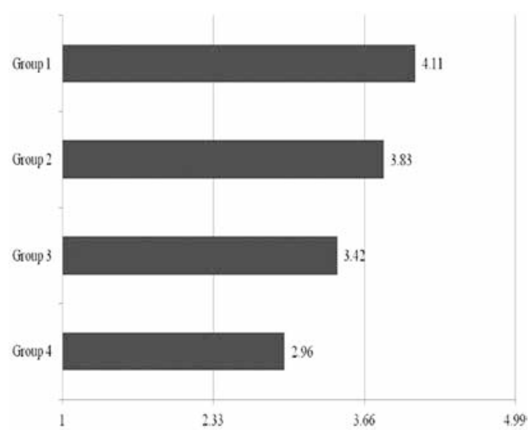


Table 3 displays the results of all the groups for the AA scale profile. The AA scale is supposed to indicate "a worldview that can comprehend and accommodate to complex cultural differences" (Hammer & Bennett, 1998). The AA scale is based on "acceptance" and "adaptation" clusters, respectively. Although not considered significant, the score gap among the groups is the biggest on the AA scale, ranging from 2.96 to 4.11. Group 1 with the longest study abroad experiences scores the highest, and Group 4 with no long-term study abroad experience scores the lowest. Possible interpretations are that, as the label of the profile states, Group 1 and Group 2 can be seen to have "a tendency to recognize patterns of cultural difference in their own and other cultures" and "to shift perspective and behavior according to cultural context" (Hammer & Bennett, 1998). On the other hand, Group 3 and 4 have not reached the stage where they can do so.

To summarize, no significant differences between the groups with and without long-term study abroad experiences can be found according to the results from the IDI. Since each group consists of only ten students, further statistical analyses are not feasible.

Research Results through Interviews

All the research participants were interviewed for 30 to 40 minutes by the researcher, during which they answered several key questions as well as some background information questions.

Group 1 students have the longest study abroad experiences both in high school and university, and all of the ten students stated that they had very productive experiences abroad. For example, Group 1-#5, who studied in New Zealand in high school and studied in the United States in university, said:

> 一回目をふまえて二回目の留学があった。これがあったから今度はこうしようと思えた。The second time to study abroad was grounded on the first experience abroad. I was able to think based on the past experience, "I should do this because something similar happened before."

It is interesting to note that six participants in Group 1 out of ten used exactly the same phrase, "…based on the lessons/reflections from the last study abroad experiences (*zenkai no hansei wo ikashite/fumaete*)" when they described their successful experiences for the second period of study abroad. Group 1-#3, who studied in the United States in high school and studied abroad in Taiwan in university, stated:

> アメリカで自信がなくて話せず英語が上手くならなかったので、前回の反省を生かして（台湾では）ガンガン行った。アメリカの経験がなければ台湾もアメリカみたいになったと思う。Since I didn't have confidence, I couldn't improve English; based on the previous experience, I was aggressively learning in Taiwan. Without the experience in the States, my experience in Taiwan would have been like the one in the States.

Eight participants in Group 1 joined extracurricular activities such as sports clubs, music bands, and/or international student organizations when they studied aboard in university because they considered participating in such extracurricular activities would help them make friends with local students, and they also acclaimed that such extracurricular activities actually helped them learn the language as well as the cultures there. Group 1–#7, who studied abroad in the United States both in high school and university, stated:

> バスケのチームや留学生クラブなど授業外の活動で友達が広がった。勉強勉強より、よい経験ができたと思う。I was able to make friends through extracurricular activities such as the basketball club and international student organization. I think I had better experiences than just focusing on studying only.

Group 2 students are those who had studied abroad in high school but have not had the experience yet in university. All of the ten students stayed with a host family during their study abroad. Five of them participated in some extracurricular activities, including school trips, music bands, and/or community service activities, during their stay and found the experience(s) positive and fruitful. Group 2-#5, who studied abroad in Britain, shared her ways of making friends there:

> スクールトリップやクワイヤーなどの友達から輪が広がった。入り込むために自分から行動する努力もした。My circle of friends expanded through friends who I met in school trips and in the choir club. I made a personal effort to make friends.

Five of the Group 2 students specifically indicated the improvement of their own communication skills through their study abroad experience. Group 2-#1, who stayed in the United States, evaluated himself:

> （留学の最初の英語力は）リスニング３０％くらい、言いたいことは５０％くらい。アメリカから帰る時は、リスニング力９０％、スピーキング力８０％までアップした。When I started my stay, I was able to understand 30% of English and to say 50% of what I wanted to say. When I came back from the States, the listening comprehension skill improved to 90% and the speaking to 80%.

For a future study abroad opportunity in university, four of them used exactly the same phrase as six Group 1 students, “based on the lessons/reflections from the last study abroad experiences (*zenkai no hansei wo ikashite/fumaete*)” as Group 2-#4, who studied in the United States in high school, stated:

> （最初の留学では）アメリカ人に圧倒されて一歩引いてたので、今度は前回（の反省）を踏まえて、自分からがんがん行きたい。足りないところがあったから、次こそは、と思う。心残りもいっぱいあるし。For the first time abroad, I was very shy and overwhelmed by Americans, so based on the lessons from the last time, I want to be active and aggressive next time. I really want to try harder. There are many regrets…

Among the Group 3 students, who had no experience of studying abroad in high school but finished their study abroad in university, five shared their regret that they should have had more positive attitudes with more confidence, not being afraid of making mistakes during their stay overseas. Group 3-#5, who studied in Canada, regretted:

> 変に英語を喋りたくない、間違えたくないから話す機会を減らそうとしてた。I didn't want to speak "strange" English or make mistakes, so I tried to avoid speaking English.

Only two out of ten students in Group 3 participated in any extracurricular activities while studying abroad; four of them gave advice to students who would study abroad in the future as seen in the comment by Group 3-#9, who studied in the United States:

> 自分の興味ある部活に入って、イベントや部活で一緒に楽しんで友達を作ったり、友達の友達を通じて輪を広げるべき。Students who study abroad should join a club activity that attract them and enjoy club activities and events and make friends. Also, they should expand the circle of friends through the friends they have made.

All of them in Group 3 made some comments of making changes if they were given another opportunity of studying abroad, using "I should have…" "I could have…" and/or "If I have another chance, I will." For example, Group 3-#4, who studied in a small college in the States and belonged to the soccer club and international students organization there, advised students who would study abroad in the future:

> まずは、何かコミュニティに入ること。日本人とつるまないこと。先生のところにすぐ話しに行くこと。The most important thing is to join a community. It is also important not to hang out with other Japanese people and not to hesitate to talk to professors for help.

Finally, among the Group 4 students, who have never studied abroad for a long period of time, two had never been abroad in their lives at the time of the interview, and both of them claimed that they would like to study abroad in a place where there are no other Japanese people around so that they would not depend on others or would have no chance of speaking Japanese there. Group 4-#4 shared her hope:

> （留学先の）学校は、日本人がいないところに行きたい。文化をより知るために、ネイティブと接する機会を増やすのが一番だと思う。I would like to study abroad at a university where there will be no Japanese. In order to get to know the culture there, I think that it is the best to increase the number of opportunities to come in contact with local people.

Five of the Group 4 students showed their strong preference of staying with a host family rather than staying in a university dormitory. Group 4-#8 stated:

> 是非ホームステイをしたい。その方が、その国の生活を体験できるし、（ネイティヴと）会話をする機会も増えると思うし。I would love to do a homestay. I think that through relating to a homestay family, I will be able to experience the country's real life and have more opportunities to communicate (with native speakers).

Six students in Group 4 mentioned that they had experienced culture shock in several ways when they first started their university life at AIU. Group 4-#2, who had never been abroad, shared his feelings:

> AIU に入学した直後は、自分は全く海外に行った経験もないし、英語も話せずコンプレックスがあった。初めは英語を話せるクラスメートと雰囲気も違って圧倒された。それに刺激を受けて喋る努力をしていたら、自然に気にせず普通に喋れるようになった。Right after coming to AIU, I had a sense of inferiority because I have no experience abroad and cannot speak English at all. I was overwhelmed by my classmates who could speak English fluently. But I came to speak English naturally stimulated by such classmates and by making efforts.

One of the target research questions in this current study is: "What aspects of study abroad experiences influence intercultural competence?" Through a variety of comments produced by the students in Groups 1, 2 and 3, who have studied abroad at least once (in high school and/or in university), the question was answered based on the suggestions/advice that they had given grounded on their own experiences: (1) not being afraid of making mistakes in communication, (2) joining some groups/communities, such as a sports club, music club, international students organization, and so on, and (3) talking to professors for help. It is impossible to claim that having good experiences implies that they have gained intercultural competence; however, the suggestions given above may indicate the gaining of fruitful experiences while studying abroad, can lead to an improvement of intercultural competence.

Interpretations and Discussions

The present study tries to see (1) if students who have experienced different lengths of study abroad are placed in different intercultural sensitivity orientations through the IDI implementation and (2) what actual experiences during their study abroad period(s) may have affected intercultural competence through interviews.

Quantitatively through the use of the IDI in this current study, there is no significant difference found among the four groups with different lengths of study abroad experiences. However, in some profiles, students without any long-term study abroad (Group 4) indicated differences from Groups 1, 2 and 3. Especially in the AA Scale, which evaluates how they understand and adjust to complicated differences between different cultures, the gap was the largest (Group 1 scoring 4.11 and Group 4 scoring 2.96).

In general, the IDI data in this study cannot claim that their experiences aboard enhanced intercultural competence or helped increase their intercultural sensitivity because it was small scaled. There is no possibility of further statistical analyses.

However, speculation can be made as to why some differences are found in the IDI profiles. One possibility is the AIU environment or curricula. At AIU, even those who have never been abroad start to experience and face cultural differences once they are enrolled. For example, almost all the official signs or email messages sent from the administration office or faculty and staff members are bilingual or only in English. Many first-year students live with a student from abroad. All the classes are conducted in English, and more than half of the faculty are non-Japanese.

Another possibility is that students who are willing to come to AIU are potentially already "unique" in that they have more international experience in the past, are interested in foreign cultures and languages, and/or have enjoyed being exposed to different cultures before coming to AIU. In order to see if these possibilities are valid, a separate study must be conducted comparing AIU students with other university students (in Akita) at matriculation and before any study abroad experience. This might lead to ascertaining if the AIU environment and/or curricula is one of the possible causes of differences found among groups in this study.

It is also possible to speculate that study abroad experiences through AIU are not effective enough to have a strong impact on students' intercultural sensitivity. While studying abroad, students are supposed to keep constant contact with their academic advisor via email; nonetheless, there is no specific set of rules of minimum frequency of communication with an advisor or no penalty against students who do not follow the instructions given by the university and/or an advisor.

Qualitatively through the interviews, some suggestions were found to be useful to improve students' intercultural competence and sensitivity. One such is not to be stressed about making errors in conversations and/or discussions while using the target second language. Another is to increase opportunities to be in contact with native speakers and local people by belonging to some communities or engaging in extracurricular activities. The other is to seek help from professors by visiting them during their office hours. Though following such advice may not ensure successful gains in intercultural competence or sensitivity, it is advisable that students who study abroad try to learn from others' experiences.

CONCLUSION

In the present article, how a small community like Yuwa initiated its involvement in "internationalization" through recruiting an American university branch school (MSU-A) is first described. Then, the transformation from MSU-A to AIU by comparing and contrasting the two schools is examined, followed by the results from the study using the IDI (Intercultural Development Inventory) and interviews with AIU students with different lengths of experiences abroad.

Because of the small samples, the present study cannot prove statistically that the experience of studying abroad helped improve intercultural competence. The fact would seem to limit efforts to prove that the existence of an international university in a local community has a positive impact on the degree of internationalization in the community's residents. Nevertheless, reviewing changes resulting from the existence of international universities in my life as someone who was born and grew up in the community of Yuwa, I would like to claim that the impact of these institutions on the local community has contributed to fostering a more "international" attitude among the residents of the community. Before the opening of MSU-A, many people had never seen a foreigner and believed foreigners were "aliens." On the contrary, it seems that people in Akita consider it natural to have non-Japanese people present as part of their life environment. Continuation of such exposure to people of different origins and languages will lead to improvement of local residents' attitudes toward different cultures. There was a distinct barrier between "us" (Japanese) and "them" (foreigners), but the wall has become lower and lower. Starting with this small change of people in a local community like Akita will contribute to a more globalized Japan.

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Naeko Naganuma
English for Academic Purposes
Akita International University

REBECCA ERWIN FUKUZAWA

4. ENGLISH PROFICIENCY AND INTERNATIONALIZATION AMONG JAPANESE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

INTRODUCTION

For at least 30 years, internationalizing education has been a major concern of Japanese educational policy makers, politicians, and the media. At the university level major reforms have focused on increasing student exchange through study abroad programs. Between the early 1980s and mid-1990s, the numbers of students studying abroad doubled (Umakoshi, 1997). In 2008 the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) set the goal of increasing the number of students studying abroad from the 2005 total of 80,000 to 300,000 by the year 2020 (MEXT, 2008). Despite this ambitious goal, the numbers of students studying abroad actually continued to drop through 2011 (MEXT, 2012). In 2012, MEXT initiated "a funding project that aims to overcome the Japanese younger generation's 'inward tendency' and to foster human resources who can positively meet the challenges and succeed in the global field, as the basis for improving Japan's global competitiveness and enhancing the ties between nations" (MEXT, 2013). These funding increases include more scholarships and broader financial eligibility requirements. While financial barriers are undoubtedly one reason students do not study abroad, other nonfinancial barriers, or what MEXT has labeled "the Japanese younger generation's inward tendency," may also discourage students from going abroad. However, this label obscures the complexity of the motivations and lives of university students today. Documenting the perspectives of students in more concrete terms, would shed light on the question of why students seem averse to leaving Japan.

This chapter explores how undergraduates in large, urban universities view foreign study and travel. The major hypothesis is that foreign language, specifically English language competence among university students is related to attitudes toward study or travel abroad. That is, lack of English language competence inhibits students from developing a sense that they can and want to study, or even travel abroad. This research is an extension of a previous, similar survey of attitudes toward travel and study abroad (Fukuzawa, Tanahashi, & Ikawa, 2010) as well as part of an ongoing study of the undergraduate experience of Japanese university students (Fukuzawa, 2004, 2005, 2008). Its long-term aim is to explore how students perceive themselves and their relation to global society within the social, cultural, and structural context of the Japanese educational system and Japanese society today.

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 53–67.

BACKGROUND RESEARCH

Much research explores the relationship between language proficiency and study abroad. Looking only at Japanese learners of English, a number of recent studies examine the role of study abroad on English acquisition (Tanaka, 2007; Tanaka & Ellis, 2002; Morita, 2010; Sasaki, 2007). Many reports contained in Japanese university publications provide a substantial number of such case studies too numerous to quote. While most of the literature focuses on the effect of study abroad on English proficiency, a smaller number of studies examine how language competence affects study abroad. For example, Tanaka's (2002) study notes the importance of predeparture language competence study abroad experiences. He found that even when students lived with a host family, some spent very little time in actual communication with their families. They studied in their own rooms, went to class, socialized with their Japanese peers, but only interacted for short times over meals with their host families. The reason was their inability to carry on simple conversations, e.g., limited English proficiency. In short, students need a certain level of competence to make the most of the study abroad experience.

Language competence is also linked to the motivation to study abroad. Kawai (2009) and Noguchi (2009) found that self-perceived language competence is one of the main determinates of students' active pursuit of study abroad. They divided students into three levels of interest in study abroad: the "active" group of those students who are actually pursuing study abroad by gathering information, the "floating" group who express interest in studying abroad but are not actively doing anything to prepare, and the "uninterested" group who express no desire to study abroad. The students in the active group were significantly more likely to evaluate their language skills highly. In particular, the self-perceived ability to communicate verbally was strongly linked to the desire to study abroad (Noguchi, 94). Moreover, the second-most common reason for not wanting to study abroad is the lack of language skills (Kawai, 117).

Other factors that predict university student interest in studying abroad may include family and hometown characteristics as well as previous study abroad experience. Noguchi reports that hometown size was linked to interest in studying abroad. Students from both large cities and very small towns tend to actively pursue study abroad. Those from middle-sized communities are less likely to do so. Students whose families frequently read to them and take them to museums during childhood are also more likely to pursue the chance to study abroad. Previous study abroad experience, but not travel abroad, also predict active interest in study abroad (Noguchi, 94–95). Research outside of Japan suggests that students may also self-select by academic performance. For example, Chieffo and Griffiths (2004) report that the SAT scores of American students who are interested in studying abroad are higher than those who show little interest. Likewise, DiPietro and Page (2008) also find that academic background and language skills, rather than parents' occupations influence which French and Italian students chose to study abroad. Taken together, these studies show a wide variety of nonlanguage factors that may motivate students to spend time studying in a foreign country.

Although the motivations for language study and study abroad may be different, models of language learning and motivation can contribute to models of motivation to study abroad. One particularly relevant and useful study by Yashima (2002) examines the relationships among motivation, achievement, and attitudes of Japanese learners of English in Japan. Using a socio-cultural model, she proposes a chain of factors that lead to communication confidence, hence willingness to communicate (WTC) in English. This concept of WTC is the top of a pyramid of factors influencing the frequency of communication in both first and second languages. In second language acquisition, this chain begins with “international posture,” or attitudes toward international society. International posture has an impact on motivation that influences language competency. Achievement or language competence heightens WTC (63). This sophisticated model shows that English language competence contributes to what makes Japanese students more likely to want to communicate with others in English. Here I assume that WTC is a fairly good proxy for willingness to study abroad. Therefore, both language competence and a range of nonlanguage factors should affect student interest in studying abroad.

METHODS

This study comprises two sets of data. First, a questionnaire surveyed the perceptions toward foreign travel and study of 65 undergraduate students at a large private university in Tokyo. The questions covered whether the students had ever been abroad before, as well as whether and why they wanted to travel or study abroad while in university. Students also responded to questions about the benefits and disadvantages of foreign study. Some questions were merely yes/no questions, while most were open-ended and asked for greater elaboration, e.g., “Why do you/don’t you want to travel or study abroad?” Students’ short responses were entered verbatim into a spread sheet, then analyzed and coded for themes following Bernard and Ryan (2010). Responses with similar meanings were grouped into categories and given a code label, e.g., “danger” for “Foreign countries are too dangerous,” or “language” (language-based reasons for studying abroad) for “I want to improve my English by studying abroad.” Some of these categories were collapsed into binary categories for statistical analysis and greater clarity. Due to the small sample size, only chi square tests were used to test for significance for four relationships. Sample size for some questions was even smaller than the total 64, because some students skipped questions on the questionnaire. The results appear as raw scores, percentages, and chi square calculations where relevant.

First- and second-year students enrolled in required English classes completed the short questionnaire. Only the highest and the lowest levels of the five class levels divided by TOEIC test score results were used for analysis. This sampling method eliminated the problem of overlapping and similar average scores clustered close to the average in the middle three classes. The top and bottom classes are separated by nearly 200 points, reflecting a large gap in performance as measured by TOEIC scores. High-level class scores ranged from 435 to 620, or significantly above the average at this faculty. The low-level group's TOEIC scores ranged between 150 and 265. The use of only two groups, labeled "high level" and "low level" creates two distinct groups for clearer comparison. Chart 1 (below) summarizes the numbers and characteristics of the groups.

Chart 1. Characteristics of students surveyed

		TOEIC score range	*Student numbers*	*Group totals*
High-level students	Class A: First-year Communication Strategies	435–620	18	32
	Class B: First-year Communication Strategies	435–535	14	
Low-level students	Class C: First-year Communication Strategies	165–260	19	
	Class D: Second-year Academic writing	150–260	14	33
Total				65

Second, qualitative analysis of 37 transcribed interviews from 35 students, each ranging from one to three hours, provides additional confirmation of the survey results. These interviews, carried out over a number of years at two different large private universities in Tokyo, did not specifically focus on study abroad. Rather they suggest the extent to which foreign languages and international experience form a part of students' life and identity. That is, I assumed that the more students mention these kinds of experiences, the more important they are. Students who spent considerable time talking about learning English or study abroad are constructing an "international posture" or identity. In contrast, I assume that those students who did not mention foreign language study or study abroad considered these topics unrelated to their lives and are building a more "domestic" identity. A word search of the computerized data base of the interviews for terms including "study abroad," "foreign country," "English," "foreign languages," and other related terms yielded a set of references to these words. These segments of varying length along with the surrounding text were extracted, compiled and coded using the qualitative data analysis program MAXQDA.

RESULTS

Relatively few of the relations among language proficiency level, attitudes and experiences proved significant, although some trends or weak correlation in the expected direction occurred. Most of the significant results did, however, show that greater English proficiency has an impact on students' interest in and perceptions of foreign travel and study. The qualitative analysis of the interviews also suggests a relationship between language and study abroad as well as the minor role of international experience in the lives of the majority of students. Only to a small number of students, who have acquired or are acquiring high-level proficiency in English, is study or experience abroad is an important concern. For these students, language proficiency and experience abroad are intertwined.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

To gauge the extent of the impact of previous experiences and environment on the desire for international experience, the questionnaire polled students about whether they, family members, or close friends had lived, studied, or traveled abroad. Charts 2a and 2b show the raw numbers and percentages in parenthesis of the two groups of students who reported having been abroad or who knew people who had been overseas.

Chart 2a. Student experience abroad

	High-level students	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Yes	15 (50%)	17 (50%)	32 (50%)
No	15 (50%)	17 (50%)	32 (50%)
Total	30 (100%)	34 (100%)	64 (100%)

Chart 2b. Family or friends experience abroad

	High-level students	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Yes	13 (43%)	11 (34.4%)	24 (38.7%)
No	17 (57%)	21 (65.6%)	38 (61.3%)
Total	30 (100%)	32 (100%)	62 (100%)

X^2 *(1, N = 32) = 3.805, p > 0.05*

As shown in Chart 2a, there are no differences between high and low-level students' own experience abroad; exactly half of each group had been overseas. Low-level students reported fewer family members and friends who had been abroad, but the difference was only marginally significant as noted below Chart 2b. While small numbers preclude further analysis, friends outnumbered family members. In fact, there were only three references to family members out of a total of 24, one in the high-level group of a father who traveled on business and two in the low-level group, one to a grandfather who took a trip abroad and one to a cousin who was doing a homestay abroad.

Students who reported previous experience abroad were asked for the details of their experiences. Of the students who provided this detailed information, more low-level than high-level students actually reported some kind of study rather than travel abroad as shown in Chart 2c below. Many of these study experiences were high school language study or homestays in English speaking countries. Likewise, trips abroad tended to be school trips rather than family vacations. Trips averaged eight days with a range of one to thirty days, while the study abroad experiences averaged seventeen days with a range of four to forty days. In short, many students had already had some kind of short experience abroad, but few had long-term experience.

Chart 2c. Type of experience abroad by group

	Studied abroad	*Traveled abroad*	*Lived abroad*	*Total*
High-level group	4 (26.6%)	10 (66.7%)	1 (6.7%)	15 (100%)
Low-level group	7 (50%)	7 (50%)	0 (0%)	14 (100%)
Total	11 (37.9%)	17 (58.6)	1 (3.4%)	29 (100%)

Students' attitudes toward travel and study abroad are broadly similar. The majority of the students surveyed are interested in at least experiencing foreign cultures through travel; fewer, however, are interested in studying abroad, as shown in Charts 3a and 3b. As one student said, "I'd like to experience traveling abroad while I have the chance in college, but to study abroad is a bit too much." However, the number of low-level students with no interest in traveling abroad is much higher. Significantly more high-level students than low-level students expressed interest in foreign travel. Unexpectedly, there is no significant difference in the desire to study abroad between the two groups.

Chart 3a. Student interest in travel abroad

	High-level students	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Interested in travel abroad	25 (83.33%)	22 (66.67%)	47 (74.6%)
No interest in travel abroad	5 (16.67%)	11 (33.33%)	16 (25.4%)
Total	30 (100%)	33 (100%)	63 (100%)

$X^2 (1, N = 63) = 16.68, p < 0.01$

Chart 3b. Student interest in study abroad

	High-level students	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Interested in study abroad	17 (58.6%)	16 (47.0%)	33 (52.4%)
No interest in study abroad	12 (41.4%)	18 (52.5%)	30 (47.6%)
Total	29 (100%)	34 (100%)	63 (100%)

X^2 (1, N = 63) = 1.31746, p > 0.05

Students did agree on their three main reasons for travel abroad (see Chart 4). Of those who are interested in traveling abroad, the vast majority, regardless of language proficiency, look at travel first as a chance to experience different cultures and second as chance to have fun or broaden their perspective.

Chart 4. Reasons for travel abroad

Reason	*High-level students*	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Experience different places, cultures	13 (52%)	11 (57%)	24
Personal growth (Broaden perspective)	2 (8%)	6 (31.5%)	8
Have fun	4 (16%)	0 (0%)	4
Language study	2 (8%)	0 (0%)	2
Other	2 (8%)	2 (10.5%)	4
Total	25 (100%)	19 (100%)	34

The most popular travel destinations of both groups also resemble each other, as displayed in Chart 5a. Approximately equal numbers of both high and low-level students wanted to travel to Europe as their first choice. North America, essentially the U.S., was their distant second choice. Only small minorities wanted to visit other Asian countries, Australia/New Zealand. Even fewer expressed interest in other countries. This distribution echoes foreign study destination interest (Chart 5b). While the largest percentage of students chose European destinations, America (mainly the U.S.) was a close second, but Australia/New Zealand was a more frequent mention than in the travel data. Non-Western and developing countries are notably absent. In sum, whether for travel or study, student interest focuses on developed countries in the Western world.

Chart 5a. Top travel destinations

Destination	*High-level students*	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Europe	18	20	38
North America	10	7	17
Asia	2	2	4
Australia/New Zealand	3	0	3
South America/ Middle East	1	0	1
Other	2	0	2
Total	36	29	65

Chart 5b. Top foreign study destinations

Destination	*High-level students*	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Europe	8	7	15
North America	10	3	13
Australia/New Zealand	3	1	4
Asia	0	1	1
South America	0	0	0
Other	1	0	1

A second set of questions, which allowed multiple answers, probed students' perceptions of the advantages and disadvantages of study abroad. Three categories of advantages comprise the overwhelming majority of answers: "improving foreign language skills," "experiencing different cultures," and "personal development/ broadening one's perspective." Students also agreed on five disadvantages of studying abroad: "expense," "personal safety," "potential communication problems," "cultural differences," and "homesickness." To examine the effects of language level on perceptions of advantages and disadvantages, the answers were combined into two broader categories, "language" and "nonlanguage" reasons. The answer "improving foreign language skills" became the category "language," and "experiencing different cultures," "personal development" and "other" became the "nonlanguage" category of advantages. For disadvantages, "potential language problems" became the "language" category, while "expense," "personal safety," "cultural differences," "homesickness," and "other" formed the "nonlanguage" category. The results appearing in Charts 6a and 6b show a correlation between English levels and perception of the barriers to study abroad, but not the benefits.

Chart 6a. General benefits of study abroad

	High-level students	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Language	21 (61.8%)	13 (46.4%)	34
Non-language	13 (38.2%)	15 (53.6%)	28
Total	34 (100%)	28 (100%)	62

X^2 *(1, N = 62) = 2.7742, p > 0.05*

Chart 6b. General barriers to study abroad

	High-level students	*Low-level students*	*Total*
Language	5 (19.2%)	8 (29.6%)	13 (24.5%)
Non-language	21 (80.8%)	19 (70.4%)	40 (75.5%)
Total	26 (100%)	27 (100%)	53 (100%)

X^2 *(1, N = 53) = 14.24, p < 0.01*

This strong relationship between language level and barriers to study abroad suggests two important points. First, nonlanguage factors discourage students from study abroad more than language factors. Nonlanguage barriers, particularly cost, personal safety, and fears of their inability to cope with foreign culture deter students more than language ability. Second, the lack of language skills creates a greater barrier to low-level students. High-level students do not perceive language as much of a hurdle as students who have very low-level skills.

In summary, analysis of the questionnaire results reveals a gap between the strong relationship between language competence and travel abroad versus the inconclusive evidence for a relationship between language competence and study abroad. The data on travel abroad show a significant effect of language proficiency on the desire to travel abroad. High-level students were much more interested in foreign travel than low-level students. They viewed it as a chance to both become familiar with foreign languages and cultures. In contrast, students with low English levels were less enthusiastic about foreign travel. Language seemed a difficult barrier rather than an opportunity for learning. If they could travel abroad, they wanted to travel more for international understanding or fun, not language study. However, nonlanguage factors are more important barriers to foreign study for both groups.

INTERVIEW RESULTS

Qualitative analysis of semistructured interview data from 35 students suggests that most student contact with foreign countries or global society is brief and transient. Rarely is it an integral part of their daily lives and identity. Slightly less than half of the students (15 of 35) mentioned study abroad or foreign cultures in any way, while less than one-third (11 of 35) mentioned English. Taking into account the overlap between students who mentioned both English and study abroad, only half (18 of 35) mentioned either or both of these topics. Of these 18, only 4 students referred to significant study abroad experiences or strong efforts to master a foreign language. Two others described barriers that prevented them from pursing their desire to study or travel abroad. The remaining 12 students mentioned foreign languages, study, and travel in passing in relation to other topics. Chart 7 summaries these findings. Where students spent a considerable part of the interview detailing overseas experience or the desire to go abroad, the segment was labeled "major concern." If a mention of study abroad was incidental to another topic, it was labeled "minor." English as a topic in itself was labeled "significant" and "nonsignificant" if it was peripheral to another topic.

Chart 7. Number of mentions of study abroad and English in 37 interviews

	SA major concern	*SA minor concern*	*English significant*	*English non-significant*	*Total*
Number of comments	26	17	13	21	77
(from one student)	(20)		(9)		
Number of students	4	10	8	10	18*

**Due to overlap of students answering both SA and English, total does not add up.*

Brief mentions of foreign study (SA minor concern) occur in references to previous trips, friends' trips, a wish to travel during college years, and the barriers to foreign travel and study. As the questionnaire data in Chart 2b show, approximately half of all university students have been abroad before, so it is natural that the interviews often contain some reference to these experiences. Likewise, since 75% of students polled by questionnaire are interested in traveling abroad as shown in Charts 3a and 3b, several mentioned the desire to travel abroad. For example, "Before I graduate, I'd like to travel abroad." "Graduation trips" to foreign countries, a popular last fling before the constraints of full-time employment begin, were mentioned several times.

The interview excerpts also reiterate the nonlanguage barriers of money and safety found in the questionnaire study. For example, two students cited the desire to study or travel abroad but explained that they needed to work more if they wanted to travel abroad. Another young woman cited money as a factor in her choice of travel destination. "I'm still not giving up [on traveling abroad]. Everyone else has a job, is finished with the senior thesis, and is probably enjoying a graduation trip. Some are going to Europe, Guam, and other places abroad. When I hear that I'm very envious… I'll probably have to just go to someplace in Asia, since I don't have much money." Both the questionnaire and interview results document personal safety as a second barrier. Students commented that foreign countries are much more dangerous than Japan. One of the (female) interviewees explained that it was her parents who were worried. "My parents have told me I shouldn't go abroad just now. I guess it is dangerous," she remarked.

Interestingly, one engineering student mentioned his 4th-year lab mates as the reason he could not take a vacation anywhere, much less abroad.

> It would be hard for me to take [a trip abroad]. It's the atmosphere in my lab… My professor wouldn't care if I took time off as long as I show up at our weekly seminar meeting with my work done. But it's the members of my lab who might not take too well to me not showing up regularly during the week. As far as my professor is concerned, as long as I produce results, if I can work efficiently and get everything done, he wouldn't mind if I took some time to enjoy myself. But it's the feeling I get in my lab from the other students… I really need to show up at least four or five times a week.

In short, the informal social norms of his lab prevented him from taking a trip abroad.

The data-base search for "English" or "foreign language" turned up thirty-four mentions of "English" or "foreign language." Similar to the references to foreign study, multiple mentions come from a small number of students or are passing comments tangential to the main topic. Nearly one-third (eleven) are from one student who spoke in detail about his efforts to learn English well enough to work abroad. Another one-third (eleven) occur in discussions unrelated to actual language learning or study abroad. For example, "it was hard to get up for English class first period last year" is a typical comment that mentions English, but was really about the difficulty of getting to class on time. Mentions of English also occurred in discussions of its role as a gate keeping mechanism. For example, "If you don't pass English class, you won't have the credits you need to move up to the next year and will have to repeat a year." Again this excerpt concerns the importance of accumulating the required number of credits outside one's major, not English per se. The role of English in past and impending exams is also a common reference. For example, "There is a section on English in the test of common knowledge given by companies before you begin the application process. Some companies use this as a sorting mechanism." Only the last third, (twelve comments by six students), concern past or present English or foreign language activities: English club activities, English learning experiences, and future work preferences. In total, only four out of thirty-five students described high-impact experiences related to English and/or study abroad. Three of these cases illustrate the relationship of extremely high-level English skills to both study abroad and "international posture." The fourth documents the effect of studying a second foreign language on motivation to study abroad.

At the time of the interview, the fourth student, Megumi,[1] was finishing her last year as a student in the literature department of a major private university in Tokyo. She described her experience on her university's 3-week study program in China during the summer of her third year as one of the high points of her undergraduate years. Her first year Chinese language classes inspired her to apply. "It was so interesting to learn a totally new language that I decided I wanted to go to China while I was a student," she said. She began planning well in advance in order to go. The main reason was money. She had to take two extra part-time jobs from the fall of her second year in order to raise enough money. One of her jobs was at a Chinese restaurant. In this way, she explained, she could make the extra money she needed as well as write on the program application that she was studying Chinese through her part-time job. "I'm physically strong, so I was able to work three jobs," she said. Money was tight at home. Her father was an ordinary office worker, and she had two other siblings in high school or college. If she wanted to go abroad, she had to earn the money to pay for it. While her job at a major corporation after graduation was not directly related to her study abroad experience, it was helpful in job hunting, she claimed.

Junya was a fourth-year business administration major at a large private university. In the course of talking about how he found a job, he revealed that he spent the summer of his third year abroad. His father, who worked for a major corporation, had been transferred overseas while he (Junya) was a university student. Junya had joined the rest of his family during his summer vacation. During this time he volunteered to help at a traditional Japanese sport association for children of Japanese expatriates. While tutoring children and at get-togethers of the Japanese community, he met a variety of business men from major Japanese corporations. In these settings he said gained valuable general advice that helped motivate him to find a job at a foreign company in Japan. He spent the first few months of the fall of his third year doing an internship and working on writing essays in English for application to foreign companies. While he was not successful in finding a job at a foreign company, he did receive a job offer from a major Japanese corporation.

Kazuki was a fourth-year law major at another large private university. Because he had actually spent his third year at a U.S. university, much of his interview dealt with the impact of his year abroad on his life. Kazuki decided to apply to his university's study abroad program at the beginning of his second year. Before that point he described his university life as typical: he studied a bit, but immersed himself in the life of his sports club and part-time job. Due to his family's residence abroad for several years, where he went to local elementary schools, his TOEFL score was already sufficient to apply to his university's program. Being a returnee placed him on a quite different English level than most other second-year university students, and he easily passed the screening. He described his U.S. college experience as life changing. New experiences altered his perspective, created new close friends, and had a positive impact on his search for a job, he claimed. When he searched for jobs, he applied only to major corporations that had both foreign operations and company programs to send employees abroad for further education. He did land a job with such a company and several years later went abroad again on a company program.

In contrast to Kazuki, Toru reached an English level where he could have applied to his university's study abroad program through grueling English study in Japan. At the time of the first interview, Toru was a senior engineering major who was headed to graduate school, where he wanted to spend more time studying English as well as his technical field. When he entered the university, he had only average English skills for his department, a TOEIC score of approximately 400. His first-year English teacher inspired him to work harder on English and gave him a sense of the potential English had to change his life. Beginning in his second year, he began spending three hours a day at school, home, or on the train just studying English. He also took every English elective his department offered. Originally, he dreamt of working in the U.S. He described himself as an individualist in a group-oriented society and felt he would be more comfortable abroad than in Japan. As he investigated this possibility during his fourth year, he found that even with his hard-won TOEIC score of 700, he could not even begin to apply for jobs abroad. Instead, he continued his daily English study throughout graduate school. After finishing his MA, he went to work for a major Japanese corporation, which at some point might reward his hard work with a stint abroad.

These three examples of students for whom English and life abroad were important goals illustrate the amount of investment in English and/or the advantages of family background required to construct an international lifestyle. Kazuya and Junya had the advantage of coming from families where English and life in foreign countries was part of their social capital. Toru, like most other Japanese university students, did not have this advantage. Consequently, he exerted tremendous energy to develop the English competence he hoped would lead him to a life within the internationalized elite in Japan.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the findings of this study are somewhat weak, they do suggest links between language proficiency, “international posture,” or a global identity and interest in studying or traveling abroad. In the quantitative analysis of survey data, English level had a strong effect on the desire to travel and the perception of barriers to studying abroad. However, it did not affect the desire to study abroad, contrary to the hypothesis of the study. The qualitative interview analysis, however, seems to lend strength to the connections between high English levels and interest in study abroad. The majority of references to study abroad or English were passing remarks about events or topics that were marginal to most students’ lives. However, students with high levels of English talked in depth about experience abroad and English study. They seemed to be developing or have developed an international posture or global identity. Their entry into major Japanese corporations upon graduation suggests the intricate nexus of motivation, language skills, and international mindset increasingly necessary for participation in global corporate society.

One reason for the weakness of the quantitative conclusions may be the methodology of the current study. As Yashima’s (2002) model demonstrates, willingness to communicate in a foreign language, and by extension the motivation to study abroad, is a complex, multilayered process best described with sophisticated statistical models or qualitative research. Simple correlations like those in this study fail to capture these complexities. The results of both survey and interview data do show that English competence is at least one factor restraining the growth of study and travel abroad. However, particularly for study abroad, the relationship is more complicated.

A second reason may be this study's failure to distinguish between active and passive interest in studying abroad. Kawai (2009) and Noguchi (2009) differentiated between students interested in foreign study who had actually taken the step of gathering information and students who expressed interest in study abroad, but who had not taken any action to realize their professed interest. Using this distinction might have yielded a stronger correlation between students actively pursuing study abroad and high English levels. Students with lower English levels may dream of studying abroad or imagine study abroad as part of the ideal college experience, but fail to take concrete steps.

A third reason for the discrepancy between the effect of language on travel and study abroad may be students' incomplete grasp of the realities of the neoliberal, global economy. Lack of English skills may discourage students from traveling abroad because they can easily imagine communication problems while traveling. However, the first- and second-year university students may unrealistically believe that modest improvement in their English skills will enhance career success. They may be unaware of the magnitude of improvement necessary to raise their English skills to a globally marketable level. Thus, even their current low skill levels may not adversely affect their desire to improve their English skills or dream of studying abroad. As Kubota (2011) and Kobayashi (2007) argue, the notion that human capital development or investment in English language skills leads to career success is widely accepted in Japan. However, as they demonstrate, this is not necessarily true. Gender, geography, (and, I might add) university rank, affect career and, for university students, job-hunting success. While they attend universities in the metropolitan Tokyo area, students with minimal English proficiency are on the margins of global society.

NOTE

[1] All names are pseudonyms.

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Rebecca Erwin Fukuzawa
Faculty of Science and Engineering
Hosei University

PART 2

ADMINISTRATIVE/POLITICAL

J. S. EADES

5. DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

Some Japanese Case Studies

Since the 1980s, one of the most widely used terms in the formulation of Japanese educational policy has been *kokusaika*, usually translated as "internationalization." In particular, institutions of higher education have increasingly had to take notice of the international education industry because of the increasing number of universities in Japan since 1990, coupled with the decreasing number of potential Japanese students. By the 1990s, Japan had already achieved mass higher education, with enrolment rates of close to 50%, and enrolment rates for the children of university graduates of over 80% (Goodman, 2001). In addition, the heady days of the bubble economy in the 1980s had spawned a further expansion of the numbers of higher education institutions, with the result that shining new campuses came on stream in the 1990s, just at the moment that the bubble burst, economic recession set in, and the number of 18 year olds in the population peaked (Eades, 2001), thanks to the liberalization of abortion back in the 1970s. Internationalization therefore appeared to serve two purposes: raising Japan's profile in the international higher education market on the one hand, and providing additional occupants for the newly provided places on the other. Back in the 1980s, the administration of premier Nakasone had decided on a target of recruiting 100,000 foreign students to study in Japan. Once this had been achieved in the 2000s, the target was raised to 300,000, and the campaign to recruit them was to be spearheaded by the "Global 30," 30 top Japanese universities that would be given new funds to design English-language programs to attract international students. However, only 13 institutions were allocated funding before the defeat of the Liberal Democratic Party in the 2009 election. The question currently is whether the program will be reopened with the return of the LDP administration of premier Abe, or whether other strategies will be tried.

Japan's higher education sector is highly diversified, and different sectors of it have had different approachs to higher education. There are some 700 universities or *daigaku* in Japan, of which around 100 were established by the national government, around 20 were established by prefectural or city governments, and the rest were established privately. With the "big bang" of 2005 (Eades, Goodman, & Hada, 2005), in which the national universities were also transformed into educational trusts, the higher education system became more integrated, but the old divisions still remain.

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 71–90.

At the top of the hierarchy of prestige are the seven former imperial universities: Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya, Tohoku, Hokkaido, and Kyushu. They have traditionally recruited the brightest students through a highly selective and competitive system and have received the lion's share of national research funding. Their fees are comparatively low: the main barrier to the entry of undergraduates is passing the entrance examination, and Japan has developed a large specialized cramming school industry to help students and their parents prepare for these. At the undergraduate level, the student body is almost entirely domestic, but at the postgraduate level it is much more varied, with the addition of many international students studying on scholarships provided by the Japanese government through the Japanese Society for the Promotion of Science, an agency established by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (generally known as *monkasho* or MEXT).

The hierarchy of national universities then progresses from other high-ranking institutions in Tokyo and other major cities (Tokyo Institute of Technology, Hitotsubashi, Hiroshima, Tsukuba) to second-rank institutions in the smaller prefectures. Many of the newer prefectural and city universities were planned in the 1980s, when local universities, like local international airports and silicon valleys, were seen as must-have projects by local administrators.

In the vast private sector of higher education, over 600 institutions in all, the leaders have long been the major educational trusts established by intellectuals and politicians in the late 19th century, including Keio and Waseda in Tokyo and Ritsumeikan and Doshisha in Kyoto. In the 1980s, Johnson (1982) noted that senior administrators in the Japanese government were traditionally recruited from five main institutions: Tokyo, Kyoto, Hitotsubashi, Keio, and Waseda. But it is the lower-ranking universities in the private sector that are most threatened by the fall in the number of high school graduates, and some of them have already had to turn from selecting candidates to persuading candidates to join them at all (Kinmonth, 2005).

During my 20 years in Japan, I taught in different types of universities: a major national institution in Tokyo, a second-rank national university in Kansai, a private women's university in Tokyo, recently upgraded from a two-year junior college (where I taught part-time), and an international university established by one of the large private educational trusts in Kyushu. I was able to serve on the humanities and social science committee for the Center of Excellence programs in the early 2000s (Eades, 2005), intended to provide funding for new areas of research, which gave invaluable insights into what was happening in other institutions. The questions addressed in this chapter, therefore, are what *kokusaika* means to different types of institutions and the main strategies they have used to accomplish it.

What follows, therefore, is a personal description of the major processes of *kokusaika* in this range of universities. Other academics in other—or even the same—institutions may well have had different experiences, and in addition, the Japanese system has been constantly evolving since the early 1990s when I first started to work there. However, I hope that this discussion will at least highlight some of the main dilemmas local institutions face in thinking and acting globally and also some of the main trends in future as Japanese higher education becomes increasingly integrated into the global industry.

MEANINGS OF *KOKUSAIKA*

The Prestigious National University

First, what does the implementation of *kokusaika* actually mean in practice? In the first institution where I taught, a high-ranking national university, it was assumed that it was already international. Many of the scholars teaching there had international reputations, had studied or researched abroad, and, in many cases, were bi- or multi-lingual. The undergraduate students were generally bright, from elite schools and/or families, and many had also been abroad and were fluent in English. The administration was less international—which was one good reason for an outsider learning Japanese. The most international group, though, was the postgraduate students, half of whom were from outside Japan, particularly mainland China and Korea. However, compared with the British university at which I had previously taught, there were two main problems for the prospective researcher: the library facilities and the computer systems.

Library problems stemmed from the fact that the university was divided between two campuses in different parts of Tokyo, and each faculty ran their own libraries in their own way. There were therefore spectacularly different indexing and cataloging systems to be found, written in Roman script, Japanese script, or Dewey decimal and Library of Congress numbers, and there was no integrated catalog. Journals were also scattered between faculties, though the abstracts were starting to become available on CD-ROM. Even though many of the natural scientists were used to publishing internationally in English, most scholars in the social sciences and humanities wrote in Japanese for in the in-house journals that most universities published rather than for international peer-reviewed journals in English.

The computer systems in the university were still in their infancy. The main computing department was on the other campus. On the campus where I was based, there was a single VAX main-frame computer maintained by an assistant lecturer in geography (who soon left) plus smaller machines running incompatible operating systems (Apple, MS-DOS, and the local NEC systems) and with limited means of interfacing them. I could receive e-mail through the VAX but could not send it, as it seemed only to deal with capital letters. I was writing a book together with a colleague in the UK at the time and was only able to communicate through liberal use of the departmental fax machine. About the time I left the university (1994), the problems started to be resolved, with the arrival of a connection to the Internet and the mass purchase of the new generation of Apple and MS-DOS machines. The library problems remained—the solution I adopted there was to travel for a week at a time to work in the excellent National Museum of Ethnology library in Osaka.

The Lower-Ranking National University

Paradoxically, research conditions were rather better at the second-rank national university near Kyoto that I moved to subsequently: the campus was more compact with a single faculty, it taught a single discipline (Economics), and there was a single library. The computers had just been upgraded before my arrival, so I soon had access to the Internet from my office. The staff and students had a lower level of international expectations and English language ability, and I found the Japanese I had acquired in Tokyo very useful as a result. Surprisingly, only 15%, of the teaching staff had Ph.D.s when I arrived there, as many older scholars still saw the Ph.D. as a degree to be earned late in their careers, submitting a set of publications they had accumulated over the years. (Thanks to the recruitment of younger scholars and the completions among older scholars, by the time I left six years later, this had risen to around 45%.) In terms of the continuum between *uchimuki* and *sotomuki* scholars proposed by Greg Poole (2010) (i.e., between scholars mainly concerned with the internal affairs of the university, and those concerned with external research links, publishing and reputation), most of the teachers in this university were decidedly *uchimuki*. A few had (or were developing) good international links and reputations, but the others generally published, if at all, in the university's in-house journal, published six times a year, or were resting on their laurals.

The main work of the university was seen as trying to find jobs in a contracting domestic labor market for the graduates, given that only about 60% of them were securing jobs before they graduated (compared to nearly 100% at the prestigious university in Tokyo). For many students, much of the third and fourth years of their degree programs were taken up with the *shushoku katsudo*, the search for jobs. This meant an exhausting round of meetings and interviews with prospective employers, preferably the larger companies, during which many students expended time and effort getting through the preliminary rounds, only to fall at the final hurdle. Many therefore also made use of personal networks, including those of their seminar teachers (who often put in a huge amount of time making contacts on their behalf), or using the "OB" (old boy) networks of former members of the student societies in which they participated. Most students also had part-time jobs, and some were able to move into permanent positions with these companies once they graduated. In general, student employment was seen as not so much a function of grades as of the ranking of the university from which they graduated: thus the pressure to get into the top schools. Generally, in this type of second-rank university, levels of student satisfaction were low (Lee-Cunin, 2004), but part-time work, society activities, and the search for jobs took up most of their time, and there was little overt discontent or protest.

At the postgraduate level, there was only a master's course, which recruited a few foreign students on JSPS scholarships. These were actualy an extremely international group (my class included multilingual students from Norway, Haiti, Palestinian Territories, and Tunisia), but generally developing postgraduate teaching did not seem to be a major priority. Apart from finding jobs for undergraduates, the main concern during my time there was the effect of competition with the brand new prefectural university, which had opened just down the road, with its architect-designed campus, trendier courses, and more up-to-date facilities. The number of high-school graduates was already falling, so the appearance of another university in the city was seen by some as a potential threat.

The Independent Women's University

The women's university at which I taught part-time for a couple of years was different again. The range of student ability was much greater than in either of the other two universities, and the atmosphere of the place was completely different. It had been a *tanki daigaku* (short-term university) with a two-year program, but this had recently been upgraded to a full four-year program. Generally, the institution was very similar to the women's college described in a study by Brian McVeigh (1997). Two obvious differences from the national universities, apart from the lack of male students, were the neatness of the buildings and the use sailor-style school uniforms, which made the women look more like high-school than university students. As McVeigh has described, these universities originally saw their main role as preparing women for lives as successful office workers, wives, and mothers, by providing them with cultural capital. Thus, business etiquette and cultural pursuits, together with conversational English and tennis, were important elements of the curriculum. So was the semester spent at a university abroad, usually the United States. But one of the biggest attractions was an excellent concert hall on campus, where major international orchestras came to give warm-up concerts before playing in the major Tokyo halls. These concerts were free to students, their parents, and staff members, in contrast to the very high prices charged by the main concert halls. In general, therefore, the university appeared to be a popular place both for parents to send their students and for part-time or retired staff from other leading universities to teach. However, the library and other research facilities were extremely limited, and the staff trying to research or write had to look for good libraries elsewhere in the city. Internationalization here was defined in terms of the curriculum ("International Studies") and the language skills and other cultural capital provided to the students rather than an international reputation for the institution.

The International Private University

The fourth university at which I taught was established in Kyushu by one of the major educational trusts in 2000. In part, its origins were similar to those of the prefectural universities: part of project by a long-serving governor (formerly a senior civil servant in the Ministry of International Trade and Industry) to turn his prefecture into an international hub, despite the distance from Tokyo. However, instead of building a prefectural university, he looked for collaboration with an educational trust in Kyoto that was also thinking about establishing an international university. The result was that the prefecture provided the land and much of the infrastructure, while the trust provided the intellectual content. Unlike some of the newer international universities in Japan, which teach entirely in English, the idea here was that they could take most courses in either English or Japanese (cf. Breaden, 2010). In preparation, international students spent much of the first two years learning Japanese, while Japanese students developed their English. Other major Asian languages were also on offer, including Chinese and Korean. The intention was that half the students and half the staff should come from outside Japan: Japanese students would be attracted by the international environment on campus and the chance to learn English, while the international students would be attracted by a generous scholarship program. At the start, two faculties were established, teaching social sciences and management, respectively. A graduate school was opened for each faculty in 2003, and by 2006 the institution had stabilized in size, with around 6,000 students and a teaching establishment of 120.

It was here that the complexities of *kokusaika* were the most obvious and complex. To separate out the major levels and complexities involved, I here consider in turn the three main areas of university activity: administration, teaching, and research.

ADMINISTRATION

The fact that the university was recruiting both staff and students from inside and outside Japan created a number of basic administrative problems. The first was that of translation. Speaking Japanese was not a requirement for the international staff, neither was speaking English a requirement for the Japanese. The result was that many documents had to be prepared for meetings in both languages, and interpreters had to be on hand as well. Given that many of the more senior staff seconded from the educational trust were there because they knew how to run a university, rather than because they were bilingual, much of the burden of translation fell on the shoulders of short-term contract staff, mostly foreigners who were able to speak Japanese. Many of these were recruited from the JET language assistant program, in which large numbers of foreign teaching assistants were recruited to help language teaching in Japanese schools (McConnell, 2000). Many of them learned Japanese, acquired Japanese partners, and decided to stay in Japan. Without them, it would have been difficult for the university to get off the ground at all. However, they were generally employed on short-term contracts and, like the permanent staff, they moved between administrative departments at regular intervals. The result was a lack of administrative continuity, which many of the foreign staff found particularly frustrating: well trained and competent administrators were constantly being moved to other departments, while their replacements had to learn the job all over again. It also seemed to be a waste that bilingual administrators were regularly replaced, while the monolingual senior managers from the trust, often unable to communicate with the international staff and students, were permanent. Rotation had wider implications. Some offices, such as counselling, student services, careers services, and libraries, which usually had their own trained professionals in the West, were staffed by general administrators with no special training in Japan.

The international staff also found that the bureaucrats wielded a great deal of power through their knowledge of the rules and regulations. Committee meetings were attended by administrators armed with the latest versions of university and ministry regulations. Many seemingly useful suggestions and initiatives made during these meetings were rejected by the administrators because they fell outside these sets of rules. However, over time, there was a degree of accommodation, as an increasing number of senior staff from the trust experienced the environment of the international university. In some cases, the bureaucrats took on board some of the suggestions and found creative ways to implement them within the rules, while on other occasions they were willing to make changes to the rules themselves. This could be a long process as the new versions made their way up through the hierarchy of committees to the trust level, but they were eventually adopted. There were also occasions on which staff who appeared to be particularly opposed to change were discretely shifted sideways to other departments. In general, these encounters between teachers and administrators of different nationalities with different values, goals, and experiences demonstrated well that there is no single coherent body of thought in international higher education. In some of the offices, new cultures and bodies of expertise had to be created. Two of the best examples were in the offices in charge of admissions and careers.

Admissions in Japanese universities are usually conducted through examinations held once a year: the so-called Center Test run by the Ministry of Education, and the entrance exam set by the university itself. These exams are conducted and marked very quickly, right at the end of the academic year. The Center Test is multiple choice, marked centrally by computer, while the university entrance exam is marked very quickly on campus by the university staff. These methods were used in the recruitment of Japanese students in this university as well. Success or failure in these entrance exams to particular universities has a huge effect on students' life chances after graduation (Aspinall, 2005).

However, foreign student applicants had to be evaluated very differently. They applied from abroad with a huge variety of qualifications, ranging from internationally accepted examinations such as the International Baccalaureate or A-level to local qualifications and high-school grades. The admissions office had a number of foreign contract workers able to speak important languages other than English and Japanese. Applications included short essays by the students themselves; details of other accomplishments such as sports, the arts, music, leadership, volunteer work, or other languages for which they could be given extra credit; and recommendations from teachers. Students from small countries poorly represented in the university received additional points, given the emphasis on diversity. Gradually a system evolved that allowed the office staff to make an overall numerical assessment of applicants on which the decision of whether to admit or not could be based. The academics from each faculty were represented on the admissions committee, but generally the administration's recommendations were passed unopposed, as the academics lacked the background information required to challenge them. In most meetings, the administrators concentrated the discussion around a few marginal cases where they asked for guidance from the academics, allowing all other decisions to be approved unopposed.

In addition to evaluation, the admissions office also developed considerable skills in outreach and marketing. As the university developed over the years, so did the quality of its publicity literature and the sophistication of its on-line operation. Indeed, it became something of a model for some of the more prestigious universities in Japan, which had never had to market themselves before, given the numbers of young Japanese queuing up to get in. When the G-30 program was launched, the university was visited by several delegations from the older and longer established schools, asking advice on curriculum, publicity, and marketing in the light of its experience to date.

The other area where the staff acquired a considerable body of expertise was in careers. The fact that the university was so far from the major employment centers in Tokyo and Osaka meant that for the students the standard *shushoku katsudo* was impossible. Companies that wanted to recruit the students had to come to the campus, and an increasing number did. They were primarily interested in the foreign students, most of whom were multilingual (in English and Japanese in addition to their own languages), either to work in their offices in Japan, liaising with foreign companies and branches, or to work in Japanese subsidiaries in their own countries. By the end of the 2000s, around 400 companies a year were coming to hold explanatory meetings and interviews on campus, and groups of international students dressed in formal "recruit suits" waiting for these events in administration corridors were a regular feature of campus life. Not all foreign students wanted to work for Japanese companies—some planned to go on to graduate study, while others already had jobs back home—but for those who did look for work, the success rate was very high, in the region of 90%. Students also developed international networks of fellow students that could provide information on alternatives if they wished to change jobs after graduation. Increasingly, for the foreign students, the availability of work and the formation of international networks were among the main factors attracting them to study in Japan.

TEACHING

Teaching is another area in which the idea of "international standards" is problematic and contested. In the older Japanese universities, teaching and monitoring students are fairly relaxed. In the prestigious university I taught at in Tokyo, I was told that many of the students had pretty much burned themselves out in the effort to be admitted, and that this should be taken into account. University programs were often described as a "moritorium," the only free space between high school and a permanent job. Students attended lectures as they liked, wrote a short exam or report at the end of the course, and received their grade with no external monitoring or standardization of results.

However, the foreign staff came to Japanese universities with their own expectations, based on their own education, experience, and previous jobs. To someone like me, coming from the British system, with its three-hour exams, double marking, and external examiners, the Japanese system seemed shockingly casual. The marking system was completely different. In the UK, 40% had been the passmark while 70% represented a considerable achievement. In Japan, in contrast, 70% was the pass mark, and students had to get above 90% to achieve an A+ for the course. This system I soon found worked best with multiple choice examinations rather than essays. The mean for the final exam usually did peak at over 70%, and students who had done their homework really could get over 90%.

However, needless to say, the local system provoked lively discussion in staff meetings, together with many proposals for alternatives and standardization based on a variety of models from outside Japan. These generally cancelled each other out, or appeared to the administration to be difficult to implement, so it remained left to teachers to determine their own methods of evaluation, with the proviso that only 50% of the grade could come from a final exam or report. The rest of the marks could be given for attendance (difficult to track with some large classes of over 200 students in which students regularly handed in attendance sheets on behalf of their friends), participation (also difficult to measure, especially in larger classes), or shorter quizzes held during the course. A final very useful method of evaluations turned out to be preparation of PowerPoint presentations, given the availability of the program on the university computing system. Some of the students turned out to be astonishingly creative in their use of the program, counterbalancing their limited language skills. These presentation skills also helped some of the students in the competition for jobs. Some teachers also encouraged group presentations, though these often led to complaints that some members of the group had contributed little to the final product.

The other area of debate was the curriculum and reading lists for courses. Some of the staff came from traditions where students are expected to spend much of their time in the library. The Japanese tradition, however, enshrined in ministry regulations, is one where students take a large number of courses and spend a lot of time in the lecture theater for 1.5 hour lectures. Given the number of courses being taken by most students, plus the demands of part-time work, sports, and other activities, there was little time left for independent reading. Large classes raised the issue of how many copies of standard texts the library would be willing to buy and how many the bookshop was willing to stock, given that it could not return unsold books published outside Japan. Course packs provided a solution for some teachers, while the increasing availability of journal articles on line within the university solved the problem for others. Even so, problems relating to teaching and standardization of grades remained, including what to do about plagiarism (however defined), and whether or not students should be given credit just for turning up to class and going to sleep at the back.

RESEARCH

The issue of libraries arises most acutely in the area of research. As a new institution, the international university began with a largely empty library, and the shelves only filled up as the numbers of students increased. Interlibrary loan was an expensive option for anyone doing serious research (unlike the second-rank national university I had taught at, where it was free) and the annual budget for new books was limited by the trust. To make matters worse, books had to be bought in both Japanese and English, and while the Japanese books were relatively cheap, the English language books bought from a few favored suppliers tended to be much more expensive. The problems became more acute when the graduate school opened, especially for the students studying for Ph.D.s. The lack of specialist librarians in the fields of Japanese, Chinese, and Southeast Asian studies did not help.

A number of factors helped alleviate the problem. First, although assembling a comprehensive collection of the historic literature on East and Southeast Asia would have been very expensive, acquiring newly published books on these regions was manageable, so that over the course of ten years, a reasonable collection of current literature took shape, comparable to that in, say, provincial universities in the UK. Second, this was the period in which an increasing number of journals were going on line, and with citation indices it was possible to identify the most important ones in each discipline. Many of the mainstream journals were becoming available in collections run on a subscription basis by the major publishers, and those that were not soon found that they were losing out in terms of readership and citations. The major newspapers in English were available through the LexisNexis database, subscribed to from the start of the university, while those in Japanese were available through a database run by the Japanese newspaper company, Asahi. In terms of the library budget, subscriptions to online journal collections represented much better value than collections of expensive specialist monographs that few people would read.

As with PowerPoint, the early students took to the new technology with enthusiasm: I remember asking one of my quieter early Ph.D. students if he had been able to download any useful material from the newly acquired journal databases. He replied that he had already downloaded around 2,000 articles and was now coping with the task of how to organize them.

Citation indices were a symptom of the advent of the audit culture (Shore & Wright, 1999) during this period, although it arrived in Japan rather later than in the West. In the UK, the crucial event was the introduction of the Research Assessment Exercise, first held in 1985, and repeated at regular intervals ever since. Teaching assessments soon followed. Internationally, the rankings by the Times Higher Education Supplement and Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) in the West and Jiaotong

University in China are now regularly used by universities both to compare their standing with respect to each other and in their advertising copy. In Japan, the leading source in this field is *Daigaku Rankingu* (university ranking), issued annually by the Asahi Shimbun Corporation. This has dozens of tables, ranking universities on any number of indices, including reputation, student satisfaction, numbers of foreign students, library facilities, and so on. In fact, there are so many tables that many universities can find something positive within its voluminous covers to include in their brochures and prospectuses.

The international rankings over time, on the other hand, started to reveal some interesting trends, some of which were worrying to universities in Japan. In an analysis of my own, I divided the number of universities in the top 200 of the global rankings by the size of the population of each country. It turns out that, relative to population, the education systems ranking highest are generally in small, wealthy countries that operate to a large extent in English, including the Scandinavian countries together with Switzerland and the Netherlands. (In Asia, Hong Kong and Singapore also rank high.) Then come the Anglophone countries, led by Australia and the UK, followed by the United States, where the large number of high-ranking institutions tends to be offset by the large size of the population. This reflects the dominance of English in international higher education. Next come the large countries that operate in languages other than English, including Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Korea, and Japan. The ranking of these countries appears fairly stable, with two main exceptions: while South Korea is moving up the rankings rapidly, Japan is moving down. The general competitiveness of the Korean education system, the high regard in which teachers are still held, the emphasis on language ability, and the number of students going abroad all appear to be factors in this divergence. Finally, bringing up the rear, are the middle-income countries in places such as Mexico, Russia, India, and China that have large populations but fewer outstanding institutions.

Clearly MEXT is aware of these kinds of figures and comparisons, and in the 2000s it started to implement measures to increase the international visibility and competitiveness of Japanese universities. The earliest of these was the Center of Excellence program mentioned above, which gave funds for universities to establish centers for new types of research that could compete internationally. Since then there have been other initiatives, of which the Super Global Universities Program is the most recent. Generally the bulk of the funds on each occasion have gone to the usual suspects: the higher-ranking former national universities, together with the older private universities like Keio and Waseda in Tokyo or Ritsumeikan and Doshisha in Kyoto.

But apart from these more prestigious institutions, whether Japanese universities will be able to recruit internationally on a sufficiently large scale to make up for the drop in the population of high-school graduates is doubtful. First, the countries with the most dynamic economies, like China, Brazil, Russia, and India, are also investing heavily in their own higher education sectors. Second, though Japan is still the world's third-largest economy, it seems likely to move down the hierarchy as the population declines. Studying and living in Japan, particularly at the private universities, can be expensive in comparison with countries like Germany, where fees are very low indeed. Studying in Japan is therefore likely to remain a niche market, but the Japanese government will have to think of other ways to prop up the declining population in future, probably having to open the doors officially to unskilled workers from other parts of Asia willing to take on the jobs the highly educated younger Japanese are unwilling to accept.

DIMENSIONS OF INTERNATIONALIZATION

Analyzing these four examples, a number of different aspects of the process of internationalization become apparent. Once more, we can divide these into administration, teaching, and research.

Administration

1. *International engagement:* The first question with university administrations is how far they are engaged with trends in international higher education, and how far they take these into account in their management and development strategies. Of the four cases cited above, the institution with the least concern was the lower-ranking national university. Very few students came from abroad, the university had a relatively low rank nationally, let alone internationally, and the main concerns were surviving within the Japanese system, given the population decline, and providing jobs for the graduates in a time of economic recession. Both the prestigious national university and the private women's college were more concerned with international issues: the prestigious national university was concerned with its global ranking, particularly in the sciences, as a means of legitimating its continued call on generous government funds, while the women's college was concerned with placements for its students for their semesters abroad. The international university was even more concerned with international issues, given that it hoped to recruit half of the staff and students from other countries.
2. *International networking:* This awareness is reflected in the way universities try to develop international networks and the importance that they place on them. Here again, the lower-ranking national university had the least interest in international networking as an institution, though individual members of staff did have their own networks as an adjunct to their own research. The prestigious national university also had little institutional interest in networking, though a higher percentage of the academics working there had their own research links, given the high rate of success in government research funding, and the international visits, meetings, and joint research projects to which these often gave rise. The women's college had an institutional interest in international networks, to place their students abroad, though fewer of the academics had ongoing research networks than in the national universities, reflecting the lack of a graduate school

and the greater teaching loads of teachers at this institution. Some of the part-time teachers had their own international networks, but for them the women's college with its limited library facilities was not their main research base. Finally, the international university had the most elaborate international networking operation. The academic office had a whole division working on partnership and exchange programs with foreign universities; the admissions office was concerned with building up partnerships with overseas high schools and parent networks; and the top management saw the school's international operation as a vital plank in its attempts to establish its global credentials in competing with the more prestigious national universities.

3. *International marketing and student recruitment*: Networking in higher education may translate more concretely into marketing and student recruitment. Here again, the four institutions are markedly different. The women's college was mainly concerned with sending its own Japanese students abroad, not recruiting foreign students to come to Japan. The lower-ranking national university had a few foreign students at the postgraduate level sent by JSPS, but had no particular interest in the international market beyond that. The prestigious national university had a long tradition of recruiting foreign postgraduates and postdoctoral researchers, but little interest in recruiting foreign students at the undergraduate level, given the demand and quality of the domestic students it traditionally recruited. It was only with the government's G-30 project that it began to take notice of the foreign undergraduate market at all. Soon, however, the quality of their publicity improved considerably, with first-rate artwork and content, expertly edited in English. However, once more, it was the international university that was most engaged in international marketing, as recruitment of international students was essential to its survival, both to provide the international environment for the Japanese students and to recruit the international half of the study body.
4. *Operating in foreign languages*: As English has become the *de facto* international academic language, the question is how far the administration of a school is able to recruit staff with the linguistic skills to manage these networks. In the lower-ranking national university there were few office staff able to speak in languages other than Japanese, and there was no special use made of those that could. The women's university maintained staff specifically to manage their year abroad programs, but otherwise the staff were largely monolingual. The prestigious national university had a rather higher level of staff as one of the country's leading educational institutions, but again, many administrators operated only in Japanese, and no special use was made of those that had language expertise, other than those specifically in the campus's international office. With the G-30 project, more specialist staff were hired to service the program, so one result of the project has been to upgrade not only the teaching program but the skills of the administration. The situation in the international university went further with the hiring of bilingual staff on contract to deal with the day-to-day administrative needs of teaching and meetings. One problem, as mentioned above, has been

that skilled specialized staff have been forced to leave when their contracts are up, and the most recent trend is either to employ foreign administrators able to speak Japanese as permanent staff, or to hire in the university's own Japanese graduates who can also function in English. There is also a program for upgrading Japanese staff by sending them abroad for further training, or seconding them to the Ministry of Education for an exchange of skills with the ministry itself.

Teaching

1. *Diversity of teaching staff*: The ability to operate in foreign languages is closely related to the diversity of the teaching staff. The top international universities generally have very diverse and international teaching staffs, so the question is how true is this of Japan. Part of the answer depends on subject: most universities have at least a few foreign staff, though the majority of them are employed either on a short-term or part-time basis as language teachers. In the national universities, the post of *gaikokujin koshi*, foreign lecturers teaching English or other languages, has a long history. The terms of employment and the length of contract are often different from those of regular teachers. At the women's university there were a number of part-time language teachers running mainly language lectures or conversational English classes. At the lower-ranked national university, there were two *gaikokujin koshi*, formally employed on two-year contracts, though in practice these could be extended. At the prestigious national university, the foreign teachers were generally employed on three-year contracts, though these could be extended in some cases. This could be useful: Japanse associate professors or professors could only be employed on a tenured basis, so, as in my case, having a foreign teacher for a period was a way of holding open the slot until a suitable local candidate appeared. When I arrived in this university, it soon became clear that the majority of the teaching staff were also graduates of the same university. (A couple of individuals were pointed out to me as having been so brilliant that they were appointed despite having come from elsewhere!) Since then, and particularly with the G-30 program, diversification has started to accelerate. In the international university, most of the language teachers were employed on special short-term contracts, with heavier teaching loads and lower salaries than the regular staff simply to keep the costs of the language program down. However, it was soon realized that continuity was necessary, so a small number of more highly qualified staff were given tenure and regular salaries in return for developing and managing the program. No distinction was made between foreigners and Japanese either among the regular staff or the language staff, unlike the national universities.
2. *Qualifications of teaching staff*: In addition to diversification, there has also been a gradual upgrading of the qualifications of teaching staff and the recruitment of a greater number of Japanese academics trained overseas and thus able to operate in languages other than Japanese. Generally, ministry regulations stipulate that

university teachers have to have at least a master's degree, though this may be waived in the case of part-time language teachers if the supply is short. As mentioned above, there has been a change in the meaning of the Ph.D. in Japanese universities over the years. In the past, many scholars completed their master's degrees and completed the examination and other requirements for the Ph.D. except for submitting the thesis. This might take place many years later, either by the completion of a published book, a regular thesis, or the submission of a collection of articles. At the lower-ranking national university, where few of the staff had Ph.D.s when I arrived, a number of the professors were publishing what were in effect chapters of their thesis in the house journal: once the series of papers was completed, they were assembled into a thesis and submitted. By the 1990s, it was becoming more common for new recruits to have a Ph.D. at the time of arrival, and the percentage had risen markedly (from 15% to 45%) by the time I left, six years later. At the more prestigious national university, most professors had completed their Ph.D.s at the time of appointment. At the women's university, there was less concern with formal qualifications. At the international university, many of the senior staff who started the university lacked Ph.D.s. This meant that it was difficult to get accreditation for them to teach in the graduate school once it was opened, and from then on procedures were tightened up. Minimum qualifications including Ph.D.s and publications were established for initial appointment, tenure, graduate teaching, and promotion. The new regulations were established by an American professor who was the dean of the Academic Office at the time. As I left the university, the management faculty was seeking accreditation by the American-based Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB), which meant further modification to the rules for appointments, promotion, publication, and graduate teaching. One of the results of this was the further development of the audit culture. Accreditation meant putting more emphasis on intellectual output, particularly publishing in internationally recognized peer reviewed journals. Generally across the board the development of an international audit culture is rapidly changing research and publication patterns, as will be discussed further below.

3. *Curriculum development*: How far have the universities under discussion developed their curricula in line with perceived international norms, or using international models? The traditional structure of Japanese universities is based on strong faculties, with an underlying American model. The first two years were traditionally *kyoyogaku*, general education, including common subjects such as language, maths, and physical education, followed by increasingly specialized courses in a particular major. The result was that many larger faculties not only had specialists in their main discipline, but also language and other teachers teaching these basic skills. Given that the programs were based on an outside model in the first place, the process of internationalization has had little impact on the curricula of many faculties: the basic skills and theories are still covered in much the same way as a generation ago. The newer private universities have

perhaps shown more innovation than the longer-established national institutions in mounting new courses, in line with the perceived markets for their graduates. The national universities have made some changes: the lower-ranking institution set up a new degree course in "social systems" in the 1990s, simply by bringing together existing courses outside its main concentration on economics. Thus language teaching became international communications systems; sociology became social systems; international relations became international relations systems; and law became legal systems. However, the range of individual courses on offer actually changed little, despite these new combinations. Similarly the more prestigious institution also repackaged some of its courses in the 1990s, reducing the importance of the *kyoyo* course, and apparently creating new disciplines by rebundling existing courses. The women's university's courses were in any case designed in line with its mission, of educating middle-class women with the social capital to succeed as office workers, wives, and mothers. The most rapid innovation was in the new international university. This started off with two faculties, in sociology and management, within each of which were clusters of subdisciplines. Three years after it opened, an expansion was planned, and new courses were designed in line with perceived demand, drawing on the existing capacities of the two faculties and the recruitment of new staff. These included international relations, development and environment, tourism, language and society, and information technology. This resulted in some duplication, as the existing programs continued to run alongside the new ones, and so there was a further rationalization three years later, resulting in fairly more conventional social science and management courses. Reasons for this included pressures of collaboration with other institutions for exchange programs, which meant dovetailing with their courses, and the fact that students were increasingly moving on to graduate schools elsewhere, so needed packages of courses that would fit in with conventional disciplinary boundaries.

4. *Student exchange programs*: Not surprisingly, it is the newer universities that have the most dynamic student exchange programs, as part of their strategy for language teaching and establishing themselves on the international higher education map. The national universities lack these programs, the lower-ranking ones because the students need to concentrate on finding jobs, and the more prestigious ones because they do not need them. Of the four universities considered here, it was only the new international university that was heavily involved. The flow of students from the women's university was one-way, not an exchange.
5. *International cultural programs*: Similarly it is the newer universities that tend to stress these kinds of programs. As seen above, the women's university offered classical music performances on campus, while the new international university organized national cultural weeks for the students from various countries and regions. Interestingly, these drew other participants as well. The most successful was the Indonesian cultural evening, where the number of performers was often larger than the entire population of Indonesians on campus.

6. *Programs in English/other foreign languages*: Where these programs are offered at all in Japan, it tends to be the newer universities involved. Of the four universities discussed above, the women's university had some courses in English as part of its mission to provide its women students with cultural capital. The international university was designed as bilingual from the start. The prestigious national university only introduced courses taught in English systematically as part of the G-30 program, though some of the postgraduate teaching and research had long been effectively in English. The lower-ranking national institution had no systematic program, apart from the English classes, and even those were often conducted in Japanese!
7. *Marking and evaluation systems*: These tend to vary internationally. Student evaluation of courses has long been a feature of higher education in the West. It was adopted from the outset by the new international university, and was even linked indirectly to the bonus system. In the national universities in the 1990s, it had yet to be adopted. In the lower-ranking institution, apart from a research project by two of the teachers (cf. Lee-Cunin, 2004), there was no systematic evaluation. Perhaps not surprisingly, their research suggested that satisfaction rates were low. In the area of grading, none of the institutions had adopted the kinds of double marking and external examining typical in British universities, even at the undergraduate level. Double internal marking of theses was introduced in the graduate school of the international university, along with an external examiner system at the doctoral level.

Research

1. *Research facilities*: In relation to research, one of the most important questions is that of research facilities, especially libraries and IT systems. As mentioned above, the women's university saw itself as primarily a teaching institution, and the library facilities, beyond basic textbooks, were very weak. At the time I taught there, the IT systems were also embryonic. The lower-ranking national university had a medium-sized library devoted mainly to the faculty speciality of economics, much of it occupied by the in-house journals of other universities. It did have a specialist archive facility in the economy of the region, which was used by outside scholars. Like other national universities at the time, professors were given an annual research budget, though items had to be ordered at the start of the year, and office computing equipment had to be purchased out of it. One bonus was that interlibrary loans and copying were both free, perhaps because they seemed to be little used by colleagues. The interlibrary loan system in Japan is highly sophisticated because of the enormous Webcat on-line catalogue, which records the contents of most of the university and research libraries in the country. There were also excellent research libraries in the same region, which helped in serious research. The prestigious national university, on the other hand, had considerable library resources, but as mentioned above, these were

scattered between small departmental libraries on two campuses, and there was no integrated cataloging system or central library facility. The IT facilities were also embryonic. Books could be ordered for the departmental library through local booksellers, but compared with top universities elsewhere at that period, the facilities left a lot to be desired. By comparison, at the new international university the IT facilities were much better than in the other institutions and were regularly upgraded. However, the new library building was nearly empty when the university opened. Researchers were able to draw on the libraries of the parent university, but other interlibrary loans through Webcat were charged, making serious research potentially expensive. In addition, in Kyushu there were none of the major research libraries to be found in Tokyo or Kansai. Fortunately, on-line journals were starting to become available as the collection expanded. In all four institutions, the lack of specialist librarians was a major problem in developing the library facilities, or even giving them the importance that they required.

2. *International publishing*: In recent years, citation indices have become one of the main means of measuring the impact of particular authors, articles, faculties, and universities, as part of the audit culture. The dominance of English as the international academic language makes things difficult for scholars writing in other languages, particularly Japanese. Japanese is less widely read by scholars than, say, Spanish, French, or German, and therefore work in Japanese is generally little known outside Japan. However, the Japanese publishing industry is very efficient (Eades, 2000): academic books are produced more quickly and sell larger numbers of copies than their counterparts in the West. Although scientists have tended to publish in English for many years, few scholars in the humanities and "soft" social sciences do so. The Japanese-language literature is so large that it has its own intellectual traditions and theoretical concerns, increasing the distance between the Japanese- and English-language literatures and making bridging them even more difficult. The result is a "balance of payments" problem between Japanese and Western scholars: the Japanese know well what is going on in the West, but the West knows little about what is going on in Japan. There have been some efforts to redress the balance, including journals in English run by the various disciplinary associations as offshoots of their Japanese language editions, but a lot more needs to be done.
3. *Research funding and profiles*: If research facilities are an issue in Japan, what about research funding? Despite the long recession in the Japanese economy, funding is still relatively abundant. Much of it comes from the various programs run by JSPS, but there are numerous other private research foundations or *kenkyu zaidan* that offer support for academic projects. One of the most popular ways of organizing research is to use funding to organize a *kenkyukai*, a group of researchers into a topic that meet regularly in various parts of the country, listening to seminar papers given by the members, and eventually organizing them into an edited book or special issue of one or other of the house journals. Institutions

often pay less attention, as it is generally individuals that put together the research proposals and organize these gatherings. In the case of the women's university discussed here, research profile was of little importance, so few resources or time were devoted to it. The lower-ranking national university had two house journals and an occasional papers series, in which members of staff could write in English or other European languages (German, French, Spanish, Italian) in addition to Japanese, and these publications were widely distributed on a reciprocal basis to other universities, but the university did little to coordinate the various members of staff into more cohesive research teams. Nor did the higher-ranking national institution, until the advent of the Center of Excellence programs in the early 2000s, which put a premium on creating research teams within an institution. As for the international university, its international profile was seen as an issue from the start. Even before it was opened, a research center and an English-language journal had been established, and the institution opened with some high-profile conferences to lay out its intellectual agenda, with published results. The research center has continued to provide small amounts of funding to research teams to allow them to organize and apply more successfully for JSPS funds, as the leading universities in Japan are increasingly being ranked in terms of their numbers of grants and research income. But while a number of small grants have been secured, there has been less success with the larger types of grants that tend to be monopolized by the older and larger national universities and research centers. This is an area in which links research links with foreign universities could potentially be useful, in raising profiles and improving performance in international rankings.

CONCLUSION

As will have become clear from the above sketches, *kokusaika* is a complex, many faceted process, and different institutions have their own versions of it. Even though all the institutions described above call themselves *daigaku*, their missions and their roles in the Japanese education and labor markets are in fact rather different. So also is their engagement with internationalization. The women's university is mainly concerned with sending its women students abroad to provide them with cultural capital for their future careers. The lower-ranking national university is relatively unconcerned with internationalization as an *institution*, even though some scholars within it are heavily involved in international activities as *individuals*. Its main aim is to provide training and jobs for the second tier of graduating students: those that cannot compete for the leading universities, and who generally lack the language skills to compete for jobs outside Japan. The international university, on the other hand, was designed at the outset to engage with the international higher education market by recruiting foreign students, and therefore the foreign staff to teach them as well as the administrators to market the degrees and find the students jobs. To compete in the international market, the university also has to take more explicit account of international standards in terms of teaching, staff qualifications, and research outputs. But the most interesting case of the four is perhaps that of the prestigious national university. Although it has long since been engaged in international collaboration at the doctoral and postdoctoral levels, the pressures of global rankings, mediated through the Japanese state's G-30 program, has forced it in a direction similar to that of the international university: to diversify the student population, put on new courses, teaching in English rather than Japanese, and develop the marketing skills to sell the new programs. If the institutions at the pinnacle of the Japanese university hierarchy are successful in rethinking their roles and how they operate internationally, it could have a powerful knock-on effect on institutions lower down the ranks that are struggling to survive in the face of changing government priorities and a declining student-age population.

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MALCOLM COOPER

6. THE DIFFICULTY OF DEVELOPING AND NURTURING THE "INTERNATIONAL" IN AN INTERNATIONAL JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION

INTRODUCTION

The internationalization of higher education is not a new concept (NAFSA, 2005; Hudzik, 2011). Scholars and students have been crossing international borders for centuries and adapting to the situations they then find themselves in. However, during the past several decades the international dimensions of higher education have intensified. A core reality that distinguishes current patterns from those of the past is the scale and scope of what internationalization encompasses—the breadth of clientele served, the status of international faculty, the outcomes intended, and the concomitant reshaping of the institutional ethos in many university systems (Umakoshi, 1997; Eades et al., 2005; Kawauchi, 2006; Hudzik, 2011). There is a growing sense that internationalization is an institutional imperative in present-day Japanese higher education (Ebuchi, 1997; McVeigh, 2002), not just a desirable possibility. So while the business of universities has always also been the creation of ideas through research and their dissemination through education and application, increasingly, this is as much across as it is within borders, and is not just based on the free flow of ideas but is also manifested in the global flow of the students and scholars who generate them (Kerr, 1990; Kuroda, 2007). With easier travel and the Internet providing near instantaneous access throughout the world, more and more university systems flow across borders physically and virtually, with a definite impact on faculty, their academic organizations, and university administrators and management, as well as on students.

But there are downsides: global and local pressures on universities also derive from the current audit society—the pressures on faculty to publish to assist a university to succeed in an increasingly competitive environment for funding, a lack of permanent jobs due to the erosion of tenure in favor of short-term contracts, and reductions in institutional finance from government in favor of fee generation and other private sources of finance. In addition, there is often an uneasy mix of faculty from different countries within the internationalizing university, and often within them a local administrative system that only sees value in indigenous approaches and methods, many of which do not gel easily with the requirements of true

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 91–105.

internationalization (McVeigh, 2002; Hall, 1998). In the longer term the looming issue of the demographic problem now appearing in Japan and other countries (Kinmonth, 2005), and the possible impact on universities localized in teaching methodology of such alternative delivery systems as Massive Online Courses are also factors that must be taken into account. In addition the issue of costs is becoming much more important to both institutions and students alike: how to justify the expense of an international university education if it does not result in better job chances and leaves a massive personal debt on the one hand, and the increasingly difficult funding climate for public education on the other. These pressures are modifying the purpose and delivery of higher education in many countries as a result of the internationalization of higher education (Umakoshi, 1997; Taylor & Miroiu, 2002). This chapter is a timely examination of some of the factors and issues embodied in this change.

THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF A NATIONAL TERTIARY EDUCATION SYSTEM (OR PARTS OF IT)

To provide an introduction to the difficulties inherent in responding to these global and local pressures, it is instructive to look at the situation of Japan. The way externally derived internationalization and English-language teaching at branch campuses of U.S. universities in Japan has been treated, the falling birth rate in recent times, and the more recent desire of a few top Japanese universities to become major international players, have given rise to some radical experiments in internationalization (Umakoshi, 1997). These have come in several phases, with U.S. branch campuses being established in Japan from the 1980s (Temple University (TUJ) for example was established in 1982 and now has some 2,000 students), but without the same benefits as accredited Japanese universities because they were not given the status of *gakkō hōjin*, or educational corporations, and those of the more recent responses by the domestic higher education sector discussed below. In the late 1980s, in the middle of the bubble economy, more than 30 American colleges and universities had begun operations in Japan, partly due to bilateral efforts to mitigate trade friction. Yet most have closed their doors due to declining student numbers, the higher tuition fees resulting from their different tax status compared with their Japanese counterparts, the way their students were treated within the higher education system, their exclusion from educational support and change programs like the Global 30 initiative (see below), and because many students could not keep up with the level of English. Graduates of these foreign schools also found that their degrees were not considered as valuable as those earned at Japanese universities in the eyes of Japanese companies.

The foreign universities remaining in Japan saw their circumstances change slightly in 2004, when the education ministry started partially allowing credits earned at Japanese campuses of foreign universities to be transferable to Japanese accredited colleges, and graduates from their programs were made eligible to apply to accredited Japanese graduate schools. Until that change was introduced, Japan campuses of foreign universities could not provide visas for foreign students. Before the system was introduced, students were not even eligible for commuter passes, which are available to all students at Japanese colleges. Yet even after this change there are only five foreign universities that fall under the credit transferability category, and there are few incentives for foreign educational institutions to make a costly investment at a time when Japanese colleges are competing over a shrinking pool of students.

More recently, the private Sophia, Waseda, and Ritsumeikan education trusts have recognized that one response to demographic change could be the attraction of enough students from overseas to offset the expected decline in the Japanese product, as have some of the public institutions like Tokyo University (Kinmonth, 2005). These pioneering domestic organizations have also recognized that the bulk of Japan's potential overseas market for higher education would lie in East and Southeast Asia in the future (Watanabe, 2004; Kuroda, 2007), despite the historically strong linkages of the country with Europe and America. However, to achieve the desired outcome of maintaining and increasing student enrolments even from these sources, it was also realized that a large part of the curriculum had to be taught in English as well as in Japanese (Eades et al., 2005) in order to be attractive to students and their families, regardless of the actual origin of the students. And, in turn this language requirement necessitated the recruitment of bi-lingual and/or solely English speaking faculty and administrative staff (NAFSA, 2005).

Sophia University, due to its American connections, has taught in English for many years, but only in its Faculty of Comparative Culture, and in 1998 Waseda University established a bilingual graduate program in Asia Pacific Studies focusing on international relations and business management, and a separate small International College in 2004. Public institutions like the University of Tokyo have also established small additions to their teaching portfolios, mainly in the form of international graduate schools, and there have been some small colleges calling themselves international universities established. However, to date the only really comprehensive response from the private and public sectors of university education in Japan to the problem of falling student enrolments and the globalization of education opportunities has been that of the Ritsumeikan Trust, which in 2000 opened Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU) in Kyushu, the first and even now in 2015 the only fully international university in the country (self-defined as involving a 50:50 split between domestic and international students and staff, and presenting major courses in two or more languages). It must however be recognized that each of these responses and that of the limited response of other public sector universities to the globalization and student number pressures were made within an educational system and a domestic community that does not universally value or support such a change (Eades, 2001).

INTERNATIONAL ENGAGEMENT AND HIGHER EDUCATION IN JAPAN

Discussing the domestic socio-cultural environment first, it should be noted that there are many individuals with sufficient energy and suitable ideas on how to internationalize the university sector in Japan, but University responses to the question of local and international community engagement have been tightly controlled by the central government in the past, and many local communities have had considerable difficulty with the idea of a significant *gaikokujin* (foreigner) population residing in their midst (Eades, 2001). Indeed, there remains an undercurrent of opposition in many communities to the idea of globalization, especially if it involves significant numbers of foreign faculty and students being welcomed into the local day-to-day environment. On top of this, prior to 1998 the Japanese Education Ministry's view of appropriate community engagement by faculty and staff of universities was circumscribed by its view of the proper relationships between national, city or prefectural and private universities and their stakeholder communities. This excluded foreign universities like Temple University Japan, so the concept was that only a few national universities should meet the needs of the nation in respect of *global* education (e.g., the Universities of Tokyo and Kyoto and similar institutions where the numbers of foreigners enrolled and teaching would be very small compared with the overall university population). The majority of city and prefectural universities should be restricted to meeting the needs of the local community that established them, and private universities should be mainly responsive to particular niches that could be identified in the local higher education market (Eades, 2001, 95; Eades et al., 2005).

It is not surprising, therefore, that this level of control even of private universities like the Ritsumeikan Trust, its faculty and its administrators gave such institutions little freedom to work with all possible stakeholders (and indeed get students from all possible sources) in order to create a new response to the globalizing and demographic pressures identified above. Indeed, it is almost as if the globalization of higher education, demographic and audit culture problems were being defined away for most institutions by the government and their local communities in order that the outside world could continue to be held at arm's length. But perhaps that is being too harsh, and the pattern of avoidance of the situation that they found themselves in should be seen as merely a result of the continuation of the isolationist/exclusionist policies of Japanese society as a whole (not of course in respect of Japanese exports of manufactured goods) since the end of the Second World War (Cooper et al., 2007). Certainly, local communities have in the past received little value from the internationalizing of the social research done by universities in Japan that might have provided some impetus and rationale for change in these relationships. This is largely because research outputs remain restricted to in-house publications, if they are written up at all (this does NOT apply to much scientific work, which does and did in the past reach an international audience, but its origins are limited mainly to the nationals and a few private institutions), and do not inform any national or local debate on the benefits of internationalization.

However, soon after 1998 it was realized that Japan needed to compete in an increasingly international education system in at least East Asia in order to offset falling domestic student demand for places at Japanese universities. The first major new initiative came in 1999 when the government conditionally approved a plan to turn national and prefectural universities into independent administrative institutions (*dokuritsu gyōsei hōjinka*) in order to give them more financial and decision-making autonomy to invest in international education (Eades et al., 2005). Despite considerable controversy, over both the intent of the plan and the likely results, this measure was implemented progressively from 2004. While there may still be little consensus about the underlying aims of this reform, these changes actually meant for the private university market place of 750 universities a much greater level of competition in niche markets than it had hitherto experienced, while it added a need to properly address the requirements of internationalization to the demographic stresses on the public universities, even if that was only to encompass East Asia.

Finally, despite the community-wide resistance to the internationalization of its universities, there existed a strongly held assumption that Asia Pacific communities would need and value Japanese undergraduate and postgraduate courses in science and social science disciplines, including tourism and hospitality. This assumption was ironic in respect of a country that obviously did not value in-bound tourism (Funck & Cooper, 2013), and did not easily issue visas to residents of those countries it wished to attract students from! Thus the initially disappointing market reaction to the establishment of international schools at a few Japanese universities that resulted after 1998 was understandable, and gave rise to the realization that Japan as a whole did not, in fact, have enough quality resources in its desired-to-be competitive disciplinary areas, or indeed sufficient attractiveness as a national education destination, to implement such desires. This has in turn become another limiting factor for the few universities in this country that have tried internationalization, putting pressures on administrators with respect to the recruitment of international faculty and students that in many cases they are not equipped to handle.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

In terms of the second major influence, that of changing student and community demographics, the situation within the Japanese market is indeed grim (see for example, Cooper & Eades, 2005; Kinmonth, 2005), but also raises the possibility that a Faculty and/or institution that could rapidly develop an international profile might well be able to offset the accelerating decline in the number of potential Japanese university students (from 2007, domestic student application numbers have been less than the number of places available each year; Kuroda, 2007). In the case of the Ritsumeikan Trust, for example, the establishment of an international university from the outset of the 1998 changes was therefore seen as the one advantage that might offset all the negative implications of demographic trends and the need for internationalization, since it would be a source of new international and domestic research and education strength, attract international students, and thus be of interest to both the diminishing Japanese market and the growing markets in other Asian countries. That this was an advantage that had less substance than originally thought has led to the present set of difficulties.

Demographic change is creating a buyer's market for university education within Japan and elsewhere, while the fluctuating needs of the Asia Pacific region in terms of capacity building add a further dimension of uncertainty for a Japanese university sector also dependent to a considerable extent on this market for a viable student intake. The responses of a system that is belatedly trying to operate outside the close confines of (1) the traditional Japanese entrance exam system, (2) the centralized Ministry of Education control over curricula, (3) the job-hunting culture (*shuishoku katsudo*) that preoccupies students during their 4th year of undergraduate education, and (4) community ambivalence towards foreigners, are confused and partial, leading to more pressures on universities.

The effect of these is to force the broadening of the teaching base and concentration on vocational rather than academic subjects in order to reach a desirability level (*hensachie*) that will attract parents and students to your institution, and to emphasize job-hunting over higher level major subject study. From this point of view, the strategy of the Ritsumeikan Trust has been particularly interesting. Even though it does not feature in the Shanghai Jiaotong University rankings of excellence for example (Eades et al., 2005), Ritsumeikan University does feature prominently in some Japanese rankings, particularly in rankings by university presidents in Japan, for its vigorous expansion during the last 10–15 years! This has been impressive by any standards, and particularly so given the falloff in the cohorts of high-school leavers across the country as a whole (Kinmonth, 2005). Originally the Trust operated Ritsumeikan University itself (with 30,000 students, the second largest in Japan), and three high schools. Since the late 1990s, it has opened a second campus of the original university, Biwako-Kusatsu in Shiga prefecture, a second university (APU in Beppu), a law school and main administration office on a new separate campus in Kyoto, and is now building a fourth campus in Osaka. But it is the expansion in places (oriented towards vocational education in the sense of job market influence) that seems to be what has fuelled interest and greater student numbers, not rising quality in academic standards; a fact deplored by certain vocal elements in the faculty context within the Trust.

In reaching a balance between the academic-research and vocational-teaching models in relation to the Japanese domestic student entrance exam model (McVeigh, 2002), the situation of Ritsumeikan APU for example was at first broadly vocational, but now seems to be much more ambiguous. In the early days, the management side of the program was clearly vocational in nature, with a mixture of management science and economics designed to attract management trainees and MBA students. The Asia Pacific studies side of the program was initially divided into environmental, media, and tourism streams, but many of the courses were actually sociology based, and the sociologists and cultural anthropologists were the largest single disciplinary group of academics on the campus. The addition of international studies and the revamping of the curriculum for the purposes of expansion in 2006–11 has, however, meant that this university will have to persuade prospective students and their families that a liberal arts education is as useful to them as management and science-based courses in order to continue to recruit the mass base of Japanese students (who place great store on vocational outcomes) that it needs to help subsidize the intake of foreign students (who desire at least an academically recognizable outcome as well as a job), many of who, particularly in the graduate school, are on some kind of scholarship or fee reduction.

GLOBALIZATION PRESSURES ON THE UNIVERSITY

A further complication in the case of globalization for universities in Japan is the necessity to teach undergraduate and graduate programs in both English and Japanese in a globalizing world. This is new to Japan (except in certain highly sought after and resourced science-based study areas), and means that universities wishing to internationalize have to recruit faculty and students from outside who have not been exposed to the Japanese university system (Cutts, 1997; McVeigh, 2002). Even when a fully international and bilingual university like APU is developed, only the few internationally recruited faculty that are attracted know anything about international education and how to engage with international academic and student communities, and this puts pressure on them and on domestic faculty to reach some form of balance as to how far they can be truly international without causing major collegial disruptions. International faculty also create an administrative burden for domestically oriented staffs, as documents have to be *translated* as well as developed for faculty and university governance meetings and student handbooks, and, perhaps more importantly, international faculty members often do not conform to Japanese academic practices! Given that most of the bureaucrats are not fluent in English, and usually few of the foreign faculty members speak and read Japanese fluently enough to compensate, there exists considerable tension within the internationalizing institution that is not found in purely domestic ones.

Other indicators also show the effect of the basic vocational-teaching structure of the normal Japanese university (designed for jobs) on internationalization: the high student to permanent staff ratio, the increasingly large number of teachers on short fixed-term contracts, the comparatively heavy teaching loads, the very large class sizes in some lecture courses (initially at APU teaching these was the benchmark for acceptance as a teacher—small classes were not considered to be evidence of a "proper university"), and allowing students to devote a considerable proportion of their final undergraduate year to job-hunting. Most crucial of all, many of the teaching staff (including the initial round of appointments to APU), and not only in the management courses, are usually from business and administrative rather than academic backgrounds. This system has developed because there has been until recently an emphasis by community, government, and university managements on teaching at the expense of research, to the point where the time available during the academic year for actually doing research has been very much restricted (Hall, 1998). The community, government, and university management discourse is of course publicly about international excellence in research in many universities, including Center of Excellence status, but the vocational-teaching and job-hunting logic of the institutions as a whole means that a coherent program of externally publishable research, and therefore of acceptance as international universities, has yet to take off in many areas (Ebuchi, 1997; Bence & Oppenheim, 2004; *Asahi Shimbun, Daigaku rankingu*, Annual).

In addition, the Ministry of Education reserves the right to monitor university degree programs and approve them on a fixed four-year cycle, which makes it difficult to change or modify curricula to respond to pressures that occur within faster time frames (Eades, 2001). Each new or revamped university curriculum has also to embody the latest Ministry thinking; as a result it is unable from the start to be flexible enough to cope with some of the problems outlined above. Individual faculty members as a whole also have very little input into curricula within the streamlined administrative structure advocated by the Ministry to support their approach to hierarchical governance presided over by a president and vice-presidents, who, *because* of that administrative culture, are unable to make the kinds of decisions that their counterparts in other countries can.

THE AUDIT CULTURE AND THE INTERNATIONAL VALUE OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

With respect to the value of Japanese education at the international level, there has developed, albeit hesitantly and slowly, an increasing emphasis by government on the "performance" of the University Sector in terms of the quality of its research and development activities, in line with the audit culture becoming prevalent in the rest of the global academic world (but see Elton, 2000 for comments on the value of this approach in the UK). This initiative only dates from 2001 and was first embodied in the Toyama Plan of that year, which proposed the establishment of a "Center of Excellence (COE) Program for the 21st Century" (Shinohara, 2002). The Toyama Plan had three main planks: the reorganization and consolidation of national universities; the introduction of private sector management methods to public universities; and the establishment of research COEs at institutions that could produce work of international quality and see this through to publication (Eades et al., 2005).

A major problem for APU and other Japanese universities and their faculties wishing to become more globally oriented is that in the social sciences, especially, research outputs remain restricted to in-house publications, if they are written up at all. While this does not apply as much to scientific work, which does reach an international audience, the latter is mainly produced by the well-funded national universities and a few private institutions, not by the majority. As a result, it is difficult for other institutions to recruit international faculty members who have previously become immersed in the academic audit culture of their places of origin, since they have no benchmark to evaluate the "standing" of their proposed employer. While the COE program mentioned above was to some extent designed to offset this problem, the reality is that most funding failed to produce the publication output desired, and the program may therefore be deemed to have failed to globalize Japanese universities (Eades, 2005).

The latest pressure in this respect on those Japanese university faculty members wanting to and prepared to engage in the international audit culture is how to cope in today's crowded, dynamic, and dis-intermediated digital scholarly environment. It is becoming more and more difficult to establish the quality, veracity, authorship, and authority of published papers, and, indeed, the quality of the publication and other dissemination outlets now available. The proliferation of sources and channels like journals, websites, datasets, and social media, some at least of which appear to be merely profit-making enterprises (Kaiser, 2003) is a definite problem. In one measurably successful action at APU, we responded to these problems by creating the International Association for Asia Pacific Studies and its fully refereed international journal *Asia Pacific World*. In the 6 volumes to date, we have been able to provide a publishing outlet for APU faculty that did not exist prior to 2009, as well as attract a lot of interest from international and other Japanese potential authors. This Journal also forms a bridge between faculty and at least the Research Office at APU, the Association's initial sponsor, thereby offsetting some of the negative aspects of the administrative-faculty-student relationship described in the next section, which caused problems in the early years of APU.

ADMINISTRATORS, STUDENTS, ACADEMICS AND EXECUTIVES

Despite the obvious globalization pressures on today's Japanese academia, the administrators of many institutions do not yet see internationalization as integral to their identity or strategy. Very few administrations have a deep understanding of and commitment to the needed changes in administrative and client-orientation processes to cope with internationalization, particularly in the current environment of resource constraints, falling domestic student numbers, and the normally strong internal competition for institutional funds, time, and attention in most organizations. And, even when internationalization is acknowledged as fundamental to the mission of a particular institution, like APU, it is not automatically clear what administrative process changes should follow and who should make them. In the case of APU, this has been made more difficult by an administrator tendency to treat even senior students as children, to punish rather than to listen, to disregard the experience of international senior students and faculty, and to insist on the "Japanese way" to the exclusion of any other, even when the results of doing so are obviously dysfunctional for an “international” university. As a result, many of the statements made in support of internationalization by APU administrators and executives are just “sound bites,” and show a lack of understanding of the breadth and depth of the necessary changes in approaches to faculty and students, resource inputs and administrative processes that are needed to drive strategic action in the new internationalization model.

The importance of good strategic planning is, of course, recognized throughout Japanese higher education and in APU in particular (Gross & Greaves, 2000; Hudzik, 2011). All universities understand the need to clearly identify their mission and objectives, their priorities and targets for improvement, and the action to be taken to achieve them, and good progress has been made over a long period in most systems to improve the rigor of strategic planning. However, there is also a constant need to secure greater value from available resources and to audit the academic side of the business, even if the nature of international academia is poorly understood. Those responsible for tertiary organizations now recognize that it is quite likely that an institution’s long-term objectives will not be achieved exactly as stated, because unforeseen changes in the internal and external environment are inevitable and may require the objectives to be revised (Taylor & Miroiu, 2002). It is essential, therefore, for all institutions to retain flexibility to adjust as circumstances change so that they can exploit unexpected opportunities and respond to unforeseen threats. Consequently, there needs to be frequent review of the overall direction to take account of, and adjust to, actual and potential changes to the organization or its environment, but the fact that this must also include input from faculty members and students, is not sufficiently recognized in Japanese higher education.

It can be seen, therefore, that the international education, bilingualism, and cultural diversity that is being hesitantly embraced by Japanese universities comes at a considerable price. If the experience of Ritsumeikan APU is anything to go by, a number of the international faculty will not understand the Japanese way or language, and Japanese faculty and staff will not understand the foreign inputs needed by such a university, so meetings between them require both simultaneous translation and extensive documentation in both languages as well as extraordinary effort each time by both sides in order that real understanding is reached. If not, the discrepant expectations about teaching standards, about the necessity for language learning to dominate the critical first years of a degree, about the appropriate ways to conduct classes, examinations and grading, and about the amount of work to be expected from students will be unpleasant surprises for their administrative systems.

There may of course also be pleasant surprises for both sides, such as the outstanding quality of the best students from both domestic and foreign origins, the relatively low student dropout rate in Japan, and the often very high ratio of foreign and Japanese applicants to places when an international education system is in place. Many international students at APU, for example, become fluent in spoken Japanese and are actively sought after by Japanese companies upon graduation, while the standard of English among Japanese students in this institution is much higher than in the more traditional universities, and benefits this cohort as well.

One of the concerns of the APU administration has been that the recruitment of international students usually has to be heavily subsidized with scholarship money from a variety of sources and that, in the longer term, APU will either have to attract more foreign students paying their own way or find permanent sources of scholarship funding for them in order to remain viable financially. This problem is also compounded by the likelihood that, if as a result of declining scholarship funds the foreign students disappear, the rationale for many Japanese students coming to such a university will also disappear. There is also the problem of attracting, and keeping, good-quality international staff. In the comparatively isolated and very domestically oriented community of Beppu this plays out for example in very practical issue of the lack of nearby international schools for the children of prospective teaching staff.

THE EXECUTIVE

APU has put in place the international style academic management structure currently favored by the Ministry, with a senate, president, vice-presidents and deans in charge of major divisions of the university administration and its course offerings. But APU also has the management structure favored by the Ritsumeikan Trust, which appears designed to remove virtually all power from the academic side, while retaining the position names and descriptions, in favor of actual control and decision-making through the internal and Trust administrative hierarchy. The result is a real confusion of roles and, in some cases, outright hostility between individual actors in the drama. In this situation, often, the lowest common denominator response to a situation or problem thought up by floor-level administrative staff makes its way right to the top in this system and becomes policy unable to be modified by the more experienced academics. Indeed, the involvement of senior academics as the normal managers of the university as is found internationally (unless they are very good at playing politics) is actively resisted, often by the subterfuge of the quote "We cannot do what you are proposing, the Ministry will not let us do anything but that which we (the administration) are proposing," if delaying tactics, mistranslation, and other forms of manipulation fail. As a result, if over important matters of curricula and student treatment the administrative-academic system is split in this way, the whole process has a tendency to become dysfunctional: exactly where is the decision making power in this university and who exercises it? And when we add the often quite normal disagreements over policy deriving from different experiential backgrounds between *academics* in the Executive, it is sometimes surprising that anything gets achieved at all in the decision-making bodies of the university (Hall, 1998).

The Students

A complete revamp of an existing educational system is a monumental task, made even more problematical by relative inexperience with the "international" in the Japanese context. When lack of international experience at the institutional level is coupled with the difficulties of implementing a strategy that is constrained by the country's only lukewarm understanding and acceptance of what this actually means, at least the initial outcomes in respect of the internationalizing policy might have been predicted. For example, conflict over course structures between the various parts of the student body has occurred in those universities embracing these changes. Japanese students still in the main want the old system of nonspecialized education in order to gain employment in Japanese companies, and international students remain unhappy that they cannot easily prove that they studied courses of relevance to potential employers outside of Japan. Faculty from the two different basic education traditions of the West and Japan are as equally divided about the merits of a disciplinary-based course system. As a result, Japanese students early on appeared to resist learning English and being fully involved with international students at APU, but are now expressing much greater confidence in this experience. This change is in turn increasing understanding of what it means to be an international university, among the students at least, and has created an at times fierce defense of internationalization in the Japanese system by the very people that had to change most.

It should be noted that, in the case of Japanese students, there are supportive dynamics in play as well. As Eades (2001) points out, Japanese students are becoming much more aware of their positions as consumers in what is increasingly a buyer's market. In addition Japanese companies want graduates with specific internationally realizable skills, and parents see their investment in their children's education as protection for their own futures in an increasingly aged Japan. Moreover, a new generation of high school graduates is appearing who have spent lengthy periods abroad on school exchange programs. These students have fewer inhibitions about speaking English than their counterparts educated only in Japan and lower resistance to undergraduate course specialization, and they therefore constitute a natural market for the kinds of initiatives embodied in Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University.

The Academics

Finally, we must not neglect the academics themselves. Here, a younger generation is rapidly taking over from the first appointments, and they are, in many cases, a much more multilingual, international and cosmopolitan group on both sides than their predecessors. Many of the new Japanese faculty have been educated abroad, are fluent in English and other foreign languages, and are much more interested in publishing their research internationally. Many of the new foreign appointees are also conversant with Japan, the language and the educational customs before they start, and as a result are prepared to try to negotiate with the "system" rather than automatically oppose it. Also, professional associations and universities with internationalizing money are taking the lead in establishing new journals and publication outlets in English and other languages, online as well as on paper. And as universities become increasingly concerned with their research profiles under the audit culture, we may also expect the collapse of the age-wage salary structure as the top scholars regardless of age begin to bargain for salaries commensurate with their value in the global market place.

CONCLUSIONS

In the Asia Pacific region as a whole the internationalizing experiment in Japanese higher education that is typified by APU is of considerable interest, and its curriculum and research structure is already enabling that university to consolidate in this market. This is going to be helped by the fact that the smaller Japanese institutions that cannot deliver quality product to the international market are likely to disappear, given the downturn in domestic student numbers. But the fact that the internationalizing experiment by the Ritsumeikan Trust has been reasonably successful is, however, indicated by a completely different benchmark, and this provides an interesting postscript to the pressures and factors that brought the university into being in the first place. APU is now seen to be one of the national government's preferred source of "good practice" information and research in the areas of internationalization and new curricula. Considerable funds have been made available to the university (of the order of ¥5 billion) to study the impact of internationalization on Japanese education and to expand the range of curriculum and pastoral support choices open to international students in this country. It is manifestly obvious that, despite the problems experienced along the way in its first 13 years of life, APU was indeed a most relevant initiative to promote the ideals and aspirations of the Ritsumeikan Trust and the government as an international education provider.

The example of APU and the very many others like it across the globe show that international student mobility and international research linkages will continue to grow—but there will be significant limits (boundaries) to that growth. In particular, *demand* patterns are now much different than before; countries, industry, and indeed universities themselves have an increasingly different outlook on research student mobility and international research links. While it is a truism that there are more competitors fishing in the same pools on a world-wide basis—for students, for researchers, for staff, for revenue from higher education, for research outputs and linkages, etc.—we should expect that a form of protectionism will increasingly come to the fore. In other words, the demand for and supply of higher degree and research students in regions like the Asia Pacific will become increasingly concentrated within those regions, for reasons that have more to do with the playing out of regional trade, investment, and market forces than of the promotion of cosmopolitan styles of education.

As the Asia Pacific region becomes an Asia Pacific *Community*, international education, student mobility and the formation of intraregional research links will be just as much part of the discussions on tactics and strategy to achieve this outcome as political and economic issues such as trade and security. Other regions of the world should therefore expect a decline in the numbers of research students and faculty seeking outside employment from the Asia Pacific region as this process works itself through, but if handled correctly, Japanese international universities like APU should find an important long-term niche market.

In this chapter I have argued that higher education has become increasingly competitive, and that one symptom of this is the increasing obsession with internationalization. The UK has taken the lead in the development of the audit culture for example, and many of the UK initiatives have been noted or adapted by the Ministry of Education in Japan in attempting to raise teaching and research in Japanese universities to "international standard." On the one hand, Japan aspires to be the higher education hub of East Asia, and indeed its most prestigious universities are dominant in the region, particularly in the sciences. However, on the other, the Japanese higher education sector is numerically dominated by private universities, few of which feature in any form of rankings, let alone international rankings, or have the resources and governance structures required to effectively operate internationally. This raises the question of how the sector will survive given the pressures discussed in this chapter, and this is where the mobility of research students and faculty, and the methods to attract them will become an increasingly important battleground.

One alternative has already been tried in Japan. In recent years there have been several bold attempts by private universities to set up institutions to attract students from the international market, including the International University of Japan, Akita International University, and initiatives from both Waseda and Ritsumeikan (Ritsumeikan, APU). The scale of these experiments varies, from the very small (IUJ and AIU) to the substantial (APU). They vary in their approach to language, and in the markets they are trying to attract, as well as in the strategies they are using. APU appears to be going clearly down the vocational-teaching route, expanding student numbers, while at the same time trying to develop an academic-research base, particularly in its graduate schools. How far this strategy will work in the long run is an open question, given that the major universities competing in the international market are generally academic-research based in the first instance. Seeing how APU fares in the next few years will tell us much about whether Japanese universities can gain a foothold in the global mass market for undergraduate and research students, or whether their future lies more in cutting edge research in a few high prestige institutions, leaving most universities in the country to compete for an increasingly precarious domestic research student market resulting from long-term demographic decline (Eades, 2001; Kinmonth, 2005). The teething troubles that APU has experienced have been documented here, and the time has been difficult, but the overall quality of the student product and the vast majority of new faculty and administrators now have a university that has shown the ability to transcend these problems and provide an exemplar for others in Japan.

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Malcolm Cooper
Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University

ROBERT W. ASPINALL

7. IS "DYNAMISM WITHOUT RISK" POSSIBLE IN THE JAPANESE UNIVERSITY SECTOR?

A Critique of the 2009 OECD Report on Higher Education in Japan

INTRODUCTION

The 2009 report *OECD Reviews of Tertiary Education: Japan* discussed the efforts being made by the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT) to reform Japanese universities in the face of increasing competition from abroad and demographic and financial problems at home. This chapter will focus on one of the paradoxes of the MEXT reform agenda: the attempt, in the words of the OECD, to promote "dynamism without risk." This is a key phrase in the report, which encapsulated the contradictory strategies of both the national ministry and individual universities (with a small number of notable exceptions). The "Risk Society" paradigm of German sociologist Ulrich Beck will be used to help frame the problems and challenges experienced by the Japanese tertiary sector in light of both domestic and global trends and transformations.

THE OECD AND THE GLOBALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION STANDARDS

The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was established in 1961 but did not create a separate Directorate for Education until 2002. In 2003 this Directorate instigated a review of tertiary education in the 30 member countries of the OECD with a straightforward objective: "to assist countries in understanding how the organisation, management and delivery of tertiary education can help them to achieve their economic and social objectives." (Newby et al., 2009, 5). Japan agreed to be one of the 13 member countries that consented to participate in a "Country Review," which involved external review teams analyzing tertiary education policies in an individual country.

On the surface, the OECD seems to be mostly dedicated to objective analysis followed by pragmatic proposals. "The OECD operates through a form of rational peer pressure to disseminate 'what works' in policy terms" (Ball, 2008, 34). There are many, however, who challenge the OECD's claim to dispassionate objectivity.

> [The OECD] has also asserted that "a broad consensus exists on many aspects of the policy requirement for a globalizing world economy." In articulating

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 107–119.

> the logic of globalization in this manner, the OECD appears to "objectify" the economic relations it regards as self-evident. This has the effect of masking some of the normative assumptions underlying its conception of globalization, treating them as if they were beyond political debate. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, 251)

The acceptance by many nations (not only those that are OECD members) of the comparative data provided by OECD reports such as the three-yearly Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) gives the OECD and its policy recommendations great legitimacy, making it difficult for critics to challenge the underlying methodology or the alleged objectivity of the data. Education scholars like Stephen Ball have argued that the wide acceptance of this new paradigm of "performance-oriented culture" is intended to replace the older public service culture based on professionalism and bureaucracy (Ball, 2008, 44). At the Higher Education level, Goodman argues that academics are prepared to accept this new "audit culture" and the extra work load it entails when it is based upon "the academic community policing itself" (Goodman, 2013, 48).

The team that drew up the 2009 OECD report on Japan, led by the distinguished British academic Howard Newby, was made up of academics with a background in the English, American, and North European education systems, systems where the "performance related culture" referred to by Ball, who is also a British academic, (although one with a much more critical stance towards the notion of this kind of "culture") is already well established. It was no great surprise, therefore, that the authors of the report would have critical words to write about the Japanese tertiary system, dominated as it is by the concepts of autonomous professionalism and rigid bureaucracy. The ideological point of view of the report is sometimes referred to as the "Anglo-American Paradigm," a reform agenda that has already been welcomed by higher education managers in other parts of Asia, especially Hong Kong, Singapore, Malaysia, India, and South Korea, though not without opposition from those who see it as a form of neocolonialism (Ng, 2012).

THE NEED FOR A MORE DYNAMIC TERTIARY SECTOR IN JAPAN

Even when the Japanese education system as a whole was drawing praise from foreign observers, universities and most other institutions of tertiary education were not included in that praise. The popular view was that most students worked very hard to get into university, took a four-year holiday once there, and then returned to the world of hard work when they graduated. The main function of universities was to provide a sorting mechanism for young people, preparing them for their future role in the work force. In educational terms, the main function of the university was to help guide young people into full adulthood, a process in which club activity, social life, and part-time employment was just as important (if not more so) than academic study. Many professors saw their educational role as providing guidance for young people on the path to adulthood rather than the developing of intellectual skills or scholarly ability per se (Poole, 2010). This system functioned well when Japan's major corporations required incoming employees to be "blank slates" onto which the company would imprint its own culture, values, and training. The lifetime employment system meant that it made sense for companies to invest time and money in young employees: there was no danger that they would depart mid-career, taking their expertise with them. Companies also preferred to do R&D in-house rather than linking up with university research departments. This posture of the main corporations in Japan robbed the universities of some of their main functions and helps explain the small size of the Japanese postgraduate sector compared to other advanced industrial nations. This state of affairs led some critics of the Japanese university system to describe universities as just going through the motions and carrying out "simulated" teaching and research (McVeigh, 2002).

It is not the purpose of this chapter to analyse whether or not criticisms like those of McVeigh are fair. Whatever the real strengths or weaknesses of Japan's universities during the period of postwar economic expansion, it is clear that the economic decline of the 1990s forced a reappraisal of their function. The 2004 reforms were due to a consensus among many politicians and education bureaucrats that serious change of the higher education sector was overdue. The OECD report sums up the situation as follows:

> There is a widespread demand that the tertiary education system become, via the modernization agenda embedded in the reforms, more responsive, more agile, more globally competitive and accompanied by higher standards and higher quality all round. (Newby et al., 2009, 11)

Even defenders of the pre-2004 system will concede that the above list of demands poses serious challenges for the system. The word "agile" for example does not normally spring to mind when one considers the typical national university in Japan.

THE 2004 "BIG BANG"

From April 1, 2004, Japan's national universities were turned into independent agencies (*dokuritsu gyōsei hōjin*), meaning that their staff members were no longer national civil servants. University presidents were given more powers, and some state regulations were relaxed (Goodman, 2005). The 2009 OECD report represents the first in-depth examination of these reforms and their implementation written from an outside perspective. Four of its key reservations about the efficacy of the reforms can be summarized as follows: (1) the problem of overcoming inertia; (2) the reluctance of MEXT to give up much of its power over the university system; (3) the nature of what a national "steering body" could be (according to the authors of the report); and (4) the lack of a pool of academic managers of the caliber required to make university autonomy work in practice. These issues will be dealt with in turn below.

1. Overall, the 2004 reforms represent a "necessary but not sufficient condition for the Japanese tertiary system to become internationally competitive and to allow for the multiplication of sustainable world class universities" (Newby et al., 2009, 18–19). The purpose of the reforms was to "knock the national universities out of their complacency and inertia." (*ibid.,* 19). This has been achieved, but there are still powerful "cultural forces within the academic community" that could render the changes temporary unless they are embedded within the universities' own structures and management.
2. Although national universities have been granted greater autonomy and have more freedom than before in setting budgets, there are still many areas where MEXT has retained control (e.g., the number of students attending a given university cannot be increased without permission by MEXT), or where the freedoms universities have are very limited (e.g., reallocating resources within institutions). There are other areas where MEXT has allowed some autonomy but where universities have so far refused to exercise it, for example with regard to raising or lowering student fees (which were about 540,000 per year on average in 2012). National universities continue to look anxiously around to what other universities are doing before they make big decisions: the herd instinct is alive and well.
3. According to the OECD report, if national universities are properly to become autonomous institutions, then MEXT needs to change its role to that of a "steering body" (*ibid.,* 19). Successful steering requires the following three things.

    1. The capacity to articulate a vision for the system
    2. Policy instruments to implement this vision
    3. A way of monitoring performance

    "In our view … MEXT has endeavoured to develop the first and second of these capacities but both remain incipient." (*ibid.,* 20) The OECD report was not satisfied that MEXT had articulated a vision of a tertiary *system* as such. It regards individual policy instruments like the "21st Century Centres of Excellence (COE) Programme" as *not* connected to a wider vision of the system. Reasons for the confusion over the role of MEXT can be found in the evolving relationship between ministry and universities during the postwar period. Postwar democratic reforms gave universities the power to hire their own employees (Goodman, 2009, 17). Negotiations with the Ministry of Finance for the budgets of national universities, however, remained in the hands of the Ministry of Education (Hatakenaka, 2005, 60). The Ministry of Education also regained a strong influence over the governance of individual universities when the University Administration Emergency Measures Law was passed in 1969, a law that was created as a direct result of the inability of some universities to contain radical student protests. Pempel noted the

Ministry's "[i]ncreased willingness, soon after the law's passage, to take strong action against individual universities acting in ways that displeased it" (Pempel, 1978, 190–191).

4. According to the OECD report, "Japanese universities do not yet have a pool of academic administrators with extensive management and financial experience to take on the strategic management of more autonomous and entrepreneurial university institutions" (Newby et al., 2009, 20). It adds: "There is a huge staff development requirement here, one which the reforms seem to have seriously underestimated." (*ibid*., 33). Hatakenaka agrees that this is a huge problem: "There were few people in national universities that could comfortably cross the boundaries between the academic and administrative worlds" (Hatakenaka, 2005, 70). One exception to this rule illustrates what is possible when the right leader is in the right place at the right time. Dr. Nakajima Mineo (who died in 2013), the president of Akita International University, was able to successfully take over a failed branch campus of an American university in a remote part of Japan and turn it into a model of what an internationally minded higher education institution could be. The system clearly needs to create more Nakajimas. Prior to the Big Bang, however, there were no structures that enabled people to cross the boundaries between the three separate worlds of academics, administrators, and policy-makers. Clearly a lack of experienced and qualified managers will have potentially serious consequences for institutions of higher education in Japan if they are presented with changes in the external environment that require more than a minimal response. The medium term prognosis posits social, political, economic, and international change that will require more than incremental change if Japan's universities are to flourish.

The authors of the OECD review are clearly concerned that key players within the Japanese university system will resist change and merely pay lip service to the rhetoric of reform unless they are given incentives to do otherwise. This fear of the novel and the unknown is a universal phenomenon. However, the various economic, political, social, and environmental crises that Japan faces at the start of the 21st century suggest that, at this crucial juncture, a failure to change established institutions and practices can only have serious negative consequences. This chapter proposes that the theoretical paradigm of "Risk Society" is instructive and useful for making sense of the challenges faced by a society like Japan's at this juncture in its historical development.

21ST CENTURY JAPAN AS A "RISK SOCIETY": THE RISK SOCIETY PARADIGM

The sociological paradigm of "Risk Society" was developed by Ulrich Beck in order to understand better transformations underway in his native Germany as it moved into a stage of postindustrialization (Beck, 1992). As well as being concerned with new kinds of environmental risk (like the fallout from the Chernobyl nuclear disaster in 1986), this paradigm is also of use in analysing the way individuals are, in contemporary post industrial society, being encouraged to become their own "risk managers" (i.e., calculators of how their actions and choices will affect their own lives). It can be a powerful heuristic tool because it links the choices made by individuals with global trends of an environmental, economic, or technological nature.

Ulrich Beck has mapped the postwar history of Germany into three phases, which have clear parallels in the postwar history of Japan.

- *Phase One (immediate postwar reconstruction)*. The "necessity and obviousness of rebuilding a destroyed world meshed together with the fear that what had been achieved might again collapse, and consequently classical virtues such as willingness to sacrifice, diligence, self-denial, subordination, and living for others mutually reinforced one another" (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001, 164).
- *Phase Two (1960s–1980s)*. The creation of wealth came to be something that was taken for granted. Political freedoms developed and radiated into overall society.
- *Phase Three (1990s–2000s)*. This phase is described by Beck as "global risk society." There is a return to uncertainty and the fear that the prosperity that had been taken for granted could now collapse. Public trust in national institutions is eroded.

Political scientist Glenn Hook has discussed the application of the risk society paradigm to present-day Japan, particularly in relation to the perceived *internal* risks faced by local populations that host U.S. bases, which are maintained to face *external* risks posed by potential overseas threats (Hook, 2010). This is welcome, since up until very recently the noneconomic application of risk theory has been confined almost exclusively to Western Europe. Since this was written, the disasters of March 2011 in northeast Japan make an understanding of how risk is perceived in Japan even more important, since they have added an increased dimension to the "uncertainty" and "lack of trust in public institutions" that are part of Beck's phase three. It is no coincidence that the starting point for risk society theorizing in Germany was the Chernobyl disaster of 1986. In years to come the Fukushima nuclear disaster may come to be seen as having a similar impact to our understanding of social change in Japan.

In parallel with the extension of Risk Society theory to non-Western nation states has come the application of this concept to the study of education (Bialostok, Whitman, & Bradley, 2012). This reflects the growing tendency for governments to link their nation's future economic and technological competitiveness with the performance of their education system. The risk society paradigm, therefore provides a framework that can help us make sense of the challenges facing Japanese higher education at the start of the 21st century, both those from the external global environment and those closer to home, in Japanese society itself.

JAPANESE NATIONAL UNIVERSITIES AS PUBLIC SECTOR BUREAUCRACIES: WARINESS ABOUT RISK

Japanese public-sector bureaucratic institutions are one of the products of modernity. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries they were created based mainly on French and German models (Goodman, 2013, 41). They were attractive places for employment because they offered secure jobs with health and pension benefits. In the aftermath of World War II, they played a crucial role in helping Japan rebuild (phase one of Beck's postwar phases). In the late twentieth century (phase two), these institutions came to be criticized for putting the interests of their employees ahead of the interests of the sections of society they were supposed to serve. Neoliberal reformers of the 1980s, lead by Prime Minster Nakasone (drawing on the inspiration of his Conservative friends and allies, Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan) proposed privatization as a means of opening up these institutions to market forces—which would force them to address the needs of those they serve (people who now came to be characterized as consumers). Unlike the railways and the telecommunications industry, the winds of privatization did not come to Japanese national and public universities until quite late in the day, although privatization was discussed by Nakasone's ad hoc council on education in the 1980s (Schoppa, 1991, 238–239). When a limited form of privatization did finally come in 2004, therefore, it was imposed upon a workforce totally unsuited to the demands of the market place. Defenders of privatization claim it makes institutions more flexible and dynamic and more in touch with the needs of consumers (Yokoyama, 2010). This means they will be more able to cope with the uncertainties of Beck's phase three: Global Risk Society. Many institutions, however, are stuck in phase two.

The language of the "risk society" paradigm is well suited to analyzing the stage of development Japanese national and public universities are now in because it not only helps throw light on the practical problems of transition to a new market-based model of higher education provision, but it can also help in understanding the cultural and even psychological problems faced by employees of institutions that were once shielded as much as possible from the risks and uncertainties of the outside world and that only now are being exposed to the winds of market competition. Like other citizens of societies at the stage of late-modernity, the employees of Japan's national and public universities now have to contemplate a future of more risk and less security than they have enjoyed in the past. They have to worry whether their pensions will keep them secure in their old age. They have to worry about increasing contributions to health and pension plans, and they need to seriously consider taking out private health insurance to cover the shortfalls of the national system. There is now a risk that they will not automatically proceed up the professional ladder as their predecessors did. In the future there is even the possibility they many have to worry about the security of their job itself. Academic members of staff have to worry about the possibility that their teaching and research may, for the first time, become subject to evaluation by outside bodies. Students have to face the risk that even with a degree from a prestigious national university, that fact alone may not guarantee them a comfortable job for life upon graduation.

According to neoliberal theory, this removal of security (some would call it complacency) should inject a spark of dynamism into the tired old dinosaurs of the public sector. Strict Thatcherites would add that if the institutions cannot thrive in a competitive space, then they should be allowed to fail and go bankrupt. Society as whole would be better off without such "deadwood" or "lame ducks." The risk of failure is a powerful motivational force even as it spreads fear in those who are unaccustomed in having to face it. Punishment for failure and rewards for success would help create a dynamic university sector.

"DYNAMISM WITHOUT RISK"

This brings this discussion to the part of the OECD report that talks explicitly about risk. The report writers state that "while the government wishes to introduce increasing dynamism into the sector, it also (especially MEXT) wishes to see dynamism without risk." (Newby et al., 2009, 27). MEXT understands the universities well enough to know that if there is a feeling of risk, then the result will be exactly the opposite of dynamism. University managers will be too frightened to do any more than protect what they have and minimize losses brought about by government cuts. The writers of the OECD report also spotted this danger and noted that "many [national universities] are adopting a more risk averse, conservative approach, mindful that their high status in Japanese society will (they hope) carry them through." (*ibid.*). A common criticism of university presidents in Japan is that they lack the qualities of strong leadership (Yokoyama, 2010, 131). The OECD report asks whether a dynamic system can be created without the possibility of today's winners being tomorrow's losers. More dynamism would also be injected into the system if the leaders of Japan's top universities saw themselves engaged more in a global competition, rather than merely a national one.

In order to encourage more dynamism, MEXT has been adopting the approach of offering more research money to universities and departments that pursue policies that the ministry considers to be sufficiently dynamic. One example of this is the "Global 30" scheme, which provides financial rewards to universities that increase the number of international students and faculty members and engage in other international activities (Ishikawa, 2011). Both MEXT and the OECD are fully aware that in the absence of such incentives national universities and most private universities will fall seriously short of the goal of providing a stimulating cosmopolitan atmosphere for students and faculty alike (Eades, this volume). For example, the share of non-Japanese among academic staff of Japanese universities slightly decreased from 3.5 percent in 2007 to 3.4 percent in 2008 (Yonezawa, 2010, 132). When it is noted that most of these staff are employed in special "native speaker” positions to teach the language and culture of their own country or region, then the serious absence of non-Japanese input into Japanese academia becomes even more apparent (Aspinall, 2013, Chapter Four).

Almost all Japanese institutions of higher education are extremely protectionist when it comes to employing non-Japanese members of staff, although there are isolated cases of small improvements. MEXT, the OECD and the international organizations that rank universities, all require Japanese universities to employ more non-Japanese staff and accept more international students. Because it is fully aware of the protectionism and conservatism of Japanese university faculties, MEXT hopes that redistribution of research funding, like the Global 30 project, will provide both the carrot and the stick to force universities to be more cosmopolitan and more dynamic. In the case of the employment of foreign faculty, however, this has only resulted in partial success. While it is true that more foreign academics have been recruited by Global 30 universities in order to provide the new courses that must be taught in English, most of these appointments have been made as five-year nonrenewable contracts. The number of foreign professors who have tenure remains very small compared to Japan’s competitors. MEXT’s whole approach is actually high risk, because its insistence on maintaining so much regulatory control over universities is counter to its other stated goal of encouraging more autonomy and entrepreneurialism in university management.

At the start of the 21st century, the main challenge for Japanese universities, both collectively and individually, is how to respond in a positive way to the risks and opportunities presented by globalization. Not the least of the problems facing them is financial. As Yonezawa states, “They have to obtain global recognition but rely almost completely on domestic sources of income” (Yonezawa, 2010, 130). In spite of the very high standing of Japanese scientific and engineering research in the world, only a tiny amount of money comes the way of Japanese university researchers from foreign companies: in 2008 only 172 out of 15,000 joint research projects were with foreign companies (Hatakenaka, 2010, 113). Given Japan’s economic stagnation over the past two decades and the prognosis of further decline in the medium and long term due in part to demographic factors, this failure to attract foreign investment is a serious handicap for Japanese university research. Unfortunately, the inability of university researchers to cooperate effectively with foreign colleagues is mirrored by research isolationism across the board; a fact that is clearly demonstrated when global trends in patent applications are compared with those in Japan. Between 2006 and 2009, the number of patent applications in Japan sank while those in Europe and America remained steady, and those in China soared. The reason for Japan’s disappointing performance is clearly connected to a recent change in the nature of global innovation: the dramatic internationalization of R&D. In 1990, less than 10 percent of international patent applications had a foreign co-inventor, but ten years later this had risen to about 25 percent. Japan, by contrast, “remains woefully insular: only 4 percent of Japanese applications included a foreign co-inventor” (*Economist,* October 2, 2010). If Japan’s researchers both inside and outside university continue in their policy of 'splendid isolation,' the future of Japan as a high-tech economy may be undermined.

Facing up to the certainty of future domestic economic and demographic decline must surely force university management to engage more with the world outside Japan in order to thrive in the 21st century. When this is seen in the context of clear global trends of the internationalisation of higher education everywhere, there would seem to be no alternative but for the strategic direction of Japanese universities to be in a cosmopolitan direction. The institutional conservatism and protectionism of Japanese universities (especially those nurtured under the protection of the state), however, create serious impediments to the kind of dynamic management that is called for. To date, very few institutions have shown any sign of attempting a dynamic engagement with the world outside Japan. Too many academics and administrators have what has been described by anthropologist Greg Poole as an *uchimuki* or inward-looking view of the world (Poole, 2010; See also Ishikawa, 2011, 204; Eades, this volume). Such people often spend their whole working life at one institution. In fact, in Japan today about one-third of academics get jobs at universities where they were themselves graduates (Goodman, 2010, 81). This practice, which has been referred to as "inbreeding" by domestic critics (Arimoto, 2010, 206) results in the nurturing of group cohesion, loyalty to the institution, and potentially the mistrust of outsiders. Institutional harmony and togetherness are positive characteristics, but if they are overemphasized they can be damaging for any institution that wishes to become a world-class university or department. The fact that, even with all the carrots on offer, the applications of only thirteen universities were accepted after MEXTs initial call for the creation of a Global 30 is symptomatic of this problem (Gonzalez, this volume). Too many institutions are content with "the orderly management of decline," and there are more than a few in the private sector that are in a state of denial about the seriousness of the problems facing them, the most accute of which have been brought about by a decline in the population of student-age Japanese. In 1992 the cohort of eighteen-year-olds peaked at a population of 2,050,000 and by 2012 it had declined to 1,183,000 (a decrease of 42.2% over twenty years).

Risk aversion causes too many academic and administrative staff members to concentrate on self-protection and minimizing their own losses. The literature on risk shows that it does not have to treated in such a negative and pessimistic way. Taking risks is, of course, at the heart of entrepreneurialism (Bialostok, 2012). The employees of Japanese institutions of higher education, however, have been nurtured in an environment that has shielded them from the economic risks employees in other organizations have had to face. (Indeed, this may have been one of the motivations for seeking employment in the university sector in the first place.) But institutional conservatism is only one part of the picture. Employees of individual institutions are also citizens of the state, and there is abundant evidence that state actors have consistently promoted the view to the Japanese public that foreigners and the world outside Japan are things to be wary off. This can bee seen, for example, in the response to the threat of terrorism after 9/11 (Leheny, 2010). Given the lack of experience most Japanese people have in dealing with non-Japanese, and given their generally poor ability at foreign languages (Aspinall, 2013), the public atmosphere of distrust of foreigners (fueled for example by regular police reports that foreigners are responsible for rising crime rates) has not diminished.

Conservatism and protectionism combined with a wariness of foreigners make it difficult for those members of universities who want to encourage cosmopolitanism to overcome the objections of colleagues who are opposed. Given the need for consensus in the decision-making processes in many Japanese universities (particularly national ones), it is very difficult for those who want more openness to foreign students or members of staff to get their way. The same is true for many other proposals for change or innovation. University academics have been described as operating as an "academic guild" in the way they defend their rights and privileges (Teichler, 1997, 295). The authors of the OECD report also spotted this problem. "In practice the professors' councils [*kyōjukai*] has huge powers of veto, without being responsible for the financial and strategic consequences of their decisions" (Newby et al., 2009, 32). They went on to note that "the systems of checks and balances tended to operate in a reactive, even negative way, rather than in a positive and pro-active manor" (*ibid.*) Hatakenaka notes that the system "has virtually no drivers for change other than the [National University] Presidents themselves, and so when a President is not charismatic enough to push for change, the result may be stasis and stagnation" (Hatakenaka, 2005, 72). It is hard to see how a system that works like this can become "dynamic" without serious overhaul. In the view of the OECD report authors, the "Big Bang" reforms may represent a first step on the road to this overhaul, but there is still a long journey ahead.

CONCLUSION

The Japanese state education system was created in the first place by learning from abroad. This ability to learn from foreign models and apply modified aspects of them to the domestic situation has not gone away. One of the positive points noted by the OECD team was an "eagerness to learn" from foreign ways of doing things (Newby et al., 2009, 93). The team that drew up the 2009 report was made up of academics with a background in the English, American, and North European education systems. In their report they applied their own views on higher education reform to the case of Japan which—at least in the rhetoric of MEXT—is highly influenced by such a world view. However, Japan, as an independent nation, is under no obligation to follow this model of reform. Do Japanese universities *have* to open themselves up to more risks in the name of increased dynamism and cosmopolitanism? The key question here is what are the alternatives? Different institutions have different needs. There are many universities in Japan that provide a good service to their surrounding community by selecting and socializing young people for productive employment in local jobs. (These institutions are similar to community colleges in the USA.) Demanding that these institutions become more dynamic, entrepreneurial, and cosmopolitan seems quite unrealistic given their circumstances and resources. For a large, research university that claims any kind of global standing, however, the default strategy of "carrying on regardless" does not seem viable. With a shrinking native population and a stagnant economy, world-class Japanese universities (along with those that have serious ambitions to join their number) have no choice but to engage more with the global academic and research community. This act alone would require dynamism from university management because it involved breaking away from so many current practices and institutional arrangements. The OECD team found that this kind of management was lacking during their field trip to Japan. Japanese institutions, however, have surprised Western observers before in their ability to adapt and learn from the outside world.

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Robert W. Aspinall
Shiga University, Faculty of Economics

PART 3

PERSPECTIVE FROM BELOW

SHUMPEI WATANABE

8. LIVING APART TOGETHER

The Limited Interaction between International and Local Students in Higher Education in Japan (and Abroad)

ABSTRACT

In this chapter, I would like to bring in a student's perspective about the (attempt of) internationalization of Japanese higher education in the daily lives of international and local students. In sum, interaction among Japanese students and international students does not happen by merely putting Japanese students and international students in the same campus. The presence of international students and faculty has little influence on a Japanese university to be more international. With some differences, other universities across the globe follow the same local-international student interaction dynamic. I would like to illustrate such student dynamics based on my experiences in the different countries in which I studied by dividing this chapter into five parts. 1) Interviews I conducted at the University of Tsukuba, Japan. 2–4) Experiences at the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands, the University of Tokyo, and the National University of Singapore. 5) Conclusion about trends in the dynamics of student life around the world.

ABOUT MYSELF

Because I spent a year in United States during my sophomore year in high school, I gained a vague idea of my future in an international field of some sort. In addition, since I was greatly interested in world history, especially the history of numerous wars among great nations, my undergraduate major was in international studies. Thus the College of International Studies of the University of Tsukuba became my choice after giving due consideration to its program, its international exchange program network, its tuition fee, and my academic competence.

TSUKUBA INTERVIEWS

The University of Tsukuba is an upper-middle rank national university located in Tsukuba city, Ibaraki prefecture, northeast of Tokyo. This town is rather rural with very little entertainment to offer. The living environment for foreigners was the

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 123–132.

same as for Japanese. International students have to adapt to survive. The student population totals roughly 15,000, including both undergraduate and postgraduate students, of which 10% are international students. Foreign students are divided into full-time regular students, most of whom are capable of speaking Japanese, and exchange students, who represent the majority and have almost no Japanese language ability. The university offers a variety of programs, from social science, engineering, science to medicine, and even sports and art. The university has as many as 85 international student exchange agreements covering 59 countries and is even affiliated with the United Nations University.

Interviews: First Stage

Interviews were used as the means to determine the impact the University of Tsukuba has on the local communities. Targeted were locals in fields of nonprofit and educational activities upon the premise that they would be highly conscious about what was going on in the town. The questionnaire has three sections:

1. Influence of the University of Tsukuba in the city and prefecture
2. Interviewees attitudes toward foreigners
3. Interviewees perceptions of the University of Tsukuba

The first-stage interviews were conducted with a dozen locals in Tsukuba city.

- In the first section of the questionnaire, all interviewees had a very positive image of the University of Tsukuba contributing to the community, however none of the responses related to international aspects of the school.
- In the second section, none of the interviewees displayed xenophobic responses to foreigners, and their past interactions with foreigners indicated positive personal impressions; again, no direct influences of the international aspects of the university were indicated.
- In the third section, the overall perception of the University of Tsukuba was very positive among all interviewees. However, again, their images of the university did not include its international aspects.

The first stage results questioned any internationalization influence on the community by the university's international faculty and students and even put in question the extent of internationalization of the school's Japanese students. Thus it became clear that the next step was to start interviewing my fellow students.

Interviews: Second Stage

The second stage involved a series of interviews with Japanese students in the College of International Studies to see if the presence of international faculty members was making any difference in their school life. The result was negative. I found that interaction between international students and Japanese students was very limited and rarely went beyond the classroom, where interaction across cultural borders was also very limited. I was reminded of the image of a dysfunctional Japanese married couple, *a living apart together*. This basic image allowed me to elaborate my observations on the hows and whys of this lack of interaction.

My Observations

From a Japanese student's viewpoint, three variables seemed germane to this issue: 1. Language, 2. Housing, 3. Socialization.

1. Even in the University of Tsukuba, which is a fairly good school, most of the Japanese students were not able to speak English. Further, reading skills did not reach the level required for reading academic articles or undergraduate textbooks. But speaking English was where Japanese students struggled the most. This language difficulty made Japanese students take classes given only in Japanese; international students enrolled in classes taught in English, which were the only available options for most international exchange students. International students and Japanese students did not share classrooms most of the time, thus eliminating the only chance to even know they belong to the same department.
2. In housing, international students and Japanese are again separated. Dormitories are provided by the university for all freshmen and international students. For regular Japanese students, only freshmen are guaranteed housing in the dormitories at the rate of about 13,000 JPY (approximately $120) per month; sophomores and beyond have to leave the dormitories to move to apartments, where they pay on average 40,000 JPY (approximately $360). On the other hand, international students can stay for one year in dormitories designated for them. After that they can stay in the freshman dormitories for the freshmen for the length of their stay at Tsukuba. This is the case for full-time regular students. Exchange students stay in the freshmen dormitories. Under this housing arrangement, only freshmen have the chance to share dormitory space with international students. However, interaction does not take place her, either, for three reasons. First, even Japanese students are insular and do not interact with their neighbours. Mostly, students stay in their own room. Communal spaces are kitchen, laundry, and the toilets, which are poorly equipped and occasionally cleaned by janitors. Thus, there is no need for communal effort to make housekeeping rules or cleaning schedule. Students go to the *sento* (a Japanese bathhouse) within the dormitory to shower or bathe.

This leads to the third point: there is no place to hang out in the dormitory. The third point is that there is no partying in the dormitory. Due to the lack of communal space, there is no space for parties. If students try to party in the underequipped kitchen or the hallway, those who are not invited complain to the management office, and the managers shut the party down.

Full-time, regular international students tend to leave the dormitory after the first year, if for no other reason than the dorms are underequipped and dirty. This housing arrangement and the dormitory environment did not serve as a venue for interaction between international students and Japanese students.

3. There was very little socializing around campus. The ways of socializing were quite different. Firstly, in Japanese universities, students join activity groups, which we call “Circles,” which serve as the main platforms to meet people. The students join circles based on their interest in sports, music, and other activities, while international students do not always get a chance to join. The doors are always open, but the season for recruiting new students into the circles is April, right after the beginning of the Japanese academic year. International students enter Tsukuba in the fall, which is the beginning of the academic year elsewhere in the world, so that they miss the circles recruiting season. Even though they are willing to join a circle or enter the school in April, language barriers on both sides often make membership difficult. Most of the international students did not join circles and missed the most popular socializing opportunities. What could be misleading for international students is that the Japanese students do not join circles just to pursue some activity, but, equally for the sake of meeting people. In fact, the recruiting process is also the single biggest chance for senior students, mostly men, to meet freshmen girls. Further, the drinking culture is very different. Japanese students like to get stone drunk—clearly not a universal way of enjoying alcohol. Tsukuba did not have any dance clubs, which is a familiar way for international students to socialize. Finally, international students had a place to go, and most international students went there. It was a pub where they could meet international students from other departments and form their own community. Japanese students had a very limited presence there.

As I have discussed, the language barrier, housing arrangement, and socializing culture drove international students to form their own community, and Japanese students did likewise. However, my experiences abroad indicated that this is not a phenomenon unique to Japan. In the following, I would like to discuss the situation in the other countries in which I studied with same perspectives of language barrier, housing arrangement, and socializing culture.

UTRECHT

In my second year as an undergraduate, I participated in an exchange program at the School of Law at the University of Utrecht, the Netherlands, where I studied for a year from the summer of 2008. I was enrolled in the International Law program, in which all classes are offered in English. The classrooms are filled with about the same number of international exchange students and Dutch students. Since I was an international student there, I was observing and approaching the issue of the local/international student dynamics from a point of view opposite to that of my life at Tsukuba.

The (Absence of) Language Barrier

In the Netherlands, more than 10 percent of the population is of foreign origin, and the vast majority of the Dutch population is very fluent in English, which is indicated by the fact the Dutch has the highest national average score in English tests such as TOEFL. Unlike Tsukuba and Japan, there was no significant language barrier in Utrecht, though it was not totally absent. The Dutch speak such excellent English that foreigners do not even bother to pick up any Dutch. However, the Dutch do speak Dutch among themselves, which creates their own space with no foreign presence. However, in the rare event that a foreigner even tries to speak Dutch, the Dutch people will applaud the effort, even it is only for a successful counting from one to ten. Most of the time on campus and beyond, the Dutch and international students can have a chat, discuss issues, do group work, and go for a drink together without any language barriers. Thus international students and local students could get to know each other in classes and even spend time outside classrooms for group assignments (a more common didactic method in Utrecht than in Tsukuba).

Housing

Housing arrangements were diverse. International students all lived in dormitories since they were mostly in one-year or half-year programs, and it is very difficult to find apartments in the Netherlands in general. Due to a large number of international students and the real estate situation in Utrecht, there was not a single housing facility for all internationals students; international students were scattered in different dormitories all over the city. Dutch students lived in apartments in different places. In addition, the free train fair allowed them to commute from different cities in the country as well. In sum, the housing arrangement did not foster interactions among international and local students in the case of Utrecht.

SOCIALIZING

The way international students socialized had three features. First, there was a student organization called Erasmus Student Network (hereafter ESN) all over Europe, which included a very active Utrecht branch. ESN was a group of Dutch students who organized various events, excursions, and a weekly party at a designated local bar called Maria's. ESN members were all committed to help out and hang out with international students. By bringing international students together with only a handful of Dutch student members, ESN provided a platform for international students to form a large enough a community almost entirely comprised of international students. Thus they were able to have friends to keep them busy on weekends without much interaction with the Dutch, since the mission of ESN was to bring together students from many different countries, not necessarily creating space for them to meet the Dutch. Second, international students tended to socialize with friends from their home country. The major sources of exchange students were Poland, Spain, the U.K., and Turkey. There were also a few students from Japan at University of Utrecht, but not many enough to form a large group, particularly since almost everyone was enrolled in different departments. However, we did hang out together. We missed the same food, which was the biggest thing we wanted to share, and the comfort of speaking Japanese. This did not mean that we did not value the opportunities to make friends with all kinds of people. Third, while international students had their own social circles, the Dutch had their own life. Unlike the international students on student visa, Dutch students were entitled to have part-time jobs, which kept them busy. In their free time, they had their own commitments and activities. I was able to join the kendo team thanks to the friendly invitation of a classmate, who was somewhat excited to see a man from the homeland of kendo. It was quite an experience to learn kendo from an Italian master with Dutch apprentices and no international students. Sufficient Dutch students joined the kendo club so that recruitment of international students was not pursued. I also took part in Ultimate Frisbee in the Utrecht Frisbee Organization, which, of course, called itself UFO. UFO was the biggest Frisbee team in the Netherlands, always full of players and also in no need to recruit international students. Other than part-time jobs and sports activities, the Dutch had families and friends they grew up with, so Dutch students did not have the urge to meet new people among international students.

Utrecht city did not necessarily promote interactions between international students and local students; thus the presence of international students did not seem to influence the Dutch. However, they were very friendly and helpful to international students like myself. For example, they would come up and help me out with very fluent English on the street if I opened a map and had an expression on my face indicating that I was lost. It was just the dynamics of student life that left little opportunity for international interaction.

TOKYO

I entered the Graduate School of Public Policy (hereafter GraSPP) of the University of Tokyo for my masters degree. GraSPP had an international program taught entirely in English. However, the international program was designed for students applying from oversea universities, since it started its academic year in the autumn as opposed to the Japanese school year starting in April. As a result, only a few Japanese students applied, and the system was entirely divided into a Japanese program and an international program. Even at the University of Tokyo, allegedly the best university in Japan, the international students' life was no different from that of Tsukuba.

Language Barrier

GraSPP required a TOEFL test upon entrance, although the school did not indicate a minimum score desired for entrance, since students can get a degree without taking a single course offered in English. The class dynamics followed that of Tsukuba, where courses offered in English were dominated by international students.

Housing

Tokyo is one of the most expensive cities in the world, and so is its real estate market. Students who had family in commuting distance simply commuted from home, and others rented apartments, since there were not enough dormitories for all. International students were provided with a dormitory, which was a 40-minute commute from campus, unless they were able to afford their own apartments. The housing arrangement was similar to that of Utrecht, thus it was not a factor that could trigger interaction between local and international students.

Socializing

As the Japanese students and the international students had few opportunities to get to know each other, they had even less opportunities to socialize with each other. The factor that made it even more difficult than Tsukuba was that most of the Japanese students came from universities other than the University of Tokyo. Due to the relatively short academic period needed to get an M.A., compared to four years of undergraduate life, they tended to maintain the existing relationships they had as undergraduates, which eased the need for making new friends at GraSPP. What was very interesting to me was the fact that some of them from the same college triggered a relationship, even though they did not know each other during their undergraduate lives. The common undergraduate background turned out to be the common ground of friendship, which I found strange, since I was the only one from Tsukuba.

International students who were new in Tokyo had no choice but to stick with each other, so that the bond among international students at GraSPP was very strong.

The dynamics of international and local student lives turned out to be much the same in the case of GraSPP as in my previous academic experiences. In my view, the separation of international and local student lives was larger due to the urban setting of the school, the housing arrangement, and shorter academic commitment compared to undergraduate life.

SINGAPORE

I went to Singapore for my second and third semesters of my masters course and joined the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (hereafter LKYSPP) at the National University of Singapore (NUS). This was a dual-degree program with the University of Tokyo. My decision was a simple one this time: a process of elimination. After a year in the U.S. and another in the Netherlands, I wanted to gain a balanced point of view of the world. To do so, I headed to a hot Southeast Asian country. LKYSPP is a school for M.A. and Ph.D. students who study public policy, and most of them came from public policy backgrounds such as foreign ministries, international organizations, NGOs, and journalism. The campus was full of international students from other Asian countries, some Africans, Latin Americans, North Americans, and a few Europeans. It was more diverse than the University of Utrecht in terms of geographical coverage of the globe as far as I could see. In fact, local Singaporean students were a minority, since the school put a cap on the number of Singaporean students at 20 percent of the entire program.

The (Absence of) Language Barrier

Singapore's official language is English, and so was the school's. All students were required to submit TOEFL or IELTS scores upon entrance, thus there was no language barrier among the students. Singapore is well known for its unique way of speaking English, called Singlish. Singlish takes a bit of getting used to.

Housing

Almost all international students at LKYSPP lived in the same dormitory near the campus, called College Green, and a few lived in a dormitory on another campus of NUS or in apartments. College Green was where we lived, studied, and partied, though it was only for international students, thus the bond between international students was stronger than with Singaporean students. Some Singaporean students complained about the lack of opportunity to live in College Green. This housing arrangement was the biggest cause for international students' bonding with each other. It affected the way people socialized outside of the campus.

Socializing

Students spent quite a bit of their free time in College Green, organizing various parties and other events there. This was also because of his or her financial situation and cultural differences. Students from other Southeast Asian countries and others from India and China could not afford to go out in the most expensive city in Asia. This made it difficult for Singaporean students to pull the international students to places they usually hang out. In addition, most of Indian students and Muslim students had food restrictions, which limited their options for restaurants among the affordable ones. In fact, the most common destination was McDonald's, since everyone can eat French fries and 50-cent ice cream in a cone. These cultural features of students made them lean towards sticking with other students of the same nationality. The management office also tended to place students from one area or place in the same blocks.

Singapore also showed its polycultural nature in its ethnic districts, such as Chinatown, Little India, the Arab streets, and shopping malls specific to other nations. Not only students and businesspersons, but also low-wage workers such as constriction workers and household maids go to their respective districts. When students from different countries want to spend their free time together, the safest and the most affordable place was always the College Green, their home abroad. In such dynamics, Singaporean students who did not live in College Green found it difficult get themselves involved in socializing with international students. This was the same for international students who did not live in College Green.

The case of Singapore is different from any other country discussed here, although the result was the same in the way international students formed their own community. What is unique was that the local students were outnumbered and marginalized, while the international students were the majority and dominated the academic and social life.

CONCLUSION

The interviews and observation of the University of Tsukuba triggered me to think about how international students and local students interacted or did not interact. What is most interesting is that, despite the differences of each country and of each school, the result was the same—limited classroom interactions between international and local students. Students do not interact with each other and influence each other just because they study on the same campus. International students and local students always recognize each other's existence, yet they tend to create their own spheres, and the two worlds do not always cross each other.

From my experience, I can say that it is hard to expect the mere presence of international students to influence local students' thinking or attitude towards other nations and cultures, since the interaction between them does not happen automatically. What is also true is that this situation does not seem to be a problem. In case of Utrecht and Singapore, it was more of a school's selling point towards international students that they can interact with students from many other countries rather than an opportunity to meet the locals and the schools were not trying to make difference in locals by having international students on campus. Perhaps countries like the Netherlands and Singapore can afford not to see this international-local student dynamic as an issue since their societies are already quite international while Japan has still plenty of room to grow in this regard. International students and local students are not at loggerheads and do not have negative feelings towards each other. Unlike the analogy of a dysfunctional marriage cited above, with its vectors of unhappiness and dissent, living apart together can proceed peacefully, quietly, and with without rancor, but also with ignorance of the richness lost by the inability to interact.

GRACE GONZALEZ BASURTO

9. MUDDLING THROUGH INTERNATIONALIZATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TSUKUBA

A Case Study

INTRODUCTION

As the idea of globalization and its myriad of economic, social, political, and cultural by-products unfolded throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, the remnant of an era of internationalization caught up at the local layers as both, a challenge and response to transnational mobility.

Notwithstanding the fact that internationalization as a buzzword has fallen into disuse as a result of the advent of a global era, in practice, the agenda of internationalization is still intertwined with the sphere of public policy at regional and local levels in countries such as Japan. Hence, internationalization is reclaimed as a means of deepening social relations in Japanese cities and towns, while globalization is reserved to economic-political liaisons between Japan and other countries (Robertson, 1999).

Even though the Japanese government implemented the National Scholarship System for International Students in 1954, the current policies to open up Japan to the world entail a policy agenda for an economically stagnant and aging society. Whereas the making of a cosmopolitan milieu fostered by government initiatives aims at a domestic institutional change of learning, teaching, and researching embedded in an intercultural and international communication, attention must be paid to not only curriculum and administrative structures, but also comprehensive integration into university life and local communities.

The present chapter focuses on the forms and dimensions of the internationalization process in the University of Tsukuba. Analytic categories are based on the goals of Global 30, particularly as follows: a) Academic excellence and supervision, b) Administrative matters and daily life support; c) facilities, d) socialization on and off campus, e) Japanese language instruction; and f) institutional readiness towards internationalization. Additionally, attention is paid to the impact of the university's internationalization on the municipality of Tsukuba and Tsukuba Science City.

The chapter casts light on the everyday life internationalization of the University of Tsukuba as experienced by members of the board of directors, faculty members, and undergraduate and graduate students who have spent a minimum of three years affiliated to the University of Tsukuba. Through a qualitative approach, the chapter

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 133–157.

dwells on in-depth semistructured interviews conducted on the university's campus from August 2009 to July 2011. Whereas interviews with faculty members and students were a product of snowball sampling, interviews with top officers were the result of selecting those directly involved in the university's internationalization. Interviews were tape-recorded when informants agreed to it and fictitious first names are given to all informants in an attempt to safeguard their identities. Each interview lasted between 50 minutes and 2½ hours. Even though the sample can be considered small, it reveals a timely snapshot of the transition of the University of Tsukuba towards internationalization in the 21st century.

The outline of the chapter is as follows: The first section offers a glance of Japan's internationalization from 1980s and its theoretical underpinnings of binary cultural/identitarian exchanges. The second section sketches the trends and characteristics of recent internationalization initiatives within Japanese higher education. The third section addresses the internationalization of the University of Tsukuba by showcasing the expectations, actions, and challenges embedded in this process. Lastly, the chapter concludes by summarizing the prospects of the internationalization of Japanese higher education in light of the Global 30.

JAPAN'S INTERNATIONALIZATION

In its contemporary context, Japan's internationalization (*kokusaika*) has been studied mainly through the glass of economics—dealing with Japanese capital investment, trade, and overseas manufacturing—in order to analyze Japan's role as an economic superpower. From former Prime Minister Nakasone's internationalism in mid-1980s to the import campaigns managed by the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (now Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry) and The Japan External Trade Organization, policy making has been oriented to transform Japan into an "international state" (Edström, 1994; Ertl, 2008, 85). Widely and ambiguously used in the mass media, the concepts of *kokusaika*, *kokusaisei* (internationality), *kokusaijin* (international person), *kokusai kankaku* (international sense), and *kokusai kōryū* (international exchange), among others, have derived from an internationalist nationalism that emphasizes international cooperation and world peace (Befu, 1983; Takekawa, 2007). In this sense, Ivy (1995, 3) points out that

> [I]nstead of opening up Japan to the struggle of different nationalities and ethnicities, the policy of internationalization implies the opposite: the thorough domestication of the foreign and the dissemination of Japanese culture throughout the world.

Following Ivy's appraisal, it can be argued that Japan's internationalization conveys an ideological façade exercised to contain diversity through assimilation within Japan, while cushioning the demands and expectations towards Japan as an economic superpower.

As McCormack (2001, 265) observes, "from 'inter-racial harmony' and 'co-prosperity' in the 1930s and 1940s to the most contemporary 'symbiosis' (*kyōsei*)" Japan has adapted the discourses of self and otherness according to different contexts. Likewise, McCormick (2001) highlights that far from deploying any significant social opening, Japan's *kokusaika* has reinforced the Japanese identity. This reverberates Robertson's (1999, 128) observations on Japanese internationalization as "a product and central to the ongoing" formation of Japan's national cultural identity since the Meiji era.

Here, it is worth noting that within internationalization lies the dynamics of "inward internationalization" (*uchinaru kokusaika*) as the acquisition of "internationally oriented attitudes, knowledge and skills" (Sugiyama, 1992, 91) to develop mutual understandings, not only in the introduction and assimilation of foreign elements into Japanese people's daily life, but also in the coexistence and interdependence between foreign nationals and Japanese people. Coined in mid-1980s by Ryūhei Hatsuse, the *uchinaru kokusaika* expression has drawn on ideas of multiculturalism (*tabunka*) and diversity within Japan (Morris-Suzuki, 1998). Local internationalization or inward internationalization in Japan represents, then, a potential galvanizing policy innovation towards the multilayered process of socio-cultural diversification within.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION

The internationalization of higher education sits at the very core of the public policy of nation-states. While rationales for cross-border education have largely placed emphasis on mutual cultural understanding, others such as skilled migration, revenue generation, and capacity building have emerged since the 1990s to denote a strong economic focus (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, henceforth), 2004, 4).

In the Japanese case, the internationalization of higher education institutions is taken as a strategic part of the reform of the higher education system to achieve competitive worldwide standards. Curricula in this sense are boosted with international programs and courses, predominantly in the humanities and social sciences reflected in "name, content, or perspective" (Huang, 2006, 522). Likewise, the introduction of degree-conferring programs taught in English is increasingly present in Japanese universities to accommodate mainly international students[1] at graduate level and non-degree conferring programs for international students at undergraduate level. Additionally, the employment of foreign faculty members is sought to facilitate the implementation of international programs and the communication with international students. Even though the number of international students in Japan accounted for 132,720 as of May 2009, Japan only receives 4% of the world's international students[2] (Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO, henceforth), 2010; OECD, 2004; Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (henceforth, MEXT), 2008). Among these, 92.3% are from Asian countries, mainly Chinese, South Korean, and Taiwanese. Out of 589 universities, the programs and courses conducted entirely in English for undergraduate students are only offered in 5 universities,[3] and for graduate students are offered only in 68 universities with 124 courses. Furthermore, the percentage of foreign faculty members in Japanese universities accounts for a merely 5% (MEXT, 2008). In terms of international students' funding 89.90% are privately financed, 7.66% are Japanese government scholarship recipients, and 2.44% are foreign government sponsored (elaborated with data from JASSO, 2010).

Governmental efforts started in the early 1980s with a plan to receive 100,000 international students in order to position Japan as a leading country in Asia and the world. Whereas this goal was achieved in the year 2003, pending challenges to achieve world-class research and education competitiveness in Japanese tertiary institutions became a top priority in policy-making circles.

Following again a quantitative target, Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda announced a "global strategy" during the 169th Session of the Diet in January 2008 to open Japan to the world—while preserving Japanese culture and traditions—by increasing the number of international students to 300,000 by the year 2020 (Fukuda, 2008). As such, the "300,000 International Students Plan" (enacted in July, 2008) aims at attracting "excellent" international students from all over the world through the provision of one-stop service points for applicants in foreign countries, including incentives and guidance from admission into universities to career options after graduation (MEXT, 2008).

Concomitantly, The Global 30 (*Kokusaika Kyoten Seibi Jigyō* or Internationalization Hub Consolidation Project) was enacted in June 2008, by Cabinet decision, to promote the internationalization of Japanese higher education system through the reception of undergraduate, postgraduate, and research students. It embodies the current effort to achieve globally competitive universities—30 flagship universities—through strong financial incentives provided by the Japanese national government and degree-conferring programs taught solely in English. The goals of the Global 30 also include the molding of a welcoming environment for international students and the promotion of strategic international cooperation for Japanese students to study abroad. In order to implement the Global 30 scheme MEXT allocated ¥4.1 billion in the budget of the 2009 fiscal year (FY, henceforth).[4] So far, 13 universities (7 national and 6 private)[5] have been selected to act as centers for a systematic internationalization of Japanese higher education based on "functional differentiation of universities" (MEXT, 2008).

Strategic frameworks such as the Global 30 are decisive to not only attract talented international students, but also to become competitive in top-level research activities. Likewise, internationalization is seen in Japan as moving towards expanding the influence of Japanese education system—and by extension, Japanese culture—in other countries[6], as well as transforming learning environments and mindsets of domestic students (Yonezawa, 2009, 204). However, the sustainability of long-term internationalization particularly at national universities under financial pressure and the daily life impact of internationalization on localities pose significant challenges. As Yonezawa (2009, 215) points out:

> In cases where universities and academics are not confident in those measures taken to realize their internationalization, universities may fall into a trap whereby the government merely follows the least responsive views of the markets or the general public, and suddenly terminates active commitments to the internationalization of higher education.

Difficult implementation of the Global 30 can be found on several fronts. Firstly, a reported stiff opposition from conservative faculty and administrative members, within the 13 universities selected, who are not keen about dealing with large numbers of international teaching staff and students on a permanent basis (Klaphake, 2010). So far, this trend challenges the ability of Japanese universities to attract international students if foreign faculty members are only employed under 2–to–5 year nonrenewable contracts; that is, during the governmental subsidies for the Global 30. In this sense, commitment should not only be towards attracting top-talented international students, but also holding onto renowned international faculty members. Secondly, budgetary cuts made to the Global 30 (e.g., 20% in 2009) by the Democratic Party of Japan-led government, and current national priorities such as the reconstruction of stricken areas by the 3/11 triple disaster cast light upon the long-term commitment towards the internationalization of universities. Thus, it could even be suggested that the further selection of 17 universities may not materialize, shrinking the Global 30 to a mere Global 13 (Burgess, 2010; Aoki, 2010). Thirdly, the Global 30 appears to fall short in both the international and the Japanese job markets. That is, in the former, the international quality assurance of Japanese universities is still developing and in the latter, the proficiency of international students in Japanese language—as an essential tool for daily life and future career prospects in Japan—is being downplayed, even though the Japanese private sector generally requires a minimum of Level 2 on the Japanese Language Proficiency Test (JLPT) (Aoki, 2010).[7] Fourthly, attention must me paid to the misleading idea—promoted by MEXT officials, for instance—that, on one hand, domestic students will be encouraged to communicate in English or become more critical and extrovert if the presence of international students increases on campuses; and on the other, that Japanese professors will feel motivated by their international counterparts to improve the level of education and research of Japanese universities (MEXT, 2008). Furthermore, given an increasingly competitive environment for universities and their international student recruitment strategies, the Global 30 universities may well find themselves in situations where educational standards and/or English language proficiency have to be lowered in order to meet the quota of international students set by MEXT.

MUDDLING THROUGH INTERNATIONALIZATION IN THE UNIVERSITY OF TSUKUBA

The University of Tsukuba is located in Tsukuba City, southern Ibaraki Prefecture, 50 km north of Narita International Airport, and connected to Akihabara (Tokyo) in 45min by the Tsukuba Express train. The University of Tsukuba was founded in 1973 as the successor of the Tokyo University of Education (*Tokyo Kyōiku Daigaku*) and as part of Tsukuba Science City (*Tsukuba Kenkyū Gakuen Toshi*), the first national government-funded science city and the cornerstone of technopole[8] creation in Japan. Tsukuba Science City was developed in an area of 2700 ha that extends across former five towns (Tsukuba, Kukizaki, Oho, Toyosato, and Yatabe) and a village (Sakura). However, Tsukuba City as a municipality did not exist until 1987, when the amalgamation of the Science City and the townships of Toyosato, Oho, Yatabe, and Sakura took place.[9] Tsukuba City is currently formed by the Research and Education District of 2,700 ha (Science City) and the Suburban District of 25,700 ha. As of October 2010, Tsukuba City's total population was 214,660, inclusive of 7,813 foreign residents from 133 countries, (Tsukuba City, 2010).

As the first "comprehensive" university in Japan, Tsukuba University was founded on the concept of a close relationship in basic and applied sciences to further interdisciplinary and integrative approaches in education and research (University of Tsukuba, 2011a; Yonezawa, 2007). Moreover, Tsukuba University's goal is to develop a highly international, diverse, and flexible institution in order to become a "frontrunner" of the higher education reform in Japan (University of Tsukuba 2008, 2011a). Additionally, as part of Tsukuba Science City, it aims to promote collaboration among industry, academia, and government in order to strengthen its education and research capacity with a societal value.

In terms of the quantitative goals within the Global 30 framework, Tsukuba University plans to increase the number of international students from 1,994 (as of January 2011) to 4,500 in 2020, that is, 29% of the student body. As for the faculty members, the percentage increase of foreign staff members is intended to only be 2%, from current 8% to 10%—a rather negligible commitment. The University of Tsukuba also plans to send 1000 Japanese students abroad and offer dual degree programs (Campus, 2010).

Intrinsically relevant to the University's internationalization is the establishment of the North African and Mediterranean Centre for Research and Education in Tunisia (opened in 2006) and the International Center for Central Asian Research and Education in Uzbekistan to conduct joint research and academic exchange[10] for students and professors, collaborative seminars, and educational training (MEXT, 2008; University of Tsukuba, 2011d). Moreover, the University of Tsukuba opened overseas offices in Ho Chi Minh City, Beijing, and Bonn throughout the second half of the year 2009 to secure top international students; collect and provide information about academic exchange; and promote international cooperation (University of Tsukuba, 2011d). In addition, the office of Tsukuba University for Japanese Universities in Tunis facilitates networking between Japanese and North African universities, conducts introductory sessions of study-in-Japan, consultations for joint research, and facilitation of on-site entrance examination and enrollment in Japanese universities (MEXT, 2008; University of Tsukuba, 2011e).

Whereas the quantitative and organizational goals of the Tsukuba University's internationalization can be readily documented, the day-to-day practices towards internationalization on campus entail a rather complex account. As such, the following sections address the experiences and views of interviewees reflecting upon their university life as students, professors, and officers to showcase the institutional readiness, conundrums, and attitudes towards internationalization. Likewise, the subsequent sections offer a glimpse of the intrinsically relevant impact of internationalization on the municipality of Tsukuba and Tsukuba Science City.

Katsumi, a director involved in internationalization-related activities, noted that Japan—as a "peace power"—has the opportunity to contribute to the task of substituting the military impact of the West with sustainable development in regions such as North Africa. This approach towards a "knowledge circle" covers the Eurasian (Germany, Uzbekistan, China, and Vietnam) and African (Tunisia) continents through academic relationships. Katsumi commented that even though other Japanese universities have historical relationships with American and European universities, Tsukuba University is fostering an academic network built upon a historical academic exchange with North African and Middle Eastern countries. Tsukuba University's next step is to create close contacts with Indian universities.

To Katsumi, competition between national and private Japanese universities relies on the availability of facilities and curriculum for undergraduate students, something that is quite difficult to achieve for national universities due to budget constraints. However, Katsumi thought this disparity entailed a "very attractive opportunity" for universities like Tsukuba to focus on graduate schools and their research capability, particularly when Japanese and foreign talents work together towards innovative outcomes.

Osamu, a member of the board of directors, also pointed out that Tsukuba University's competitive strategy for internationalization relies on attracting talented individuals for scientific and technological development. However, he noted that "not always the best researcher, the best scholar, is a good professor" because they tend to devote themselves to their research, as oppose to caring for their students. Moreover, Osamu highlighted that the Global 30 is "fine" as a concept but that globalizing environments entail a significant challenge, mostly because students and staff are still "very much sceptical." As finances are critical for the making of a "globalized" university, Osamu commented on the next steps to be taken within the

Global 30, particularly in securing the employment of foreign faculty members once the subsidies of the Global 30 end:

> Though the current financial situation in Japan, we can manage our budget according to our own priorities—as a so-called independent administrative body. We're a big university; our annual budget is around ¥80 billion. We can allocate part of the annual surplus [e.g. the annual surplus of the FY 2009 was ¥1,058 million (University of Tsukuba, 2010)] to continue the internationalization efforts.

Here it is worth noting that at a ministerial level, yearly budgetary cuts endanger not only the implementation of initiatives such as the Global 30, but also the institutional viability of universities. For instance, between FY 2010 and FY 2011 there has been a reduction of 1.4% in the budget allocated to education and science (Ministry of Finance, 2010). Thus, the prospects of considering internationalization a priority for the University of Tsukuba, beyond the 5-year subsidy of the Global 30, will largely depend on the perception of attained goals within this time frame by subsequent University administrations.

As Osamu personally experienced the process of preparing proposals for the Global 30, he knew that staff members from different disciplines in humanities, natural, and social sciences did not meet before becoming one of the G30 universities. However, as the Global 30 has evolved he has seen a variety of disciplines (24 programs in English) "walking together" and making a "good progress" towards the globalization of the university. He further elaborated:

> I've seen more—and younger—professors getting involved so real change is happening little by little, even though I know that around 95% of professors are still skeptical.

The production of three Nobel Prize laureates, world-class facilities for research and education, the university's membership to Tsukuba Science City, and green landscapes are particular traits that University of Tsukuba cites as advantageous in attracting international students on its Global 30 website. Furthermore, the University of Tsukuba describes Tsukuba as a safe eco-friendly city with an international well-educated citizenry (University of Tsukuba, 2011b).

With regard to the attractiveness of the University of Tsukuba, all students interviewed shared rather similar views. For them, the appeal of enrolling in Tsukuba University sourced from the university's prestige as a top-ranked Japanese university, its three Nobel laureates, and the large concentration of national research institutes of Tsukuba Science City, particularly for those students in the natural sciences. Interviewees thought they have better chances to become researchers by studying/living in Tsukuba. Likewise, students interviewed appreciated the large green university campus although they expected it to be livelier, with student events and "gatherings."

As for the proactive collaboration between Tsukuba University and Tsukuba Science City, Osamu stated that although Tsukuba is a “very good” university, it would be better if partnership with more research institutes in the Science City were strengthened and deepened. Osamu commented that the University of Tsukuba had around 35 collaborative projects with different research institutes in the Science City, but that collaboration was still a dilemma as “a lot of times students and professors at the university don’t recognize the relationship with the Science City.”

Since 1992, for instance, the first Cooperative Graduate School System at doctoral level has employed researchers from national, independent, and private experimental research institutes inside and outside Tsukuba Science City as visiting and associate professors at the University of Tsukuba. Moreover, in 2004 this collaboration (the second Cooperative Graduate School System) was expanded to not only cross-appoint researchers/professors between the University of Tsukuba and different institutes of the Science City, but also to allow these researchers/professors to participate in the management of courses and workshops in graduate schools[12]. As such, students gain access to “top-level research guidance and state-of-the-art facilities” in the Science City (University of Tsukuba, 2008, 18) including those of the National Agriculture and Food Research Organization, the National Institute for Materials Science (NIMS), and the National Institute of Advanced Industrial Science and Technology (AIST).

By and large, the increment of foreign students in Tsukuba University will, as the result of the Global 30, have a considerable impact on Tsukuba City. By 2020, the number of foreign residents in the city might double and therefore, measures to create and foster not only a “foreign-friendly” environment in Tsukuba, but also a solid community life are critical. If successful, both University of Tsukuba and the Science City will be able to attract more foreign and national talents to do research in order to galvanize an overall impact on top-level education and research. This, nonetheless, implies providing job opportunities for the spouses of faculty members and international-level education and facilities for their children. In this sense, the University of Tsukuba can act as a potential “glocal” facilitator and catalyst in coping with the challenges of the university’s internationalization, as well as coordinating with city and prefecture governments to implement “foreign-friendly” schema for Tsukuba’s diverse yet local population. Dwelling on this, Osamu pointed out that the University of Tsukuba was committed to engage in a proactive participation on local internationalization, as this could ignite an “excellent” opportunity to collaborate more closely with researchers, local communities, and the municipal government. Currently, efforts towards local internationalization have materialized in the designation of Tsukuba City in December 2011 as one of the Comprehensive Special Zones for International Competitiveness Development. This designation was enacted by the national government in order to ignite lifestyle and green innovation to overcome challenges such as the 3/11 triple disaster, aging population, and economic competitiveness (University of Tsukuba, 2011f, 2011g, 2012). The application and lobbying for Tsukuba to become one of the Comprehensive Special Zones stemmed from the collaboration between Ibaraki prefecture, Tsukuba City, and the University of Tsukuba.

Academic Excellence and Supervision

In terms of the academic offer, the University of Tsukuba has recently established undergraduate degree programs in English including biology, agrobiological resource management, and geoscience (School of Life and Environmental Science), international social sciences (School of Social and International Studies), and medical sciences (School of Medicine). On the other hand, 20 newly Master's and Ph.D. programs have been introduced including environmental science, sustainable agriculture, materials science and engineering, MBA in international business, public health, and economic and public policy management, among others (University of Tsukuba, 2011b).

According to Osamu, adopting a two-language system (English and Japanese) for all graduate students, "at least," is a top priority for Tsukuba University. Nonetheless, he acknowledged that "in reality" not too many Japanese professors have the ability to teach in English, so mostly foreign professors end up teaching the courses conducted in English:

> There are a lot of structural problems. It's not efficient to have 24 programs taught solely in English by a small group of Japanese and foreign professors. There's overlapping, and the teaching workload on these professors is quite significant. They'll be exhausted sooner than later!

As a way of becoming more competitive within a "cut-throat" global environment, Osamu mentioned that Tsukuba University would implement an external evaluation system from 2012, in which budgets will be tied to professors and departments' performance. In this sense, Osamu clarified that the president and the members of the board of directors understand the importance of humanities and social sciences within the University of Tsukuba, pointing out that the high rankings achieved by department of political science (4th) and the department of linguistics (3rd) among all Japanese universities in 2011.

With regard to the academic excellence, interviewed students affiliated to the humanities and social sciences spoke about the lack of institutional support or encouragement to generate publications or to participate in international conferences. For instance, Martin (31 years old), M.A. student affiliated to the International Political Economy Program (IPE, henceforth), referred to this issue in the following manner:

> A couple of foreign professors worked closely with students to have small round-table conferences on various topics, even though sometimes they had to fight the department in terms of the availability of spaces. Overall, I didn't get any institutional support to conduct fieldwork nor to participate in international conferences and seminars.

Similarly, Abigail (30 years old), affiliated to the Fine Art Program as a M.A., Ph.D. student, and currently as a postdoctoral fellow, pointed out the academic environment is "too lax," not competitive enough. She emphasized that the papers she published or the international conferences she attended were the result of a solely personal effort, without any support or pressure from her department. David (31 years old) affiliated to the Department of Intelligent Interaction Technologies as a M.A. and currently a Ph.D. student, echoed the remarks of other interviewees, qualifying academic excellence at the University of Tsukuba as "quite average." He continued:

> It seems the teaching level of the foreign professors who end up in Tsukuba University—at least for the Graduate School of Systems and Information Engineering—is not so high…There are a couple of really good professors in my department, and I'm happy I "discovered" them—because you *have* to discover them. That happens everywhere I guess…

However, unlike Abigail and Martin, David has encountered a hefty support to conduct research within his laboratory, which is why he decided to stay in Tsukuba University to obtain his Ph.D.

As for academic advisors, students interviewed invariably had rather positive comments on the support given, which often involved everyday life issues. All the students interviewed were under the academic supervision of Japanese professors, and often described their advisors as "incredibly nice" and "always supportive." Interviewees also emphasized that they communicated only in English with their advisors, which facilitated the development of a "good relationship" with them, especially when the advisor was "young" (in his/her forties) and with experience of studying abroad.

Likewise, students mentioned that for those classes conducted in Japanese, professors usually allowed class presentations, papers, exams, and theses (or dissertations) in English. However, interviewees commonly discussed the lack of stimulating debates in classes they shared with Japanese students, as it seemed students were discouraging each other to participate in class discussions or providing feedback to colleagues' presentations. Furthermore, interviewees thought their Japanese peers did not feel comfortable "challenging" professors by voicing opposite views. International students also expressed that many fellow Japanese students do not feel the need to become fluent in English.

Administrative Matters and Daily Life Support

Katsumi acknowledged he dealt with the challenges of *uchinaru kokusaika* “every minute of the day” since in the “past,” staff did not need to be internationalized to complete their work domestically; students were only Japanese so, classes, administration, and degrees were mainly done in Japanese. Hence, Katsumi emphasized that changes in the university’s setting had created a huge burden on staff members because they now have to conduct activities in English and they wish they could avoid the painful transition.

Osamu echoed the above remarks by explaining that although Tsukuba University has around 4,000 people as part of its administrative and academic staffs, only a few are internationalized. To him, this number is an asset but also an obstacle because “many of them have prejudices about internationalization, foreign students, and foreign scholars.” He added:

> We definitely have to change the mind-set of stubborn people in the university. We need to emphasize the aspect of communication between students, between students and professors, between students and administrators, and between professors and administrators in our university. The attitudes of the academic and administrative staffs are still not so open towards a globalization on campus. They’re very cautious and shy. Being able to communicate in the same language (i.e., English) is important but mind-set and attitudes I’d say are crucial.

In terms of daily life support, all interviewees under the MEXT scholarship received an introductory session in English by the International Student Center (ISC, henceforth), in relation to national health insurance, registration at the city hall, and the opening of a bank account. Additionally, introductory sessions to learn the university library system for newly enrolled students were available in Japanese and English.

With regard to administrative support on campus, Martin commented he had “a dual experience” given he was first enrolled in the Area Studies Department as a research student. He explained:

> Administrative support was structured and consistent. They let me know in advance of specific deadlines for paperwork and so forth. That support was critical because most of the information was circulated in Japanese.

Martin greatly appreciated these efforts, as he felt international students were included in the day-to-day dynamics of the Area Studies Department, giving him a sense of belonging. Once Martin enrolled in the International Political Economy Department as a M.A. student, he found that administrative support for international students was quite uneven within the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences:

> The staff seemed to be less committed to help international students on administrative matters. Expressions such as ‘I can’t do that’ ‘that’s beyond

> my competence' 'it's not part of my job' 'I don't know' were quite common. In general, very few people of the administrative staff spoke English in the University.

Martin had a paid Japanese tutor for about 8 months, also a M.A. student, with whom he "got along great" and was always willing to help him. However, Martin acknowledged that there were times in which his tutor did not know how to deal with Martin's daily life issues such as paperwork on and off-campus (e.g., enrollment, contracts with cell phone companies, etc.). In this sense, Martin understood that while tutors were not specifically trained to support international students, he wished a "more systematic" institutional support were available, especially during the first year of enrollment.

When recounting her experienced as a newly enrolled M.A. student, Abigail mentioned she received a "bunch of documents, all in Japanese" so "without knowing what to do or having anyone" to guide her, Abigail turned to her academic advisor for help with enrollment-related paperwork. Even though Abigail acknowledged that things were improving "little by little" for international students on campus since 2010, she noted that it would be "a long shot to change everything," as it would be very costly and time-consuming to train university personnel in order to accommodate the needs of international students.

As for acclimatization, David commented on the importance of being mentally prepared to immerse and adapt to a new environment; asking "a lot of questions here and there" to learn how the university works. Nevertheless, David acknowledged that he would not have "struggled as much" if more explanation in English were available when he arrived at the university. To David, his current situation as an international student is somehow still challenging:

> Most of the tasks and paperwork that you're asked to do are still in Japanese. I even avoid going to areas of the university where I know the staff members do not speak English because you don't want to waste your time and other people's time trying to communicate in a very basic Japanese.

David also touched on critical attitudes that international students have to demonstrate towards the university staff in order to develop a healthy rapport. In other words, David advocated engaging in a positive approach of "smiles and politeness," since he knew of cases in which international students in his department "could not get anywhere" because "all they did was complaining" to the administrative staff. To David, recent changes towards university's internationalization (years, 2009, 2010) have derived in the "acceptance" that international students are not fluent in Japanese, which takes the pressure of speaking Japanese "all the time" off students' shoulders. In this sense, it is worth pointing out that although for students like David the perceived expectation of Japanese fluency in administrative and curricular activities has been lowered, challenges related to language barriers and the interaction between Japanese and international students on campus are yet to be addressed (see below).

Facilities

University facilities constitute an increasingly important factor in attracting and securing international students. Interviewees focused their attention particularly on the university's dormitories, study rooms, and cafeterias. In this respect, dorms appeared to be the main source of dissatisfaction among international students.

Abigail, for instance, described her initial experience at one of the university dormitories in the following terms:

> I first stayed at Ichinoya dormitory…it was horrible, I cried for a week. The room was approximately 7 m^2 with no heating or A/C and no private toilet; just a bed and a sink. The washroom was communal so I had to share with a lot of people and it was a squat-type [Japanese style]. I had to shower in the community center, paying ¥100 per 6 min and paying extra if I wanted to go into *ofuro* [bath]. I never thought I would encounter this kind of situation in a developed country like Japan. After all, I'm the one coming from a developing country, you know?

Joseph (22 years old), an undergraduate student affiliated to the Politics Department whose room was equipped with a private shower and toilet made similar remarks:

> I didn't have hot water neither in the shower nor in the sink whenever I wanted. I only had hot water from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. After coming back from physical education in the morning, all sweaty, I had to take cold showers. I felt like I was in the military! The heating system worked similarly. The dorms are neither reformed nor cleaned regularly. Kitchens are particularly disgusting. I ended up moving into a private apartment.

Others such as Martin learned about the general description of the dorms on the university's website so he was not "so shocked" when he faced the "precarious conditions" of his room for the first time. Martin, however, noted that it is common among international students to refer to some of the dorms of Tsukuba University as "jail-type of environments" because of their lack of basic amenities and comfort.

With 4,000 on-campus dormitory rooms (3,472 private rooms, 269 double rooms, and 186 family rooms) in the areas of Ichinoya, Hirasuna, Kasuga and Oikoshi, the University of Tsukuba advertises an "unrivaled capacity to provide affordable student housing" (University of Tsukuba, 2011b). Starting in 2009, for a 5-year period, 1,500 rooms will be undergoing a program of rolling renovation to provide comfortable student accommodation. However, details of the extent of renovation and/or upgrade of these facilities have not been disclosed. Furthermore, even though every Global 30 student enrolling at the University of Tsukuba is guaranteed a room, university accommodation is in principle only available for one year.

Regarding the state of facilities at Graduate Schools Martin commented that while the IPE department counts with appropriate infrastructure [such as lighting, air conditioner/heaters, and cubicles] to carry out daily academic endeavors, the study rooms in the Area Studies Department "were not the most desirable" as 40 students are "crammed" in one room, the desks and chairs are quite old, the lighting is poor, and there is no air conditioning and heating. Also, students in the humanities and social sciences perceived that the facilities in the natural sciences—particularly in the departments of robotics and artificial intelligence—were newer and better equipped than the ones in the social sciences.

As for libraries, students thought databases and library resources of Tsukuba University were relative good, although for students in the social sciences who had visited other university libraries such as the University of Tokyo realized the subscription of Tsukuba University to international journals was not as extensive. Also, interviewees referred to the nonexistent book allowance or subsidized interlibrary loans as a hindrance to their research.

On the other hand, interviewees pointed out that although maps are available on campus, signboards inside/outside buildings, cafeterias, and bus stops, as well as warnings and safety messages, are mostly in Japanese; in *kanji* or its Romanized version. Therefore, students—particularly newly enrolled students—have difficulties navigating the campus (5km north to south; and 1km east to west), observing rules, and taking notice of services and safety measures.

Regarding the cafeterias on campus, interviewed students commented mainly on the lack of menus and food tags in English, short service hours, and lack of places in which students can socialize—other than the Starbucks located in the Central Library—in the late afternoon. Students also referred to the lack of dietary range for vegan, vegetarian, and Muslim students at university cafeterias, feeling that menus were entirely focused on the Japanese diet.

In response to the lack of dietary diversity of menus at cafeterias on campus, members of the College of Biological Sciences and the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences initiated in early 2010 the "Lunch for Everyone" project, through a survey, to collect feedback from international students and their dietary observance. Though the survey is the first step to create an inclusive menu at the cafeterias of Tsukuba University, it mainly focused on aspects related to religious diets (e.g., Hindu, Jewish, Muslim), failing to address any questions for vegetarians, vegans, and those with food allergies. Even though the survey results were not released and no dietary changes have been made to the menus of cafeterias on campus, a "vegetarian friendly" Halāl cafeteria was inaugurated in April 2012 for service during lunch hours.[13]

Japanese Language Instruction

Students interviewed pointed out that the courses at the ISC were inadequate for the each of the students' language skills and needs for entrance examinations and enrollment in their respective departments (e.g., humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, etc.). Overall, accounts of graduate students in particular, noted frustration and undermined confidence, as they felt they were "never able to catch up" to their Chinese or Korean counterparts or able to fulfill the expectations of the ISC language teachers. Joseph, who took an intensive Japanese course for a year in Osaka before enrolling in the University of Tsukuba, felt he had been "thrown" into an environment in which he was treated like any other Japanese undergraduate student. He explained:

> I know I'm in Japan and I should speak Japanese. And I'm trying, but I can't learn Japanese (beyond intermediate level) while I'm taking all my major classes. People who do not speak a word of Japanese and decide to study in Japan are either brave or mad. The first trimester I was enthusiastic but I eventually gave up. Japanese is my third foreign language but I can't make up for the lack of 18 years of Japanese language education in one year. Now I take my tests in English and I write my reports in English.

In general, expressions such as "I felt the stupidest student in the classroom," "teacher made me feel like I was not studying hard enough," and "I had no other choice but to drop out of the course" inundated interviewees' statements.

Socialization On and Off Campus

Interviews revealed that socialization between international and Japanese students seemed to be the most problematic issue to overcome at the University of Tsukuba. Whereas it could be argued that friendships and acquaintances are not based on nationalities, the international students interviewed seemed to long for a connection with their Japanese counterparts. Interviewees cited mostly language and cultural barriers when addressing the everyday life challenges of socializing on campus.

For instance, Joseph was expecting more interaction with Japanese students but stop "trying" after feeling "singled out" while participating in several university activities. However, he felt relieved to find a "pretty big" number of international students in Tsukuba University as he "depended mostly on them". Joseph emphasized it would be "very hard" for him to study in Tsukuba without his friends from the "foreign community." He elaborated:

> I don't have one single Japanese person who I can call my friend. If you're not a part of some circle or belong somewhere you're nothing. And we foreigners belong to the foreign community. Them and us…that's my impression.

Abigail noted that her Japanese colleagues did not engage in "small talk" and would "ignore" her "most of the time." She continued:

> The lack of social life here is a real issue; it gets depressing at times. Socialization is definitely one of the weakest points of the university.

Abigail thought this lack of socialization had "something to do" with the character of Japanese students, since they were not interested or not used to make friends with foreigners. For her, this is an aspect that Japanese society has to work on "from the bottom-up." Even though Abigail tried to make Japanese friends for two years she soon realized that "her efforts were in vain." While she felt frustrated about the lack of interaction with her Japanese colleagues, she was happy she had made "lots of foreign friends."

Here it is worth noting that student clubs at Japanese universities are usually venues for undergraduate students to not only enjoy participating in cultural and sport-related activities, but also to create personal networks and skills for future job hunting and employment opportunities. In this regard, the discipline of attending and actively engaging in club activities is frequently perceived by Japanese students as even more important than their coursework. As such, graduate students who explore the possibility of taking part in clubs in a purely recreational way soon realize the inherent, incompatability of their goals, making casual socialization a struggle.

Moreover, socialization for M.A. and Ph.D. students entails further challenges, because they do not tend to have a significant number of classes with the same colleagues and they are likely to spend long periods absent from campus in order to conduct fieldwork abroad or somewhere else in Japan. Similarly, the nature of interaction at study rooms [*kenkyū-shitsu*] is by and large, limited. In this sense, Abigail commented:

> I had several Japanese colleagues in my *kenkyū-shitsu* but they never invited me anywhere, we just bowed and said hello…. They're polite but that's about it.

Martin's account also shares similarities with the above interviewees. For him, socialization with Japanese students was "very scarce," mainly sourcing from language barriers. He noted that international students fluent in Japanese had more Japanese friends. However, he noticed that his Japanese cubicle colleagues "accepted" him from the moment he was seen spending long hours, seven days a week working at the study room, during his thesis-writing period. He further elaborated:

> I had two Japanese colleagues whom I spoke in English but I we never had lunch, or coffee, or went to a party together. The experience with fellow foreign students was completely different. Regardless of our backgrounds, we bonded over the fact that we were all facing the same 'adversity.' Arabs, Latin Americans, Africans, Israelis, Chinese, Americans, Vietnamese…we were all friends. They definitely were my lifelines!

Satoshi (28 years old), Ph.D. student affiliated to the Computer Science Department, addressed the matter of socialization with international students as follows:

> Recently, I've been hanging out with international students because all my Japanese friends already graduated. Japanese are very hesitant to start talking to international students. I don't think it's a language barrier thing. It's based on cultural differences…they may feel very hesitant to reach out to them because they look different. At the beginning I was also not very confident to talk to international students even though I can speak English and a little bit of other languages.

To David, the challenges of socialization between Japanese and international students are not utterly related to language barriers but about connecting with others. He pointed out he had been able to make acquaintances with Japanese students and even had "one close" Japanese friend. He explained that understanding the "Japanese way of not interfering in other people's life" was very important in developing relationships. However, David opined that as a foreigner in Japan, it was easier to communicate with other foreigners, as they were "more open to meeting new people, understanding, and accepting that everybody has a different culture and customs."

Additionally, international students—particularly graduate students—commented they usually congregate at local bars such as Finlaggan, a Scottish bar in the Amakubo area, to mingle with other foreigners living in Tsukuba or hang out at house (potluck style) parties.

Professors also acknowledged the lack of interaction between Japanese and international students on campus. For instance, Victoria, a professor affiliated to the Linguistics Department, referred to the idea that foreigners tend to "produce" worries to Japanese because they're different. To her, the interaction between Japanese and international students happened when Japanese students were interested in other cultures or practicing foreign languages. As both a professor and a long-term resident in Japan she felt that foreigners have to make an "extra effort" to learn the Japanese language in order to "function in the community and as part of the community."

Greatly concerned, Osamu acknowledged that students needed to mix more, as the divide between international and Japanese students was "clear" on campus. To him, small changes such as repairing and increasing the number of benches in outdoor spaces could ameliorate the "global communication" on campus, "inviting" people to chat.

Overall, the socialization between international and Japanese students, as reported by interviewees, can be categorized as a pattern of comfort and convenience. That is, the comfort and convenience of interacting with fellow students who share common everyday life interests, aspirations, and challenges without going to the great effort—and many times painful process—of becoming fluent in a foreign language to do so. Current institutional response to the lack of interaction between Japanese and international students includes the "Cosmos-Café" held every Tuesday afternoon and the Cosmos-chat held every Wednesday at lunch time, near the Central Library in which students engage in an "international communication."

However, as the number of international students increases, institutional bridging will be likely to play a bigger role, particularly if atomistic attitudes continue hampering the development of an internationalized university community. Here, strategies of reciprocal accommodation should be carefully executed in order to avoid Japanese students feeling "forced" to interact with international students just to fulfill the demands of internationalization, as forced accommodation will invariably result in resentment and further segregation of international students. Moreover, whereas students could be reluctant to attend psychological counseling because of its stigma, circles of support coordinated by students and for students, could provide a casual environment in which acculturative stress and related feelings of inadequacy and loneliness are shared.

Institutional Readiness towards Internationalization

The University of Tsukuba's G30 website states that the university not only welcomes foreign students, but also understands them, and has suitable experience to make students' time in Tsukuba and Japan enjoyable and stimulating (University of Tsukuba, 2011b). When students were asked to giver their opinions on this statement, they focused their assessments on unfulfilled expectations and institutional challenges. In Abigail's view:

> Studying in a Japanese university is not for the weak-hearted, it's not for the faint-hearted. I've known people who have gone literally crazy or depressed here, even at departments that are supposed to be foreign-friendly.

Martin argued that there was an "evident and unfortunate" lack (and institutional promotion) of integration between foreign and Japanese students. For Martin, a key element of the university's internationalization is to "break the spheres" of both, foreign and Japanese students as there is "no bridge of communication" between them. Even though Martin had the opportunity to attend a lunch (a couple of times) in which the president of the university met with foreign students, he felt there was "not a single way" in which international students could give the president any feedback on their experiences, issues, and challenges as once the "food runs out, people leave," with no discussion a posteriori. Condoning his "many moments of depression and loneliness" in which he felt he did not belong in the university, Martin's overall evaluation remained positive:

> I developed as a human being and I also think that studying in Japan allowed me to feel free to experiment with things that I would not have done in other countries, including my own; such as arts, sports, and personal style. Japan is a country that looks to the East and West so I consider it a remarkable experience.

Joseph, however, had a less optimistic viewpoint:

> With the G30, more professors have to be able to teach in English and provide more materials in English but some think it is a sign of "Westernization" of Japanese higher education, so they tend to resist the transition. I don't know how the change is going to be possible. The university staff is not ready for it.

Noel, a professor of Economics at the Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, also commented that compared to other universities in the world with ambitions of internationalization, there was "still a lot to do" at Tsukuba University. To him, these changes were a "technicality":

> Nobody is asking Japanese people to change the way they are. It's mostly about the availability of administrative services and materials in English for foreign students. I don't think it's an unsolvable problem.

Conversely, Osamu opined that albeit the University of Tsukuba was doing "a good job" on its internationalization, he was not satisfied with current state of affairs, as this process was about creating new roles for the universities in Japan and for Japan within the global society. He continued:

> We've to upgrade facilities and pay more attention to creating a globalized atmosphere and globalized attitudes.

Overall, it can be noted that the main challenges of the University of Tsukuba vis-à-vis internationalization are concomitant with underlying sclerotic institutional structures. Whereas the improvement of facilities and availability of paperwork in English can be achieved relatively fast, the change in perception and attitude of administrators, faculty members, and students entails a lengthy process of negotiation and adjustment. Likewise, the university's commitment towards the training of the next generation of international researchers poses a significant challenge in a climate of skepticism and budget constraints, particularly beyond the 5-year subsidy of the Global 30. Moreover, daily socialization between Japanese and international students as well as adaptation of international students are still deep-seated issues for the University of Tsukuba. Thus, in order to truly give international students (and faculty) an enjoyable and stimulating experience, institutional mechanisms of meeting each other halfway—rather than continuing domesticating the foreign—need to be enacted.

CONCLUSIONS

Building world-renowned universities through top-level teaching and research while nurturing the growth and diversification of student mobility is a monumental task. Despite the fact that systemic internationalization of Japanese higher education is yet to be realized, policy directions as those embedded in the Global 30 seem to be calibrating a potential vantage point of social engineering.

The examination of the internationalization of Tsukuba University through the narratives of its students, faculty members, and administrators suggests an intricate construction and deconstruction of *uchinaru kokusaika* vis-à-vis institutional flexibility. Whether the current internationalization of Japanese higher education involves exploratory stages or rhetorical devices, universities such as Tsukuba are undergoing dynamics of faster accommodation. This transitory accommodation, however, should not entail an end in itself, particularly in matters related to the improvement of the learning environment, the strengthening of top-level research production, and the diversification of staff and faculty. As a multilayered and multidimensional process, the internationalization of Japanese universities such as Tsukuba's needs to go hand in hand with the perception and experience of international and Japanese students and faculty members alike, through continuous surveys to adjust the pace, scope, and means of implementation of an eventual internationalization.

Even though greater inflow of international students could act as catalysts of a changing demography and institutions in Japan, the reluctance to offer tenured positions to foreign faculty members and solid employment prospects to graduates will severely weaken the chances of renovating Japanese higher education, and therefore, long-term national economic competitiveness. Equally important is to shed light onto the vulnerability of international students as a means of short-term marketization gain for Japanese universities. In other words, there is an urgency to shift from the quantitative target of 300,000 international students to a qualitative target in which international students in Japanese universities act as agents of institutional synergy and renewal. In this sense, international students need to feel they belong to the G30 universities as an intrinsic part of said institutions, by contributing to their academic endeavor and prestige. This could be achieved particularly through the buttressing of the relationship between faculty members and international students to foster collaborative research. Now more than ever, Japan's dilemma of openness vis-à-vis closeness represents a matter of institutional survival that cannot longer be fixed through the gloss of empty rhetoric.

Finally, the Global 30 entails a malleable process in which the Japanese higher education institutions, social milieu, and employment market need to be in sync to allow for a bona fide internationalization. Low enthusiasm and lack of commitment on behalf of the Global 30 universities will invariably impede the overall reform and structural change of Japanese universities. Without a doubt, these are challenging times for Japanese universities in which a middle ground has to be reached in order to secure their quality education and financial viability.

NOTES

1 For the purpose of this chapter international and foreign student will be use as synonyms.

2 English-speaking countries such as United States, United Kingdom, Australia, and Canada receive 54% of all international students in the OECD area (OECD, 2004, 2).

3 These are Akita International University (Faculty of International Liberal Arts), Tokyo Christian University (Faculty of Theology), Sophia University (Faculty of Liberal Arts), Waseda University (School of International Liberal Studies), and Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (College of Asia Pacific Studies and College of International Management).

4 The scheme includes financial assistance of ¥200-400 million for five years and overseas liaison offices in Egypt, Germany, India, Russia, Tunisia, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam (MEXT, 2009).

5 Tohoku University, University of Tsukuba, The University of Tokyo, Nagoya University, Kyoto University, Osaka University, Kyusyu University, Keio University, Sophia University, Meiji University, Waseda University, Doshisha University, and Ritsumeikan University.

6 In this sense, government would expand the number of overseas Japanese-language facilities 10-fold (Burgess, 2010).

[7] According to JASSO (2011, 5), 95% of Japanese companies require language proficiency beyond conversational Japanese and 68.8% of companies require sufficient language skills to write reports, business letters, and related documents.

[8] The concept of technopoles encompasses a diversity of other labels, such as techno-park, science city, techno-industrial complex, and knowledge-intensive clusters. A technopole is a “hinterland” of distinctive architecture, urban planning, and top-notch physical infrastructure often focused on sectors such as electronics, IT, new materials, biomedical and biotechnological sciences, ICT, and nanotechnology. A technopole is built not only to foster innovation but also to reconfigure the geospatial distribution of economic activities by concentrating a large pool of human and material resources. *See* Castells and Hall (1994).

[9] Tsukuba Town was annexed in 1988 and Kukizaki Town in 2002.

[10] As of Feb. 1, 2011 the total number of exchange agreements of University of Tsukuba is 219 (54 countries, areas, and United Nations). Of these, 52 agreements are at the university level and 167 are at the department level. The type of exchanges includes undergraduate and graduate students, faculty members, cooperative, and information exchanges (University of Tsukuba, 2011c).

[11] Tsukuba City is committed to halve carbon dioxide emissions by 2030 based upon four pillars; 1) environmental education of low-carbon awareness; 2) introduction of a new low-carbon traffic system; 3) creation of a low-carbon rural space; and 4) development of an experimental low-carbon town (Tsukuba City, 2009).

[12] Graduate School of Pure and Applied Sciences, Graduate School of Systems and Information Engineering, Graduate School of Life and Environmental Sciences, Graduate School of Comprehensive Human Sciences, and the Graduate School of Library, Information and Media Studies.

[13] The Café Marhaban, however, will be closed from late-March 2013 to mid-January 2014 as the result of building renovation (University of Tsukuba Koseikai, 2013).

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Grace Gonzalez Basurto
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
International Christian University
Center for the Study of the Creative Economy
Doshisha University

PAUL S. HANSEN

10. BETWIXT AND BETWEEN JA

Japan, Jamaica, Agriculture, Education and the Will to Employment

INTRODUCTION

The title of this chapter, *Betwixt and Between JA: Japan, Jamaica, Agriculture, Education and the Will to Employment,* is loaded with references, some obvious, others less so. First, and intentionally ambiguous, JA is an acronym. It can stand for the *Japan Agriculture Cooperative*, Japan's national agriculture society. Or, alternatively, it can stand for the *Jamaican Agricultural Society*, that island's national agriculture cooperative. My doctoral research focused on the rapid industrialization of dairy farms on Hokkaido, the northernmost Japanese island. My subsequent research focused on recent attempts to reinvigorate Jamaica's ailing dairy farms. And my current interest is in contrasting and comparing these animal-human-technology island industries in the face of ever-increasing pressures to privatize and globalize. In the context of both JAs, farmers and farm cooperatives are forced to respond to international trends and neoliberal politics; for example the maneuverings of transnational agriculture companies, the dumping of products, or multinational trade negotiations. Although dairy farmers labor at home, quite literally in many cases, the contemporary dairy business is international with innumerable linkages that are truly global in scope. In order to survive in this competitive world industry, farmers – and when effective, related government institutions – must function with eyes that are domestically attuned and simultaneously cast abroad. For example, the U.S. and New Zealand are largely viewed as the main global competitors, rivals, evils, while at the same time they are acknowledged as the key innovators and educators in terms of large-scale dairy production and promotion in both Japan and Jamaica, or indeed more broadly, in North Asia and the Caribbean.

All this is to say, that the *business* of contemporary agriculture is not simply a local affair, it influences and is influenced by international fluxes and flows of labor, ideas, commodities, and practices that run north, south, east and west. These are contingencies that are largely out of the control of domestic producers, but with which they must engage if they want to continue. Perhaps agriculture and its national institutions seem an odd referential fulcrum point in a book about issues in Japanese higher education. However, as the reader continues on, I suggest that the business and market sustainability side of higher education is in some respects remarkably similar to agriculture. Imported labor and laborers are essential to both

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 159–175.

industries. Both industries have protectionist and nationalist tendencies. They must focus inwardly, producing a product affordable and applicable for the local market, and outwardly, deciding what aspects of the business to subsidize or what aspects to let compete in order to survive. Thus, university education mirrors agriculture in terms of its promotion and politics as well. Indeed, as has been argued many times before, to cultivate (or culture) and promote a particular type of national worker, sexuality and citizen seems to be one primary focus of Japanese higher education (cf. Bix, 2000, 56–81; Kambayashi, Morita, & Okabe, 2008; Frühstück, 2003; McVeigh, 2002; Hansen, 2014 in terms of "cultivating" national(ist) agriculture). That is, beyond a general supply, there are particular industry standards and markets in which agricultural or educational products are expected to fit in Japan.

Second and related, the "betwixt and between" in my title is lifted from anthropologist Victor Turner's work on ritual and liminality (Turner, 1967). In anthropology, the discipline in which I am trained and the department with which I am associated at the Japanese national university where I work, long-term fieldwork is largely regarded as a transformative rite of passage. Broadly outlined, fieldwork is a period of time, usually more than a year, wherein a would-be anthropologist stumbles along gradually gaining competence, confidence, and confidantes in a foreign socio-cultural milieu. In the standard issue version, or some might say the popular mythology, of the discipline (cf. Clifford, 1997; Rabinow & Marcus, 2008), out of this contract-like or bracketed long-term socio-cultural immersion it is hoped that neophyte anthropologists will come to understand the society or culture of the "Other" and return "home" to report. Ostensibly home for me in this context would be Canada or maybe England. It would not be where I conducted fieldwork in rural Hokkaido or semirural Honshu, the actual places where I continue to live and work. In short, I have done research in Japan and remained as a state employee. Indeed, Japan is home to many similar such anthropologist/educators living betwixt and between. This is because, I suggest, such liminal expatriates are often never at home. It is difficult to settle down riding one ambiguous contact to the next.

In my case there is another form of betweenness given the "cosmopolitical" nature of my ethnographic fieldwork. As noted above, I could not limit my research focus to local conditions alone. Thus, alongside my employment as an educator in Japan, the other sides of an anthropologist's academic survival, namely the roles of researcher and author, have also been marked by movement and ambiguity; betwixt and between domestic regions, government ministries, nation-states, transnational companies. This begs a central question expanded upon in large part auto-ethnographically in this chapter. Where is "there" and who are "they" anymore?

Depending on *what* one is researching, the being "there" of ethnographic fieldwork has changed. "There" in 2014, whether in Japan or Jamaica, the prefecture of Hokkaido or the parish of Saint Thomas, is in many instances a far less bounded place than the "there" of 1964 or 1994. Progressively, locations have become "non-places" areas where traditionally constructed boundaries, categories, and distinctions are artfully dodged or deconstructed by the agents who utilize such spaces (Augé, 1995).

Places are never the same twice. Yet they are the loci of where the contingencies of ecology, perceptions, and embodiment "wayfare" or entwine in an ever-creative and creating way (Ingold, 2011). Today, many people live lives of unplanned mobility by chance or choice (Rapport, 2012). Finally, in an elusive hope to square the past with the present and people with place, change is inevitable and we find that even with the venerable E. E. Evans-Pritchard as our textual guide, for example, "the Zande are no longer themselves" (Geertz, 1988, 5). So, if *there* as a bounded place alongside *they* as a bounded people are no longer clear cut, if ever they were, then the remaining questions are what and how? What should anthropologists focus on to understand contemporary life? How does one go about doing that?

To put this more concretely, focusing research on the dairy business or the business of education is not to describe Japan in some comprehensive sense, nor is it to enlighten readers as to the core of Jamaican social structure or culture *per se*. Research must reach both within and beyond borders; it must be centered on concepts, classic notions such as exchange or kinship and contemporary issues such as flexible personhood or neo-liberal subjectivity. Research must be open to the processes through which relationships unfold in the present tense, not relations as constructed in the past, real or imagined, only to be transposed onto people and places making their way through the world today. In sum, the betwixt and between nature of JA could be expanded. I could easily do the same comparative research on the dairy industry in another country beginning with the letter J; Jordan or Jersey for example. This is because people in Jordan and Jersey, much as those in Japan and Jamaica, are not types, nor placeholders for sociological categories. They are particular people with particular and unique relations who, like all people, find themselves betwixt and between in their dealings in the dairy business. To be a producer, customer, or indeed a cow is to be engaged in specific and particular relations; a loci within meshworks of local and international power (Ingold, 2011). This is a condition that also has clear resonances with higher education in Japan. For it is the particular meshing or entanglement of the global and local environment with educators, administrators, politicians, and businesses, not to forget the yearly "herd" of students – funneled this way and that like dairy cows, their interests often the most short-term and marginalized in the production system – that gives life to the monolith referred to as Japanese higher education.

Finally, the "will to employment" in my title is a nod to Nietzsche's "will to power" ([1883] 2005). It draws the two aforementioned discussions together. While Nietzsche posited that the drive for power often overrides the evolutionary will to survive, I want to discuss this idea in terms of academic survival; survival that can no longer be sustained at the local or even national level alone. It, too, is dependent upon real international relationships of power. As the other offerings in this volume also attest, this is a situation particularly acute from the micro level perspective of individuals who are working or have worked with and within the Japanese higher education system. What's in a name? Japanese JA and Jamaican JA carry different nuances as do assistant professor and its Japanese translation *jokyōju*. The answer to this nuanced question is not found in direct translation. For example, there are "full professors" in Japan without a Ph.D., a situation uncommon for even a lecturer or assistant professor in the Anglophone academy. The answer is availed through examining existing practices firsthand, moving betwixt and between words, policies, people and institutions. From a micro perspective, how can one will one's way to employment as a foreign anthropologist in Japan? What does one need to do? These indeed become questions of personal survival. To answer such particular questions, what follows is largely written from an auto-ethnographic perspective. It is the tale of one educator-author-anthropologist; a case study from inside one institution laying bare its betwixtness and betweenness, its contradictions and inconsistencies.

In Japan the quest for academic employment is pursued on two often contradictory playing fields; what is actually said or in print and what remains unsaid and unwritten. Surely this is the case in other national contexts as well, but the ante is perhaps upped in Japan. At the risk of revisiting an already tired essentialist trope, I suggest that institutions in Japan often tend to rely on and function in terms of *tatemae* (the public or stated intention) and *honne* (the actual intention). To complicate matters, and as discussed by every offering in this edited book, the Japanese higher education system is in the midst of structural changes that are as clearly needed as they are often cleverly manipulated or outwardly resisted. I argue that this uncertainty has a particular nuance for *gaikokujin* (literally, "outside country people") as opposed to *Nihonjin* (Japanese people). Building from this logic, the basic working assumption in Japan is that Japanese universities are inherently different when compared to non-Japanese universities. In such a context the question becomes: What will make Japanese universities international, if surviving in a national milieu is ostensibly their only concern? Furthermore, how can one engage with "the global" if to be international is seen as a counterpoint to being Japanese? Liminal conditions indeed, but unlike the mapped out rituals of the *Ndembu* studied by Turner (1967), where the resulting changes from ritual are an expected outcome of transition, one is ferried from boy to man for example, presently there is little understanding of what lies on the other side of the Japanese university reformist threshold nor much coherent discussion in regard to future expectations. Will Japanese universities, beyond a handful of top-institutions, will their way forward, can they survive internationalization? Can foreign academics survive or thrive in Japan?

In what follows I suggest that the neoliberal and nationalist discourse used by the reformers of Japanese higher education – hollow catchphrases like international or global (cf. Burgess et al., 2010; Rivers, 2010) – have been usurped by savvy conservative scholars. Nevertheless, they can equally be adopted and adapted by cosmopolitan or concept-oriented anthropologists. This is a battleground over how the purpose of a university is imagined and put into practice for 21st century Japan. For the conservatives, I will outline, this is a will to solidify or entrench themselves further in the current system. This can perhaps be seen as a risk aversion strategy (Aspinall this volume). In this sense, to be international is to prove the uniqueness of the nation (while equating the state and dominant *ethnie*) with the intent of internationalization being nationalistic, to thrust Japan into a position of power in a "global" research and education system. But for the latter, I suggest, such terms can be deployed for short-term advantage in getting immediate funding or contract positions. They can be finessed to support cosmopolitan and creative efforts. Only time will tell the full story in regard to more concrete employment stability for non-Japanese in Japan, specifically in the field of anthropology.

A TALE OF ONE AMONGST MANY

Ethnography is particularly valuable in underscoring the interplay of what is both ubiquitous and anomalous. Yet unfortunately, from the perspective of this author, in anthropological monographs what is particular tends to be trumped by what is common (For similar perspectives see Ingold, 2011; Jackson, 2013; Kohn, 2013; Rapport, 2012). In what follows, I present how the university where I work, the department that I work in, and my role as anthropologist/educator in that institution are a melding of both common and unique conditions and contingencies. That is to say, in some ways I am a fairly typical foreign anthropologist working in Japan, and in other ways my situation is quite particular, perhaps even peculiar.

At the time of writing this chapter I am halfway through a second two-year contract as an anthropologist in a top-ten Japanese national university. I was hired in a nontenure track position with two-year contracts that are renewable twice, making for a potential six-year term in total. To be clear, these are not automatic extensions. One must reapply, submitting an updated CV, a list of extracurricular services, a recent publications list, *etcetera*, approximately six months before the end of the contract. Several rumors surround this process. On the one hand, I have been told that the production of these documents is a mere formality, albeit a rather fastidious and extremely time-consuming one. An employee is expected to stay on for the full *potential* of their contract, and administratively plans are devised to that effect. On the other hand, I have been told that one must publish five articles over the two-year term and be careful not to ruffle any higher ranking feathers (meaning virtually all other academic staff members) to be considered for reappointment. To my knowledge, there is no clear set of guidelines as to what is required to have a contract reissued or for a successful tenure review promised at the end of the six years. In sum, requirements for extension and tenure are largely tacit; those who are in the know, know. One does need to submit the courses one is teaching for the following year at around the same time as the contract extension. These documents are quite particular in terms of content. For example, in the past I have submitted documentation outlining daily plans for 15 classes on The Anthropology of Animal-Human-Technology and a seminar in Caribbean Ethnographies. The likelihood that someone lies in wait to teach these particular courses seems low. Then again, many Japanese colleagues change class times or course content with a seemingly whimsical élan, so there remains uncertainty, a contractual precariousness wherein one is forced to play along with the assumption that despite appearances, one's contract renewal is a sure thing. For my first contract extension I handed in the aforementioned documentation months before the start of the new term. Indeed, so certain was I about the renewal that I had forgotten about it. However, I was officially told my current contract was extended two weeks before the start of term. I then saw the altered contract on the first day of work.

I work in the Department of Anthropology and Folklore within The Graduate School of Anthropology and History.[1] The department includes one senior anthropologist, a junior adjunct anthropologist, and five folklore scholars, at varying levels of their careers. All are ethnically Japanese, all but one are male. While being in an anthropology department conjoined with folklore was not unusual in the past, it is becoming rarer. Nevertheless, anthropology in Japan has had a close historical connection with *minzokugaku* (folkloristics); an area studies paradigm rooted in the study of local tales, traditions, and rituals in Japan or its former colonies. Indeed, all of the aforementioned folklorists have at some point researched Japan, though this is usually augmented with research in other areas of East Asia. To some extent this is true of anthropology as well. My direct boss, the other sole full-time departmental anthropologist, has conducted fieldwork in India and Africa, but more recently has focused on disaster in Japan all with a strong theoretical framework derived and adapted from a heady mixture of continental philosophy, Actor Network Theory, and poststructural thought, with ethnographic data being an essential component for thinking through connections and processes. One reason I was considered for my job originally, I suspect, is due to my own theoretical trajectory. It does not mirror these theoretical interests but it is certainly in conversation with these sorts of philosophical and social theory concerns. The adjunct is, like me, an assistant professor. He has conducted extensive fieldwork in Turkey and more recently in northern Japan. However, one difference is our contract. He is on a five-year contract with no renewals, followed by a guaranteed tenure review. As a rising superstar in Japanese anthropology, well published and well liked, should he wish to stay after five years there seems little problem. My case is far less straightforward.

In our department we teach all undergraduate classes in Japanese. The fact that I teach in Japanese is a shock to people who know me, given that my Japanese is largely self-taught, and I function at a none-too-polite intermediate level on a good day. In the main, my Japanese language was picked up from working on a Hokkaido dairy farm, and student reactions leap from terror to laughter when I ask them to move with "*hora, ike*" (look here, get going) as one might intone in coaxing a drowsy cow to move. Aside from friends, and most of my students on their first day of class, it was a shock to me when I started my job as well. I found out two weeks before I started teaching that I was expected to instruct in Japanese. Most of my application processes and materials to that point, from interview to approved lesson-plans, were in English. If compared to many European higher education institutions, this scenario is odd. Surely it is odd in a university where, as noted below, the words "international" and "global" are deployed as a sort of futuristic institutional mantra. At many internationally inclined institutions in Germany or Holland for example, where classes are often taught in English but daily life is conducted in a regional language, universities provide non-native staff with lessons in the native language. Obviously this is not done to improve the quality of teaching, which, again, is in English, but to improve relations with nonacademic staff and buttress the quality of life for all involved. That said, I suspect if a newcomer felt confident and made overtures that they were interested in teaching in the local language, and held passable competence, a university might be persuaded to accommodate such a request. Thus, what is perhaps more unusual than my teaching undergraduate courses in Japanese is that the university does not have any program to teach the Japanese language to its non-native speaking staff! Indeed, in terms of staff development, there is no form of assistance offered for non-native speakers of Japanese at all. The inescapable assumption is that everybody functions at native or near-native level Japanese, or alternatively, employees have unofficial or tacit avenues to information such as concerned bilingual colleagues or office staff. Betwixt and between my immediate boss, who as full professor wields an impressive *inkan* (official stamp), the saintly staff in our departmental office, the private Japanese teacher that I provide for myself, and the occasional student intermediary, I have thus far been able to hop from stone to stone above a raging torrent of *adminese* (Aspinall, Eades, & Poole, in this volume). To reiterate, in this situation I may be particularly oddly placed, but I am not alone. Over the last few years I have found that many foreign university educators in Japan, if plied with a beer or two, are more than willing to confide that they are constantly bombarded with incomprehensible emails or attend numerous meetings where even the topic seems elusive. The purpose is presence: it is the image of participation that is primary, comprehension is unquestioned or, one must assume, irrelevant. That I have now become one among these grumbling scholars is due to my particular strange set of circumstances, but stranger still to me is that the system more or less functions without major incident. This point is telling in itself.

Most native Anglophones, Japanese ability notwithstanding, are hired on contract to teach English content courses, for example introduction to sociology or English for academic purposes. Under the preview of the ever-morphing Global 30 program discussed below, some are hired to teach Japanese culture in English to international students. Thus usually, though not always, given these work conditions, most Anglophone anthropologists in Japan have conducted the lion's share of their fieldwork in Japan, and so frequently their Japanese language skills are quite good. To some degree they can, (pleasantly or painfully) engage in university administrative life, which, at least in my case, is exclusively, vehemently, adamantly Japanese. But this makes for another peculiar set of linguistic expectations for staff and students. Sandwiched between monolingual undergraduates and university administration, we currently teach all of our anthropology graduate classes in English! At the time of writing this chapter we have one Korean graduate student (with outstanding Japanese and English skills, conducting fieldwork in Japan) and six Japanese students, all but one of whom have conducted their fieldwork outside of Japan. They have varying degrees of English communicative competency, from fluent to fumbling.

Thus, graduate students represent another betwixt and between point in regard to communication; for some, particularly those who have spent time abroad, English is our class internal and external language, for most it is a hybrid language (one sometimes we jokingly call *P-go* (Paul's pidgin)), and for a few (usually those of a folkloric bent), communication is resolutely Japanese and rarely forthcoming.

There are a couple of points worth highlighting. Firstly, outside of graduate level course work, the administrative staff and arguably the lion's share of the faculty do not (not to say cannot) function at even the most rudimentary level of the English language. Nor, even when politely asked, do many seem capable of communicating in a less parochial form of administrative Japanese. Impenetrably vague or polite language alongside context free and incomprehensible bullet-point-like kanji (frequently misunderstood by native Japanese speakers not exposed to the daily discursive flow of university documentation) are common. Secondly, and ironically, if one wants to do a graduate degree, then English competency is required. Yet, like Japanese language for staff, English is not taught at this level. In sum, if an undergraduate student with native or near native fluency in Japanese comes to us interested in Japan, we have them covered; English is not necessary. A graduate student who can functionally understand English *before* starting the program and write in academic-level Japanese can find a place in our department without issue. However, where exactly does this place attempts to internationalize? For example, what about that would-be student or researcher who wants to be trained in Japan but does not want to focus their research on Japan or in Japanese? Or alternatively, individuals who can function at a high level of Japanese but need to improve in order to have functional English in order to present their research at an international conference for example? How well are their hopes and needs addressed in a system that, as I will expand upon below, endlessly promotes itself as global and international?

The Japanese government's notion of globalization and internationalization has produced a number of debates. One prominent comment is that nationalist sentiment is never far from the core of Japan's internationalization initiatives; the constant conflation of state and ethnicity for example. My purpose in the following section is not to delve into the sizable canon of literature regarding Japan's Post-Meiji dialectic dance with all things foreign – let *katakana*ization speak to its own confusions (Guarné, 2013). Instead I want to discuss a few concrete ethnographic examples that demonstrate how the discourse of globalization or internationalization is currently used in academic practice in Japanese higher education, specifically in the national university and faculty in which I work. To start, I offer some statistics in relation to policy objectives. I then briefly discuss a recent rebirth of a nationwide policy initiative. Finally, I dissect some promotion materials and an announcement for a new research center that circulated during a recent faculty meeting.

Before proceeding however, it is essential to note that I am not marking the university in which I work as particularly duplicitous.[2] According to several independent researchers (that is to say, people outside the system), "my" university is considered fairly progressive in terms of its employment and education practices (cf. Rivers, 2010). But this in itself reflects back upon the higher education system more broadly in Japan. For if what I describe below is considered progressive and liberal, then conservative must be an interesting world indeed. But to be clear, my auto-ethnographic choice is just that. It is an ethnographic example that largely has to do with my having the most experience at a specific institution, and indeed, in a specific department. I am not singling it out as particularly good or bad. It is what it is; an established department in a convoluted faculty system within a high- ranking, science-oriented, national university.

WHEN ALL IS SAID AND DONE

It is common knowledge that Japan has a rapidly aging and declining population. With a dearth of teens, university enrolments are down and for universities to survive – and nationally there are around 750 of them, of varying quality, vying to do this – it is clear they need to enroll international students. More to the point at hand, Japanese universities need to be attractive options for foreign students amid a pantheon of other academic choices, both in the prospective student's home country and in comparison with other higher education options abroad, say a Brazilian or German student weighing the pros and cons of studying in their home country or deciding to study in Australia, Canada, Singapore, or Japan. One way Japan has entered this global market has been to offer generous funding packages to foreign students, especially to graduate students. I have twice been the recipient of postdoctoral funding and the envy of colleagues based in other national milieus where the distribution of funding is more competitive. Another more recent strategy has been to offer programs delivered in English. But given demographics – a decline in domestic students and an increase in international higher education options – are either of these practices practical or sustainable in the rapidly globalizing higher education market? What follows is a disentangling of what is said and what is done at my particular institution.

Again, our department currently has eight members: one woman and one foreigner (me). Our faculty has 28 members. On paper there are three women and two foreigners, though one of them is an administrative triple whammy, an early career Korean woman. Setting aside the obvious gender imbalance issue in this chapter, these numbers are easier thought of in terms of percentages perhaps. Our department has 12.5% foreign members (zero excluding me) and our faculty has a 7% foreign population (3.5% excluding me). Shifting from a departmental scope to look at faculty numbers, my faculty has 12% international graduate students and an alarming. 002% international undergraduates: one Chinese national student out of 553. Alas, she is not a student in my department. To be clear, these numbers do not include intermittent short-term exchanges; much in the way rates for tourism do not count towards national migration statistics. However, it could be argued, for example, that hard sciences are likely to attract more international students than options like learning European philosophy in Japanese or Japanese history in Japanese for that matter. So, to be fair overall to the institution and its multitude of programs, taking the student body and faculty as a whole; about 5% of faculty is foreign and 10% of students are foreign as of 2014. What is interesting here is how these numbers square with the university's own public discourse of globalization and internationalization.

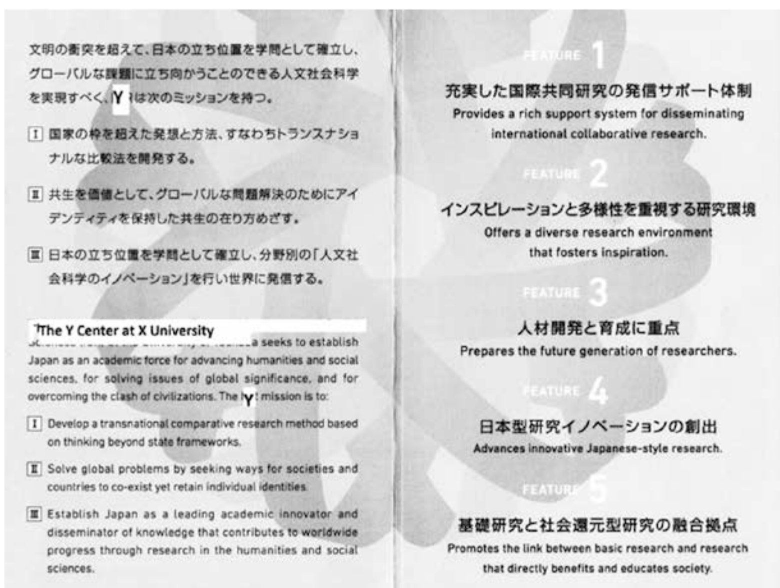
Global 30 was a government-designed initiative introduced in 2008. It was a highly funded and touted five-year plan to internationalize 13 top-tier Japanese public and private universities. The program's goals varied from university to university, but they were broadly comparable. Early on, at least at my university, there were some rather shocking oversights that hobbled the program coming out of the gate. The first was not allowing Japanese students to take part in the English language programs designed to internationalize them! Another shortsighted setback was the doling out budget cuts the year after it started (Burgess et al., 2010; Rivers, 2010). Given this "missed or missing" management, the program's globalization agenda quickly began to draw flak by conservatives inside and outside the system. So, rather than being called Global 30 Universities, and thus and linked to this bad press, many schools opted to rebrand midway through the campaign, giving birth to Global Centers of Excellence. However, failing to produce much tangible evidence in the way of internationalization, both Global 30 and Global Centers of Excellence have been given a facelift for 2014. The program has now morphed into the Super Global University program, with ten universities to be named and funded, towards much the same six-year-old goals: internationalization though increased foreign enrollment, employment, and content courses delivered in English.

Worldwide, new higher education programs stumble. It takes time to work out kinks. But making an attempt to work out kinks is the point I wish to draw attention to. A key question here is that given the numbers and demographics I mentioned, there seems to be a lack of any tangible evidence in regard to changes in hiring practices or student recruitment (Rappleye, 2013). Moreover, given the newness of the reimagined, or, perhaps better, rebranded, *sūpaa gurōbaru daigaku* initiative, is it likely that the university will meet its clearly documented and unchanged Global 30 international faculty and student objectives? Rephrasing the question; is what is said reasonable, if examined in parallel with what is done, and vice versa? Take for example this recent statement offered to would be students and employees:

> …Today, our university is one of Japan's national universities in terms of *international* student population [sic]. By the 2020 academic year, one in four students and one in ten faculty members at the University of…[X]…will be from overseas. And…[city X]… will continue with establishing harmonious coexistence with the world, encouraging exchange between *international* students and the local community, promoting *international*ization with the local character of the…[city X]…and making everyday life more *international.*
>
> Enrolment Guidebook for International Students General Information 2013–2014: 2.[3] (Emphasis on international mine)

There is a danger here for an anthropologist to play statistician, but starting with my faculty's undergraduate program; given the current .002% international undergraduate level in 2014, does what is said in this guidebook resemble what exists in practice? Barring rather extreme measures, for example banning Japanese undergraduates from entering the faculty for two years, while at the same time altering programs to be conducted in English or accepting only foreign undergraduates functioning at university level Japanese, I suggest these projections are, being kind, dubious. Looking at the university as a whole, it might be possible to double the size of the foreign faculty over the next six years. Yet this will not happen by chance, and I have seen no action taken or heard of concrete plans to accomplish this very clearly stated policy objective. I know of several cases where foreigners felt they were actively blocked from taking tenured posts and more forthcoming Japanese colleagues have confirmed as much in hushed tones, often with a conciliatory *dame da ne* (it's bad isn't it) tacked on at the end. What can one say back? *Dame da yo*. Nope, not good. Both Japanese and non-Japanese contracted staff members are part of the neoliberal university system's growing academic precariat.[4] They come and they go, and if they are foreigners they clearly go with greater frequency, whether by choice or not.

For a final example of the disconnect between language and life, take the discourse of Japan (nation) and global (international) used in this pamphlet circulated for a new research center during a faculty meeting.



文明の衝突を超えて、日本の立ち位置を学問として確立し、グローバルな課題に立ち向かうことのできる人文社会科学を実現すべく、Yは次のミッションを持つ。

Ⅰ 国家の枠を超えた発想と方法、すなわちトランスナショナルな比較法を開発する。

Ⅱ 共生を価値として、グローバルな問題解決のためにアイデンティティを保持した共生の在り方めざす。

Ⅲ 日本の立ち位置を学問として確立し、分野別の「人文社会科学のイノベーション」を行い世界に発信する。

The Y Center at X University

... seeks to establish Japan as an academic force for advancing humanities and social sciences, for solving issues of global significance, and for overcoming the clash of civilizations. The Y mission is to:

Ⅰ Develop a transnational comparative research method based on thinking beyond state frameworks.

Ⅱ Solve global problems by seeking ways for societies and countries to co-exist yet retain individual identities.

Ⅲ Establish Japan as a leading academic innovator and disseminator of knowledge that contributes to worldwide progress through research in the humanities and social sciences.

FEATURE 1

充実した国際共同研究の発信サポート体制

Provides a rich support system for disseminating international collaborative research.

FEATURE 2

インスピレーションと多様性を重視する研究環境

Offers a diverse research environment that fosters inspiration.

FEATURE 3

人材開発と育成に重点

Prepares the future generation of researchers.

FEATURE 4

日本型研究イノベーションの創出

Advances innovative Japanese-style research.

FEATURE 5

基礎研究と社会還元型研究の融合拠点

Promotes the link between basic research and research that directly benefits and educates society.

(The name of the Center has been changed to "Y" and the university "X" by the author in this document)

Linking the somesections above, the purpose of the center and the discourse utilized to promote it seems to function much how Mulgan has analyzed the public discourse surrounding agricultural promotion in Japan. Rendered through the frame of a very particular internationalization dispositif, the discourse of the explanation of this center's goals come across as utterly "schizophrenic" much like Japan's agricultural policies (Mulgan, 2006, 1). The center hopes to promote…

> Japan as an academic force…in solving issues of global significance… overcoming the clash of civilizations [!]… [Yet, in-so-doing]…thinking beyond state frameworks… [in confronting global problems again and]… establish[ing] Japan as a leading academic innovator and disseminator of knowledge.

Page two of the promotion pamphlet continues noting that the role of the center is…

> …disseminating international collaborative research…[in]…a diverse research environment…[that] advances innovative Japanese-style research…"

We might leave aside the undocumented reference to Samuel Huntington's work, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (1997) and "dissemination" as a rather unfortunate word choice given Japan's regional history. But the bizarre "pingponging" contradictions of international and national are impossible to avoid when reading the extracted sections of this scanned pamphlet. The need to document the purpose of this international center in a nationalist context underscores the conflation of *tatemae* (the public or stated intention) and *honne* (the actual intention). The goal is a will to power; to form a center that appeals to an imagined global context, but is ultimately one that can only be myopically rooted to the promotion of Japan as its anchoring point. Put another way, I doubt that one could effectively sell the same discourse, dare I say ideology, in another national context. For example, take my native Canada. Does the promotion of non-nation state oriented, Canadian style research center seem reasonable? How exactly could a would-be center such as this position Canada within "the clash of civilizations"? If this sounds ludicrous, and I suggest it does, then what about replacing references to "Japan" in the above document with "Belgium" or "Peru"? Or, alternatively, what would be the effect of replacing the reference to Japan/Japanese with China/Chinese or North Korea/North Korean, would this not seem, even more so to Japanese ears, immediately nationalist or decidedly not international.

Such neoliberal, arguably neonationalist, versions of internationalization and globalization can be viewed negatively in a number of ways; a blinkered view of the purpose of a university education, impossible policy claims leading to disingenuous promotional materials or even employment contracts, and contradictory statements of purpose woven into the very constitutive fiber of centers, faculties, departments. Numerous scholars, foreign and Japanese, have functioned as both critics and apologists on these issues. Wearing my opinion on my sleeve rather than up it, I would say that on an administrative level, and despite the best efforts and intentions of many of my colleagues, my university has clearly not lived up to its own promises and premises in regard to internationalization. From the evidence I have put forth, it should be clear that this is not a value statement. Closing with the same cliché from the previous section, it is what it is.

WILLING ONE'S WAY BETWEEN INSTITUTIONS, INTENSIONS, AND NEOLIBERAL REALITIES

To conclude, I offer an anecdote, a conversation the likes of which I suspect is fairly common amongst foreigners working in the Japanese higher education system. An American friend teaching at highly ranked private Japanese university and I were having a beer at an Irish styled "pub-from-a-box" in Tokyo. Discussion rolled around to work. We shared similar stories, the shop-talk grumblings of contracted junior academics; meetings, meetings everywhere, and hardly any point to make. But indeed, things could be worse, we concurred, and talk briefly turned to the many graduates we know who do not have teaching posts at all. Another beer down the road, we discussed whether we saw our futures in Japan. We agreed that there are a variety of push and pull factors, but one key factor is the lack of job security, especially for foreigners. We agreed that most people on short-term contracts with vague expectations are unwilling to make work plans beyond the next lesson. There is always some solace in this, however. The old standby comment arises; "if gets that bad, you can always go." Contracts work two ways, something Japanese employers seem slow to comprehend. Easing into beer number three, or it could have been our fourth, we decided that despite all the talk of global *this* and international *that*, very little seems to be actually changing in our respective universities despite the fact that the academic and employment environment outside of Japan is rapidly changing. Over the last 10 years other countries in Asia have started to compete for would-be students and academics; China, Hong Kong, Korea, and Singapore have all started to offer alternate and appealing employment and education options.[5] Moreover, jobs do occasionally arise in our home countries and other attractive places; surly a post in the Bahamas would have perks. Increasingly prone to speaking allegorically after a few drinks, I stated something along the lines of:

> …watching a my university is like watching a dinosaur in a snowstorm… [hearty laughter prompting what my friend hopes to be a drink-too-many rant]… It makes lots of noise. It is the master of the world it knows. And it has powerful teeth to snap and appendages to mobilize. But the environment is changing and it is not. Gradually its body is too cumbersome to move. The slower it gets the more tragic it seems. Its roar even becomes comical. It simply cannot adapt…a dinosaur in a snowstorm, that doesn't end well does it?

For foreign academics to survive in this environment, you need to stay a step ahead of the proverbial dinosaur, one with the words “international” and “global” chief in its roar; but how?

While I have painted a somewhat bleak picture in terms of any immediate internationalization in Japanese higher education, at least where I work, foreign researchers/educators/authors in Japan interested in following cosmopolitan connections and focusing on concepts over area studies or bounded field sites live in uncertain, but not necessarily perilous times. Much as neoliberal policies shape the lives of informants, Jamaican or Japanese dairy farmers in my case, they also shape the way educators must realistically approach their own opportunities for employment and research. Flexible anthropologists with mobile concepts can deploy the same internationalization discourse as neoliberal institutions or funding agencies. The rhetoric of globalization and internationalization in concert with the demographic factors underpinning the survival of Japan’s university system combine to allow for a particular type of neoliberal research terrain and subject. One whereby higher education mirrors business and borders are not enacted by nations but through one’s ability for mobility in transnational places (Ong, 2006, 139–156). In short and in fact, consumers of higher education can give or take Japan. It is one option amongst many. But Japanese universities need students because domestic ones alone cannot feed the beast.

Given these conditions and Japan’s penchant for carefully crafted closure, the environment is indeed a precarious one (Allison, 2013). But as she notes, precariousness was on the Japanese horizon before 3/11 with other labels like *Japan after Japan* (Harootunian & Yoda (eds.), 2006). Thus there is another dinosaur in the room besides the domestic university. What is rarely spoken of in social theory of Japan is the notion of cosmopolitan subjectivities and situations (cf. Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu (eds.), 2008). Setting aside neo-Kantian cosmopolitans of opportunity (cf. Appiah, 2005; Rapport, 2012), or individuals who embrace global connections by choice, there is a “forced cosmopolitanism” encroaching on Japan (Beck, 2009). These are not cosmopolitan connections made through the will, through rational decision or acts of agency, but existing conditions of globalization and neoliberalism thrust upon inhabitants; Fukushima’s radiation pushed beyond borders and into the world, the world’s educational standards pushing back upon Japan. Milking that cliché again, it is what it is; a point in human history when decisiveness is clouded by a fog of complexity and fact downgraded to yet just another expert’s opinion.

Precariousness and cosmopolitics clearly lead to employment opportunities in Japan – albeit of a perennially nontenured, survivalist and liminal kind. Nonarea focused researchers can often “tweak” a multisited and theory-oriented research project to fit with what institutions claim they want, by being equally “international” while being equally elusive and vague. One must will their way to employment playing the same game. As long as the discourse continues hoping for a worldly Japan – Global 30, Global Centers of Excellence, Supercalafragulisticexpiala Global – jobs for foreign educators, along with open-ended research budgets begging for the word international, are likely to remain.

EPILOGUE

As any aspiring academic soon learns the transition from a presented paper to a published one takes time. And time waits for no anthropologist. Much to my surprise, after the original draft of this chapter was submitted I was visited by the assistant to the president of the university. I was told that the review to be selected as a Super Global university was an ongoing process but that the university decided to continue its past G30 initiative with or without government support. I was told that there is a push from the president's office to attract foreign students. While these would-be students must take a mandatory Japanese course, the goal is for them to take content courses in English and, all going well, come out with a Japanese BA/BSc in four years. Despite having no former relation to the G30 program, in the summer of 2014 I was sent to recruit students from the eastern US and a colleague was sent to recruit in California. We were armed with promotional materials about the livability of the area around the university, the dedication the university has to globalizing, and, I suspect most importantly for students, the relative low-cost of tuition, quality of the newly built on campus housing and a 'first year free' tuition policy. It is clear that the university is taking sizable steps to bring outside students in at a fiscal loss. But is this push towards engaging a globalized future *tatemae*? Is it *honne*? For this anthropologist/author/educator and perennially skeptic participant observer, it was what it was; an opportunity to prove my tenure worthiness to an institution while gaining some air miles and pizza without mayo, corn, or seaweed. But stepping aside from the pessimism that many feel about change, could this latest push, promotion, propaganda in fact be the start of the real thing? Are we, those of us presently working in Japan, witness to a change in the country's approach to higher education?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I thank the students, support staff, and colleagues who, without any support from internationalization ideologues, make my daily functioning in a Japanese university possible and largely pleasurable. I thank Emma Cook, John Mock, and Debra Ochi for attending the panel that this paper-in-process was prepared for and offering their comments. Finally, I thank Laura Dales and John Mock for offering enlightening suggestions and underscoring that I can occasionally be incompressible in my native tongue as well.

NOTES

[1] I am comparing the system and the various academic levels of employment here in more or less North American university *lingua franca.* However, the fact is my particular university is also quite unlike many other domestic Japanese universities in its rather convoluted and circuitous interconnections and categories. One teaches in a different college for undergraduates and graduates, for example. In official publications, the university prides itself on its uniqueness in this regard and is self-congratulatory about its "futureship" [sic] as a "top 50 under 50" university. These are points often commented on by my Japanese colleagues as well, usually relating about the university and in particular its administrative bodies to me in vernacular such as *cho fukuzatsu* (extremely complicated), *X kankei wa dai tai imiga nai kana* (more or less meaningless connections to X, I guess) and so on, or *X no hō hō ga zen zen wakaranai* (I have no idea how X works). In my own vernacular, it's weird space with classificatory rubrics amplifying the weirdness seemingly to a point of administrative whimsy and daring-do. Students are subjected to a freshman seminar with a large emphasis placed on just decoding the university's own administrative complexities.

[2] Some scholars clearly have marked several universities, including the one where I work, as duplicitous. Well known contrarian Arudou Debito as a long running "black list" and "green list" ranking Japanese university hiring practices and adherence to labor laws; see http://www.debito.org/blacklist.html accessed via AVG June 15, 2014.

[3] To view the full text see http://www.intersc.tsukuba.ac.jp/sites/default/files/node-files/enrollmentguide_general_0.pdf accessed via AVG June 15, 2014.

[4] While a number of papers can be found on this issue, the following paper by Ugo Rossi provides a great summary of the literature in relation to academic employment http://www.acme-journal.org/vol4/URo-E.pdf accessed via AVG June 15, 2014.

[5] See the paper by Jeremy Rappleye in references section. But for a host of reasons from a weak yen, to radiation fears, to the frequency of natural disasters, to oft commented on xenophobia and conservatism, add to the motivations of job shopping academics to increasingly pass over Japan for other options. Ten years ago given a job opportunity in Japan, Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, or China, Japan was a far more attractive choice than today.

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PART 4

CONTEXT

THOMAS HARDY

11. INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

The Beginnings

INTRODUCTION

The fruits of internationalization in Japanese education may be most readily seen at the tertiary level, as shown in the work by Eades, Cooper, and Aspinall in this volume. I suggest that the seeds are planted much earlier, at primary and secondary levels of education, in which students' expectations of what is international and what constitutes acting internationally, are first exposed.

This raises the question, what exactly do teachers and their partners, the writers of textbooks, consider being international? To answer this question, I explore the ways one team of writers of an English textbook for Japanese junior high school students come up with their own working definition of the concept of internationalization. I observe the ways they use this undeclared definition in selecting characters and the topics and situations that engage those characters.

THE RESEARCH FIELD

The considerations of internationalization under review here are primarily being played out and enacted in an English as a foreign language textbook series (Takahashi, Hardy, Negishi, & Hedai, 2011). The series covers the three years of junior high school in Japan: grades 7, 8, and 9. Each of the three books contains about 120 pages, including inside front and back covers, introduction, and appendices; 82 to 96 pages of actual text and exercises; 8 or 9 two-to-three page lessons; and 2 two-to-four page readings. The rest is composed of exercises and appendices. For simplicity, I refer to all three as "the textbooks."

The textbooks themselves form a loose narrative, set at a junior high school in a fictional suburb of one of the major Japanese cities in central Honshu, either in the Kanto region around Tokyo or the Kansai region surrounding Osaka.

There are six recurring student characters, two Japanese and four non-Japanese—two from the native English speaking countries of Australia and the United States, one from India, a country in which English is an official second language (just as it is in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Kenya, among others), and one from China, a country in which English is a foreign language, just as it is in Japan. This array of language earners broadly aligns with notion of inner, outer, and expanding circles of English

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 179–190.

(Krachu, 1989; Yamanaka, 2006). In addition, two teachers reoccur, one a Japanese teacher and the other a non-Japanese assistant language teacher. The textbooks follow these students and teachers through the three years of junior high school.

The textbooks' narrative arc follows broadly a social-psychological developmental curve. In the first book the dominant issues are related to the construction and presentation of self and identity, including chapters such as "I am Tanaka Kumi," "My Family in the UK," and "Four Seasons in Japan" in which a character recounts her activities during the preceding year. In the second book, issues dealing with community and society come into focus, including chapters such as "Enjoy Sushi," and "My Dream," which explores the characters' day-at-work experiences. The narrative arc ends in the third book with chapters dealing with world issues, including "The Story of Sadako," which tells the story of Sasaki Sadako, a young victim of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and "We Can Change Our World," in which characters outline their dreams for the future and students read about William Kamkwamba, then a young boy in rural Malawi, who cobbled together a windmill to provide electricity for his family.

Producing the textbooks for junior high school students is a long and complex process, normally involving a four-year production cycle. This begins when a new edition of the textbooks is sent to schools for classes beginning April 1. Immediately following that, sales representatives, editors, and members of the writing team get in touch with teachers and work with them in small focus groups to discover the strengths and weakness of the textbooks. They report their results to the writing team over the course of the first year. The second year the writing team and editors meet to discuss possible revisions and adjustments, new materials, and lessons to omit in the next edition. This opens the writing process, which lasts with varying degrees of intensity for the later half of the second and first half of the third year. As the third year ends, a completed "white" version of the textbooks, scrubbed of writers' names and publisher, is submitted to the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) for ministry vetting. The ministry reads the book for mechanical errors (grammar, spelling, etc.), factual accuracy (for example, a passage on dinosaurs was apparently sent to a palaeontologist to read, a conjecture based on the comments that were returned), and general acceptability (The Sea of Japan is the Sea of Japan and not the East Sea). While this is taking place, the writing team continues creating support material (such as teacher's manuals, workbooks, tests, audio materials, videos, and supplementary readings). After vetting the white book, representatives of MEXT meet with the writers and publisher with notes as to recommended changes. The writers and publisher have about a month to discuss, act on, and, more rarely, dispute, the suggested changes. This done, the textbooks and supporting material go to the printers, ready to be delivered and in classes as the fourth year ends on March 31.

I have participated with the team writing the textbooks for five editions (1997, 2002, 2006, 2012). I have served in various capacities as a proofreader (uncredited, beginning circa 1992), rewriter, editor, writer, and contributor to nearly all stages in the production cycle (excepting the actual printing and sales). The research for this article derives mostly from conversations and observations made while participating in work on the edition currently under construction.

The observations were made during meetings that took place in downtown Tokyo at and near the publisher's office and conference rooms. These were of two main types: structured meetings, writing sessions, and after work *tsukiai*. The structured meetings normally consisted of between three to five writers, all male and all employed full-time as university professors and three to five editorial staff, usually including at least one woman. These meetings broadly followed an agenda and time schedule with the senior writer present presiding. In these meetings, writers discussed the most basis matters facing them and reached decisions. These matters included the curriculum of the text series (its basic methods and goals and ways of reaching the them), its syllabus (the content to be covered, the order of covering it, and the reasons for choosing this content), and its methodology (the type of exercises, tasks, and activities, and their sequence and integration) (Nunan, 2003). The editorial staff chimed in when the writers strayed too far from the topic, provided background regarding the sometimes gnomic guidance statements from MEXT, and reminded the writers that this was a commercial enterprise and their audience of teachers and students had certain requirements, aside from the pedagogical. Writers and editorial staff communicated the decisions reached at these meetings with the 31 writers (22 male, nine female; 23 university professors, 8 teachers at junior high and high schools). The writers divided into writing teams, each assigned to selected chapters and sections, which were responsible for turning the decisions regarding curriculum, content, and methods into teachable materials.

The writing sessions normally consisted of myself and perhaps one other writer and three to five members of the editorial staff. We took the various materials contributed by writers and turned them into a more coherent whole. Three considerations dominate this process: MEXT requirements; responses to the draft material from the core writers and focus groups of teachers on whom the material had been tried; and considerations of the length, grammatical difficulty, vocabulary, and content of the material and its relation to the text series as a whole.

The third major field for observations were *tsukiai*. As Poole observes, these are "personal, and usually informal, networks and relations often maintained through eating and, especially, drinking sessions (2010, 32)". As is often the case when conducting research into Japanese community and corporate norms, many of the most enlightening conversations take place outside of official business hours and off premises when informants are relaxing after work with a drink or two and some snacks. Such was the case here.

The writers and editors know that I am conducting long-term research into the construction of the textbooks and tolerate my apparently random observations and questions about the content and process.

THE INTERNATIONAL: LIFE OUTSIDE JAPAN

One evening after a five-hour writing session revising a chapter for first-year students, the editorial staff and I moved to the nearby shop of a small chain of Japanese eating and drinking places. Eventually I got a couple of the editors talking about what, in their eyes, made the textbooks international.

"Come on, Tomasu-san, you know that," and they pointed to three or four explicit examples of the characters in episodes placed outside Japan, naming Paul's report of a spring break trip with his family to Hawaii and Emma's summer vacation trip to Australia.

While topping off their glasses of beer, I observe that these are not Japanese characters being international but two of the foreign characters just being themselves in their home countries. "Well, how about where a Japanese girl is shopping for caps. She's overseas. That's international."

I made a sound indicating that I understood but might not entirely agree. "Shopping? International? Is that the best we can do?"

They responded with examples from previous editions: a letter from one of the Japanese characters reporting on her visit to China and the Great Wall, another character from another edition who took a trip to Korea and reported on it. "And what about the dialog between Kumi [one of the recurring Japanese characters] and her home-stay family in Canada? See. The international touch is there. There might not be a lot, but it's there. But that's because the books are for Japanese students, and so they are set in Japan."

With this the editors referred to a much earlier discussion about where to place the textbook series. At that time, some of the writers argued that it would be best to set the textbook in an English-speaking country. These writers noted that, if the textbook was set in an English-speaking country, students could learn about another culture and the language naturally. They pointed out that the successful EU language program sets French language texts in France, Greek language texts in Greece, and so on. However this seemingly straightforward issue soon became complicated. In the case of English there was an embarrassment of riches, and one country would have to be chosen. Which would it be?

Other writers opposed the plan of setting the book in an English speaking country. They raised arguments with observations similar to those of Fairclough (2001) by noting that the choice of a foreign country implies an endorsement, at some level, of that country's life, culture, and politics. In addition, the most recent course of study and education goals and guidelines promulgated by MEXT (2006, 2011, 2014) strongly urged textbooks to include sections giving emphasis to "actual use situations" and "be useful in deepening the understanding of the ways of life and cultures of foreign countries and Japan."

Given these considerations, the writing team decided to set the textbooks in Japan since this was the most familiar location and where students are most likely to use English and to offer chances to deepen understanding. The eventual decision, and one that has held for all subsequent editions, was to set the textbook at a Japanese junior high school in the suburb of an unnamed major city.

I agreed with the editors that that decision severely limited the amount of material that could unabashedly fit their primary meaning of international—one of the Japanese characters living, doing, eating, and breathing outside of Japan. At the same time, I wondered if they were prepared to admit to a somewhat more expansive definition of international.

THE INTERNATIONAL: BRINGING IT TO JAPAN

The Saturday following the writing session and *tsukiai*, a formal meeting was held, with four of the chief writers, including me, and the full complement of editorial staff. Discussion mostly focused on going through suggestions submitted by the entire writing team about content and topics for the upcoming edition. Every suggestion was considered, some were almost summarily dismissed as being inappropriate for a state-approved textbook series, a few were accepted, and others lead to discussions and adaptations for possible inclusion. The meeting coming to an end, with only a third of the agenda not covered and only 45 minutes overtime, more or less normal for these events, we went again to the nearby shop for drinks.

The informal seating reflected the more formal seating from the meeting. Writers, in rough order of rank in the textbook series hierarchy, were seated at the head of the table, higher ranking editorial staff were next to them, and the youngest and lower ranking staff were at the foot of the table, where they could most easily deal with food and drink issues. This placed me between a mid-rank editorial staff member and Matsuda-sensei, the writer who had, in earlier editions, lobbied for locating the series in an English-speaking country, and, more recently, for more chapters set in non-Japanese locales. He and I took the opportunity to pour each other more beer and lament the lack of the international in the textbooks.

"Tomasu, I'd like more. You'd like more. But I think you're taking too limited a view. The characters don't have to be in the U.S. or the U.K. or Australia for the topic and chapter to be international. Our students really don't have a chance to go out of Japan. But they do have a chance to talk to others and to learn about life overseas and other cultures. That's international. At least a kind of international. That's why there are the characters from other countries. Paul and Emma. Raj and Meiling."

"Yes…" I hesitated. "And Ms. Brown?"

"Right. They all talk with Kumi and Ken and the other Japanese characters about their lives overseas."

"So when Paul talks to his friends at Midori Junior High School about his friends and their school life in the U.S., it's international?"

"Right."

"And when Raj talks to his classmates about his life in India, that's international?"

"Right."

"And when Ken and the other students talk with the visitor from Finland, that's international?"

"Right, Thomas-san. That's why we have the characters from different countries. That's why the characters are from the U.S. and Australia and India and China."

Matsuda-sensei was referring to meetings several years earlier at which the writers and editors worked out a rationale for the nationalities of the characters. They decided to use a three-part division of English into circles of usage: inner circle, outer circle, and expanding circle (Kachu, 1989; Yamanaka, 2006). The first, inner circle, contains countries in which English is a native language. Some obvious examples are Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The second, outer circle, includes countries in which English is a second (or third) language. This would include countries and sites such as India, Kenya, and Hong Kong. The third, the expanding circle, consists of countries in which English is a second language and covers everywhere not included in the inner and outer circles, with most of Europe, Japan, and China being examples.

Characters were to come, more or less equally, from all three circles of language usage: English as a native language, English as a second language, and English as a foreign language. Doing this, the writers felt, offered a number of advantages. It could introduce students to the range of Englishes around the world. It could let students see English as a medium of communication outside of the inner-circle countries. And, importantly for the students' language-learning experience, the characters from outer-circle and expanding- circle countries could provide role models for the Japanese students and encourage them to learn English.

Having determined the linguistic range of the English presented, the writing team tackled which countries to include; the national identities of the characters. Discussions were long, inconclusive, and occasionally heated. Some writers wanted a near global cast of characters with all continents and all major regions represented. Others suggested focusing on countries that shared a level of development with Japan, as they would be most culturally similar to the students and hence easier to teach.

The writing team finally reached a compromise of sorts: to focus, as far as possible, on characters from Asian-Pacific countries: the United States, Australia, India, and China. Countries from other regions (notably Africa and Europe) could be brought in as the occasion permitted.

The United States was selected over Great Britain only after extensive discussion. Those writers supporting a character from Great Britain made mostly historical arguments: Great Britain is where English was born. To not have a character from it was somehow unthinkable. Writers supporting a character from the United States countered with a range of reasons. Culturally, they pointed out the dominance of American popular culture, a culture that students would be familiar with, like it or not. Economically, they pointed out the importance of the United States to Japan and the role this might play in the later lives of students. Linguistically, they pointed back to the decision to use an uninflected American pronunciation as the standard, and how odd it would be to have no speaker of that in the textbook series. And finally, they noted that the United States shares an ocean with Japan and thus fits into the larger Asian-Pacific scheme.

The decision to include a character from Australia had four major rationales. First, it offered a chance to expose students to a second native speaker. Second, it offered a chance to contrast the two native speakers, such as differences in dialect, vocabulary, and vernacular phrases ("G'day, mate."), and thus help students learn that there is no single right English, though in the final version most recognizably Australian vocabulary items were cut. Third, recognizing the realities of school life in Japan, an Australian character fit into one common pattern for home-stay experiences and school-sponsored trips for Japanese high school students: spending a time in Australia. Such a character could provide students with a general sense of familiarity with a possible future experience. Fourth, Australia fit neatly into the Asian-Pacific plan.

Prolonged discussions preceded the decision to include a character from India. This partly involved internal political matters and the personal commitment of a writer to a pre-existing character from Kenya; ruffled feathers had to be smoothed. Eventually the decision to include a core character from India focused on three major reasons. First, India is the largest country in which English is spoken as a second language and as such deserves a place. Second, given the place of India in the literary imagination and the performance of broadly Indian writers in major literary competitions, India is hard to ignore. Third, India occupies an increasingly important place in economic relations with Japan, and students might benefit in the future from an early introduction to at least some aspects of Indian life. Fourth, India clearly meets the Asia-Pacific requirement.

The decision to include a character from China as the representative of an expanding-circle country was also contentious. Questions were raised by various writers about the troubled historical relations between Japan and China, about the fraught current relationship between the two countries, and, about the response of teachers and the Ministry of Education to such a problematic central character, and, less abstractly, about the possibility of provoking a response from rightist circles and the attendant harassments.

In the end, a character from China was chosen over the alternatives (Indonesia, Russia, and Korea figured prominently). Several reasons emerged in discussions. First, fraught though relationships with China might be, it was considered the lesser of the evils at hand as Indonesia, for example, would inevitably include references to Islam, an even more sensitive matter. Similar doubts figured in discussions of other nations. Second, despite the difficult recent historical relations, China is the source for much of Japanese culture, including the written language, and language is the topic of the textbook series. Third, China is emerging as the dominant Asian nation and is a major trading partner with Japan. It thus deserves representation and the character, if crafted carefully, can serve to introduce students to a major element in the future of Japan. Finally, it was felt difficult to have a focus on the Asian-Pacific region and leave out one of the major players.

I said that I understood, internationalism didn't require that the character be in a non-Japanese setting; it could be the international brought to Japan. At this point, a staff member sitting across the table who had been listening joined the conversation.

"You know," he said, "you could say the same about foreign issues. In general. Not just those topics that the foreign characters connect with."

"What do you mean?" I asked.

"Well, what about the reading about Aki Ra and removing land minds in Cambodia? Or the chapter about Dr. Martin Luther King and Mrs. Rosa Parks. Or the lesson about having dreams to change the world and the reading about William in Malawi? These are all international topics. Maybe not directly connected to the life of one of the characters, but the topic is international."

Professor Matsuda agreed with the staff member, which lead to shifting the discussion to the specific fact-checking difficulties of one of the lessons. I sat back, drank some beer, and reflected on the emerging definition. In this understanding, the international did not require that Japanese go abroad to directly experience the international, it could be done second-hand, through reports and readings. It was the *National Geographic* version of internationalism: learning about the rest of the world without really experiencing it. It was internationalism as the world being brought to Japan, rather than Japan going out to the world.

THE INTERNATIONAL: AN INTERNAL EXPERIENCE

Work on the textbooks continued for the next couple of months, with two to three weeks of writing sessions punctuated with a formal meeting to assess progress and look forward. Inevitably a *tsukiai* took place afterwards. After one of the formal sessions we were again at the drinking shop and again ranged around the table in rough pecking order.

This night, for the first time in a couple of sessions, Professor Matsuda was again seated next to me. For the first half hour he was engaged with the other Japanese professors, thrashing out ideas and options raised at the meeting. I focused on the beer and chatting with two of the editorial staff.

Professor Matsuda turned to me and, using the excuse of adding a few centimeters of beer to my glass, exercised his place in the hierarchy to gently interrupt the chat I was having. "Tomasu-sensei, I've been thinking about this international thing of yours."

"Yes?"

"I like what you're doing. I think it's important and interesting.

"Thank you."

"But I think you're missing an important part of it."

"You're probably right. What do you think I need to add?"

"It's like this…" With this, Professor Matsuda proceeded to lay out the notion that internationalization wasn't just about situations taking place overseas, it wasn't just about learning about U.S. schools from an American student or India from an Indian expatriate. Nor was it just about learning about key figures and events in other countries. The idea and practice of internationalization needed to include the internal experience: the international in Japan.

"I don't think I understand." I said as I topped off his beer. "Could you explain that?"

"Sure." He took a sip and started his explanation. His first point was that the very act of having a non-Japanese in a Japanese situation makes it international. Having students from the U.S. and Australia and India and China creates an international nexus at Midori Junior High School. The presence of Ms. Brown, the ALT, adds to it.

"Let me see if I've got this straight. The school becomes international simply by having non-Japanese as a part of it."

"Right." He beamed at me for having so quickly grasped this essential truth. "You remember that's one of the reasons we set the books in Japan. It helps foreigners get a better understanding of Japan. And it helps Japanese get a better understanding of foreigners. Internationalization."

"So Japanese learning about other countries and people from other countries learning about Japan—both are internationalization."

"Right," he said. "Being international isn't a one-way street. It's not just Japanese learning about life in another country. Helping foreigners understand Japan is international, too."

"Let me see if I understand. Ken talking about *kendama* or Ms. Brown learning about sushi or Ken explaining tatami to Paul—all of these are a part of being international."

"You've got it. Especially since it's done in English. The international language."

"That covers just about covers the entire textbook series."

"I suppose it does."

"Wow." I drank off my beer. Professor Mastuda picked up a bottle. He overfilled the glass and the conversation ended with us mopping the top of the table.

I mentally reviewed the lessons. In every chapter Japanese and foreign characters explored things together. In many chapters, the matters being explored were things Japanese. In the very first chapter of the first book, the character Kumi uses Japanese naming order to introduce herself to Paul, a new foreign student. Ken and Kumi, the two major Japanese characters, talk about their likes and dislikes: *kendama* (the Japanese version of ball and cup or *balero* in Latin countries), kendo, and the shamisen. Emma, the Australian character, reports on her pleasure in having experienced the four seasons of Japan and the various events and activities associated with each. Ken introduces Ms. Brown to local foods and sushi. Emma learns about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima on a school field trip to the city. Ken invites his foreign student friends to his house where they encounter Japanese domestic furnishings, including tatami and *kotatsu*.

Over a period of weeks of meetings in and out of the publisher's offices, I checked on this take on internationalization articulated by Professor Matsuda. Most of the other writers and editorial staff members shared it with greater or lesser enthusiasm. By this reading, most, if not all, of the textbook series was an exercise in internationalization.

DISCUSSION

What does internationalization mean to Japanese educators and textbook writers of an English textbook series for use in Japanese junior high schools? In practice, the emic definition as discovered in this research contains three aspects, not necessarily congruous but not necessarily in conflict either.

The concept first refers to situations in which a Japanese character directly experiences life outside Japan, even an experience as anodyne as shopping for a cap or t-shirt. In practice, the second aspect of the concept refers to the sharing of non-Japanese experiences with Japanese, either in the first person, such as an Indian student talking about his life in India or through the presentation of non-Japanese cultural and social matters and norms, such as a student learning about and making a presentation on Dr. Martin Luther King. The third aspect of internationalization broadens the concept to include the international in Japan—both the ways the mere presence of non-Japanese imparts an international flavor to otherwise commonplace situations, and the ways the use of English to explain things Japanese to non-Japanese furthers international understanding.

Taken together, these aspects create an attenuated definition of internationalization. It appears to be so broad as to at times stretch the meaning of the word to include nearly anything, and hence to be nearly meaningless.

That is, until this folk definition is compared to definitions of internationalization used by scholars of the subject at the tertiary level. For example, Layton (2012) describes versions of it that include overseas experiences (study abroad) and bringing in overseas students and teachers, "embedding" them so that "that every student and staff member can contribute to the internationalization of an institution." In another instance, Knight (2011, ix) regards internationalization as "process of integrating an international, intercultural, and global dimension into higher education's major functions and delivery modes at both the institutional and national levels… both at home and abroad."

These formal definitions by these and other writers, researchers and professional organizations (for example Huang, 2013; NASFA, 2011) are, in their own ways, just as fuzzy and capacious as the emic definition put together by the writers and editors of the textbook series that forms the field of this chapter. It is hard to imagine a foreign language textbook that is not, at one level or another, essentially internationalist. This concept of internationalization makes it easy to report that international education at the secondary level is alive and well in Japanese schools.

If this is the foundation for expectations regarding internationalization in Japan, what does it mean for researchers and teachers? For one thing, as Okubo suggests, this concept of internationalization will merely

> …strengthen the purpose of the original Japanese modern educational system, which is to "assimilate" foreign residents into Japanese society in the guise of "internationalization." As long as no attempts are made to make the ethnic minority groups the "observers" and not always the "observed," and to make the dominant group (the Japanese) learn to "respect" or protect the rights of the ethnic minority groups, "internationalization" will be nothing more than a series of cultural displays. (Okubo, 2000, n.p.)

These observations and those of Tsuneyoshi (2011) match some earlier observations about the belief of some instructors, administrators, and bureaucrats that language learning itself is a zero-sum activity (Hardy, in press). It follows that any time spent learning English was less time spent learning Japanese (*kokugo*, literally translated as national language) and hence a threat to national identity.

Perhaps rather than focusing on internationalization itself and run the risk of reifying the concept, it might be more useful to shift the question from the forms and structures of internationalization to its meaning as an experience. These new questions could be framed as the ability to put yourself in another's shoes, the empathic imagination. This is a slightly broader and perhaps more transferable intellectual quality. It would require knowledge and response to other countries and cultures, which forms, in my understanding, the base of the anthropological imagination and project.

I suggest the same intellectual quality informs the ability to inhabit fully imagined literary worlds, such as the world of that of a Heien court noblewoman in *The Tale of Genji*, or that the landed gentry, and especially the world of women, of Regency England as seen in the works of Jane Austen, or that of an early 20th century African-American gay man in the works of James Baldwin.

The last example brings us to the present, where the empathic qualities of internationalization are perhaps most needed: to come to an understanding of and respect for those Others who inhabit our own worlds in the here and now. Consider the difficulties men have understanding the world of women, and women understanding that of men. Consider that the fear of the Other in Japanese society is not limited to those from other countries. It includes those who are different or have somehow fallen outside the standard for "successful" "model" Japanese—those eking out a living as *freeta*, the disabled, the marginalized (Slater, 2010; Stevens, 1997).

This might be the real goal of internationalization—coming to an awareness of our own lives and cultures while coming to know that of other peoples.

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Thomas Hardy
Keio University

JOHN MOCK

12. SMART CITY—STUPID COUNTRYSIDE

Social and Political Implications of the Urban/Rural Split in Japanese Education

INTRODUCTION

The four year study that is the basis of all of this material led those of us who were members of the original Ministry of Education grant application (see Introduction) and the other writers who joined us later in a variety of different directions, based on our own interests, as well as the central issue, the impact of international universities on their local communities. In my own case, as a long-term resident of Akita prefecture who has been studying various aspects of depopulation and aging mainly in small town Akita, I want to look at some of the small towns away from Akita City and think about how the move toward international universities, the idea of internationalizing education, and, indeed, the increase in tertiary education itself has impacted the prefecture away from the urban center.

In order to do this, there are several background elements that have to be considered; the depopulation and aging of most of Japan (and soon to be all of Japan, if Matsutani, 2004, is even close to being correct), the consolidation of civic units into fewer but larger entities, the structure of the Japanese educational system, the change in educational expectations, the concentration of advanced secondary and tertiary institutions in cities, and the split between "official" educational institutions (public and private schools directed by MEXT) and "unofficial" educational institutions (*juku*, *yobiko* and other forms of "extra" education).

AKITA DEMOGRAPHY

In many ways, the situation in Akita is more or less representative of what is happening in most of Japan (geographically). The population of small town/rural Akita is a bit older than the Japanese average, but many parts of Japan have a similar demographic pattern. The foundation of the economic system outside of Akita City is largely primary industries—fishing, farming and forestry—with, of course, some secondary (manufacturing) and tertiary (retail, wholesale, banking, and such) serving the first two.

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 191–206.

Like much of Japan, most of Akita has been actively losing population for quite a long time, the five towns I looked at (2003) all had population peaks about 1955 and have been depopulating since then. The 2010 census materials census showed population growth only in the Akita City "metropolitan" area and, interestingly, Ogata-mura, the planned community created by draining the second largest lake in Japan to make Dutch polder like rice fields.

The largest city in Akita prefecture, Akita City (not terribly imaginative naming), has a population of about 330,000. Then there are a number of cities—Daisen, Yokote, Yuzawa, Odate, and Yurihonjo—which, after the recent consolidation (discussed below, p. 193), have total populations up to 90,000 but are geographically extremely large, with core DIDs surrounded by what were small towns and rural areas; the total population densities are very small.

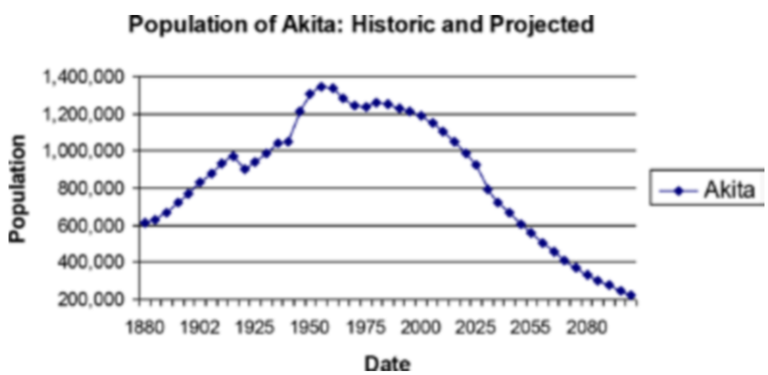

Figure 1. Population of Akita prefecture

Most of these civic units are losing population at various rates. One has to be careful looking at the rates of depopulation because some of the areas with the least dense populations have, in effect, already depopulated, so their current rate of depopulation is rather low. In other words, the people have already left. However, the essential pattern for most of the units is shown here with a population peak in the mid 1950s, the result of a combination of the wartime high birthrate and postwar repatriation. Then they show a more or less steady decline in population for more than half a century. Though the rate of depopulation varies somewhat, the general pattern is very similar.

Another major factor of demography in Akita, and for most of Japan outside of the metropolitan centers, is aging. With a very low birth rate and a very long life expectancy, Japan's average age is one of the oldest in the world. Essentially, throughout Japan, the more rural, the older the average age, the more metropolitan, the younger average age. As Figure 3 shows, Akita has an older population than the national average, a situation that will continue into the future.

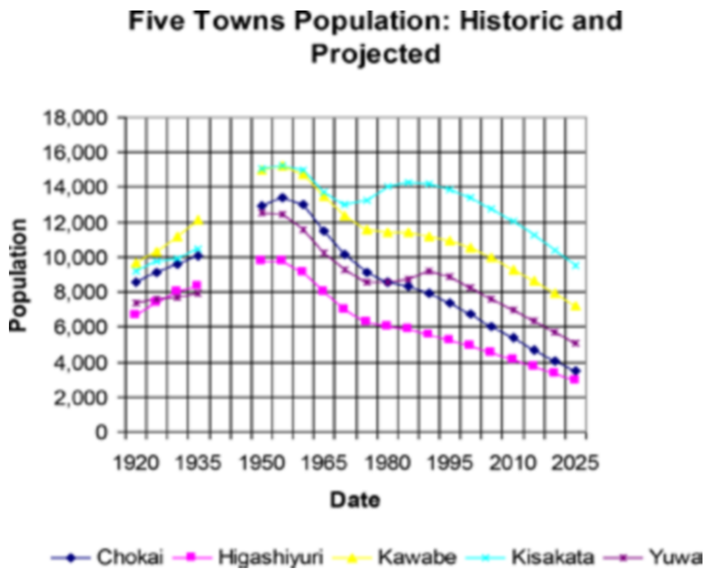

Figure 2. Five preconsolidation town populations

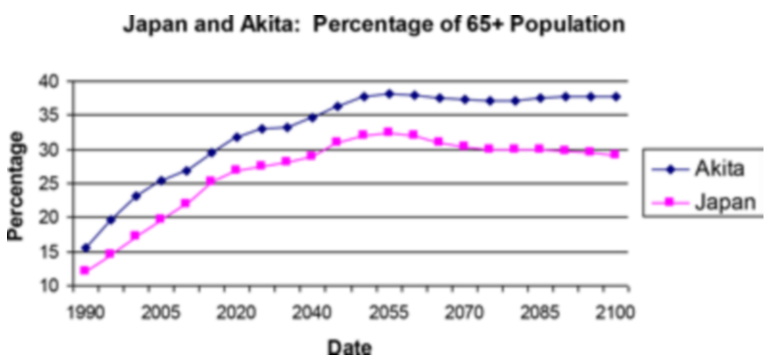

Figure 3. Akita aging

AKITA CIVIC UNIT CONSOLIDATION

Another complication is the consolidation of civic units twice in recent history. In 1955, there was the "Showa Consolidation" and in 2005 there was the "Heisei Consolidation." This complicates looking at even basic demographic patterns because the units, reflected in the census count made every five years, have changed. The essential idea of this was to consolidate inefficient civic units into fewer, and more efficient units. Since much of the funding for the various civic units comes from the national government (essentially, taxes go to the national government and to the prefectural governments, then are redistributed to the various civic units). The motivation for consolidation was, essentially a better deal from the national government.

The best deal was for special *shi* with populations of more than 1,000,000. *Shi* is usually translated as "city," but there is no density criterion. What is usually thought of as "city," at least in American English, has a density criterion. The term "DID" (Densely Inhabited District), an area with a population of 5,000 or more and a density greater than or equal to 1,000 people per square kilometer, is often used to distinguish between "real" cities and administrative units that have no density criterion.

The next best deal was for *shi* that have a minimum of 30,000 people, again with no density criterion. I have been told, although I have not checked, that there was a specific injunction in the consolidation instructions stating that entire prefectures could not, as a whole, declare themselves a "special city." This is particularly important for prefectures such as all of those of the Tohoku region, where the population of the entire prefecture might be just over 1,000,000. Akita, for example, has a total population of a little more than 1,200,000. Thus, the best "deal" Akita could have made would be for the entire prefecture to declare itself a "special city" and, in effect, keep the current municipal divisions as subdivisions.

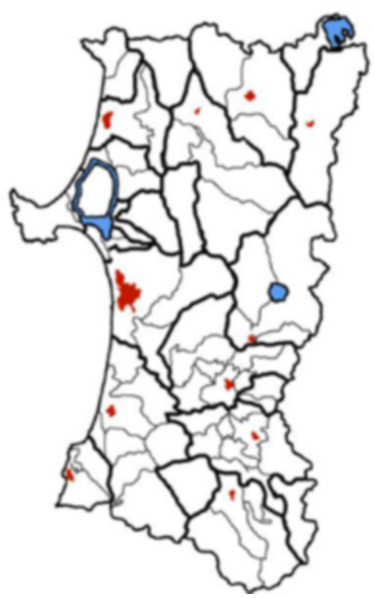

Figure 4. Consolidation: Thin lines are before consolidation, bold lines are the post-consolidation civic units, and the red irregular shapes are actual DIDs

In Akita, as in most of Japan, the overwhelming majority of civic units consolidated with other units simply because of the economic pressure. In fact, the economic and political pressure from the national bureaucracy was strong enough, in many cases, to overcome enmities that had existed among neighboring units for a very long time. In some cases, however, the enmities, along with things like disagreements over where the new city hall would be and what the name of the new city would be, prevented consolidation. In a few cases, the civic units considered themselves sufficiently wealthy to resist the pressure from Tokyo. Interestingly, one of these was Ogata-*mura*, the village on reclaimed land, which was one of the few places in Akita with a positive population growth.

Figure 5. Post consolidation civic units

The stated purpose of the consolidation was to make local governments more efficient by eliminating duplication and the low-level corruption (nepotism and the like) that was (and still is) endemic. However, there are several other consequences as well. One of the consequences is that "City Hall" is now, for many people in Japan, a lot further away than it was previously. There are branch offices, of course, but the "head" of each "city" may now be very far away.

AKITA EDUCATION

The educational structure of Akita is also very much like that of other prefectures outside of the metropolitan centers. Elementary schools are scattered more or less proportionate to population density and serve not only as educational institutions but also as civic centers for their neighborhoods or communities. Middle schools are also distributed somewhat evenly but are larger and so have a larger area they draw from. This means that in less densely settled areas of Akita, the “local” middle school might be a considerable distance from a child’s residence. Since education is mandatory (at least in theory) through middle school, this makes a certain amount of sense.

However, there is a radical shift when it comes to high schools. High school is not mandatory, and there are not enough public high school seats, in Akita as in everywhere else in Japan, for every child. While about 98% of all young Japanese graduate from some form of a high school, only about half, nationwide, attend public high schools. The rest attend various kinds of private high schools, a very large increase from the percentage who attend private elementary or middle schools. Japanese high schools are divided into various types: academic, commercial, technical, agricultural and a variety of specialty high schools. There is a clear difference in status among these various high schools, with the academic high schools, designed for students who plan to attend tertiary education, clearly enjoying a higher status than the others. Further, the academic high schools themselves are ranked largely on how successful they are in getting students into “elite” tertiary institutions. Entrance to high school is not “automatic” but rather is more or less competitive; in the case of the “best” high schools, entrance is sometimes very competitive.

Over the past half century, there has been a major shift in educational expectations. In the immediate postwar period, graduating from a middle school was sufficient for one to be able to get a job in the reindustrializing economy of Japan. Pictures from the 1950s and 1960s famously show middle school graduates, still wearing their school uniforms, coming into Ueno Station in Tokyo (the terminus of train lines from the north) and being met by company representatives, marked by large signs. The new graduates look very young (they were very young) and nervous, clutching a suitcase as they try to find where they are supposed to go.

In the 1980s and 1990s, there was a rise in educational expectation; almost all young Japanese completed some form of high school education. Again, this was seen as the minimum necessary education for employment and, indeed, there is an argument that it takes this long to become fully literate in Japanese. With the continuation in the rise of educational expectations, and with the peaking of the population curve, which resulted in fewer young Japanese applying for positions in tertiary education and therefore less competition, the move has been increasingly toward a larger and larger percentage moving past high school to some form of tertiary education.

In the postwar period, then, the distribution of elementary schools and middle schools was adequate to provide geographically proximate educational opportunities. Not only were the schools more or less evenly distributed, there was a higher density of population in rural areas that have since often become depopulated, and the expectation was that middle school was all one really needed. High schools were seen as semi-elite, and all forms of tertiary education were seen as elite.

The current situation is quite different. Continued urbanization, not just to the major metropolitan centers but also to regional cities, has pulled generations of young people away from the rural areas. Further, the expectations for education has risen, so now it is most unusual for a young Japanese not to go to high school, and it is becoming increasingly rare not to continue on to some form of tertiary education.

Name	*Area (km²)*	*Population*	*Density*	*High schools*	*HS/Area*	*HS/Pop*
Cities (-shi)						
Akita	905.67	325,905	359.80	16	56.60	20,369
Daisen	905.67	88,605	97.83	5	181.13	17,721
Katagami	97.96	34,689	354.10	1	97.96	34,689
Kazuno	707.34	34,219	48.38	2	353.67	17,110
Kita Akita	1,152.57	37,875	32.86	4	288.14	9,469
Nikaho	240.65	27,584	114.60	1	240.65	27,584
Noshiro	426.74	58,784	137.80	6	71.12	9,797
Odate	913.70	81,145	88.81	5	182.74	16,229
Oga	240.80	32,460	134.80	2	120.40	16,230
Semboku	1,094.64	29,732	27.16	3	364.88	9,911
Yokote	693.04	98,253	141.80	7	98.01	14,036
Yurihonjo	1,209.08	85,154	70.43	7	172.73	12,165
Yuzawa	790.72	52,558	66.47	6	131.79	8,760
Towns-machi						
Fujisato	281.98	3,925	13.92	0		
Gojome	214.94	10,558	49.12	1	214.94	10,558
Happo	234.19	8,260	35.27	0		
Kosaka	201.95	6,140	30.40	1	201.95	6,140
Misato	168.36	21,623	128.40	1	168.36	21,623
Mitane	248.09	18,708	75.41	0		
Ugo	230.75	17,351	75.19	1	230.75	17,351
Village (-mura)						
Higashi Naruse	203.57	2,859	14.04	0		
Kamikoani	256.82	2,778	10.82	0		
Ogata	170.05	3,233	19.01	0		

Figure 6. Civic units and high schools

The geography of upper secondary and tertiary education, however, has not significantly changed to adjust for the demographic changes or the rises in educational expectation. The first question, then, is what has been the impact of increasingly higher levels of formal education combined with an increasingly centralized education system concentrated in metropolitan or regional urban centers? The answer to this question is fairly clear. Educational ambitions, whether held by young Japanese, their parents, or potential employers, have pulled an increasing proportion of young Japanese at least through high school. As the high schools are concentrated in urban areas, or at least this means that the young Japanese are pulled first to regional cities or smaller urban areas, at a minimum, they are pulled out of the rural areas.

The consolidation process, particularly the most recent one, has blurred the concentration of upper secondary institutions because the consolidation makes it like there is a more or less even distribution of high schools (See Figure 6) except for some obvious gaps. However, if the locations of high schools are plotted on a map showing the DIDs in addition to the civic boundaries, then the picture becomes much clearer. A quick look at the map of Akita with the high schools indicated shows that the majority of the high schools in Akita are in DIDs. Those few high schools not in a DID are low-level commercial or agricultural high schools. Thus, for young rural Japanese continuing on to upper secondary education, while it is possible to be near a low-level high school, is far more likely to either have *a*) a long or a very long

Figure 7. Geographic distribution of high schools

commute to the nearest high school, assuming they could get into that high school, or *b*) they have to move away from their families and live near their high schools. If one wants to aim for the elite universities, then it is not unusual for young Japanese to move to the metropolitan centers where "the best" high schools and *juku* (private "after school schools") are located.

Before looking at tertiary education, and the impact of internationalization, there is one more major factor that needs to be noted. At the risk of oversimplifying, Japanese formal or "official" education often appears inadequate to provide students with the skills necessary to pass the entrance examinations required, especially for the "best" high school and later, for the elite universities. The evidence for this is fairly straightforward. There is an enormous "unofficial" education system made up of thousands of private companies who run *juku*, private supplementary schools. There are many kinds of *juku,* but almost all of them, to one degree or another, provide additional instruction, including tutoring, which parents pay for to increase the chances of their child's getting into a "good" high school or university. This multibillion yen industry hires literally thousands of staff. As private institutions, the *juku* compete directly against each other with success often defined as the percentage of each institution's students who pass high-status exams.

This is not the place to discuss this rather interesting dyadic structure of Japanese education except to note the geography of the *juku* largely correlates with population density. As private companies, each *juku*, of whatever size, needs an appropriate sized pool of students. Moving from the metropolitan centers (extremely high total populations and population density), through regional urban centers (perhaps high density but much lower total populations) to small cities to rural areas outside DIDs, the total number and size of the *juku* decrease until, in sparsely settled areas outside the DIDs, they disappear altogether. As with high schools, then, students outside DIDs have the choice of commuting to a *juku* or, in some cases, moving to an area near a *juku*, or not attending a *juku* at all. Thus, we find that not only does "official" secondary education privilege metropolitan centers over regional centers over rural areas, the pattern also obtains for the "informal"—but highly critical—*juku* industry as well.

Further the general pattern found in secondary education is either continued or extended concerning tertiary education. In Akita, there are only a few university level institutions and a bunch of *senmon gakko*, schools specializing in things like computer programming. Almost all of the university-level institutions are either in Akita City (the regional capital), a suburb of the Akita City. or in the next city just south of Akita City. The last two are two campuses of the recently founded prefectural university, which were built, an enormous expense, in these locations primarily for political reasons. There is one two-year nursing *tanki daigaku* (a two year tertiary institution that does not allow transfers to four year institutions) in Odate, about 100 km from Akita City.

This would mean that a young Japanese growing up in Akita would, at a minimum, have to go to the regional capital. If the student is ambitious and can get accepted to one of the elite institutions, then the nearest of these is Tohoku University (Tohokudai) in Sendai, in Miyagi Prefecture and most of them are concentrated in the metropolitan centers. While at the university, particularly at the elite universities in the metropolitan centers, there is a tendency to look for employment in high-status positions such as the national or prefectural bureaucracy or with a high-prestige company, which are rarely in or anywhere near rural areas.

TERTIARY EDUCATION

Before moving on, it is worthwhile to look at the practice of concentrating tertiary institutions, particularly high-status tertiary institutions, in metropolitan centers or regional cities. European universities were not necessarily concentrated in urban areas. Oxford and Cambridge were originally in very small towns. The success of universities may have caused towns to grow into substantial urban centers based on the universities, but the origin was quite different. In North America, this separation of university from urban center is even clearer, with Morrill Act Land Grant colleges and universities purposely being established in, essentially, rural areas. Even very famous universities, like UC Berkeley or the University of Michigan—which, unlike the Morrill Act Land Grant institutions, were not designed with a primarily agricultural component—were put, purposely, away from urban centers (San Francisco and Detroit, respectively). The success of the universities in some cases caused substantial urban growth, so these institutions now are in “cities,” but that was not the original idea. Even Harvard and MIT were placed across the river from Boston, although now the whole area is a solid urban sprawl.

The Japanese model was quite different. When the imperial universities were founded at the end of the 19th century, they were consciously placed in urban centers. As Taiwan and Korea were added as part of the national entity, national universities were also created in Taipei and Seoul, which, when war separated Taiwan and Korea from Japan, became Taiwan National University and Seoul National University, respectively.

As new universities were founded, public and private, they were consciously placed in urban centers because of the connection between education and towns. The end of the 19th century through the middle of the 20th century also saw a very strong movement toward urbanization, partly as a result of industrialization at first, later simply as national policy. Notably, while North America and Western Europe have had their rates of urbanization slowed or even, in some cases, stopped and even reversed, Japan continues to urbanize.

Several, often interconnected, elements have been presented. The low birth rate and extended life expectancy have combined in Japan to create a shrinking overall population, a sharp decrease in the number of school age children, and an increase in the percentage of the population aged sixty-five or older—usually described as an aging population. The consolidation of small civic units into larger ones has masked

Imperial university	*Location*	*Founding date*
Tokyo University	Tokyo	1877
Kyoto University	Kyoto	1897
Tohoku University	Sendai	1907
Kyushu University	Fukuoka	1911
Hokkaido University	Sapporo	1918
Keijo (Seoul National) University	Seoul	1924
Taihoku (Taiwan National) University	Taipei, Taiwan	1928
Osaka University	Osaka	1931
Nagoya University	Nagoya	1938

Figure 8. Location and founding dates of imperial universities

the imbalance found between metropolitan centers, regional centers, small towns, and rural areas. With an increase over the past 50 years in the percentage of young Japanese graduating from high school, the geography of secondary education has penalized small town and rural Japan. This is exacerbated by the heavy dependence on an "informal" network of private educational companies, which, by the nature of their being private, are concentrated in population centers. Finally, tertiary education has been historically concentrated in urban centers (at least) and metropolitan centers.

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF EDUCATION

I certainly do not want to be caught up in the ongoing discussion of exactly what is or is not internationalization in the Japanese context. I see, generally, the push to "internationalize" higher education as being a fairly obvious adaptive response of Japan to an increasingly global economy. In other words, internationalization is a way to deal with globalization.

This is not new, in the Meiji era, the Minister of Education, Mori Arinori, proposed shifting the national language of Japan from Japanese to English because of its international usefulness. Just as a side note, it is worth pointing out that Mori was assassinated by a right-wing extremist for this "insult" (among others) to Japan. Also in the Meiji, coping with a massive expansion of international trade and communication was a major headache for the government, whose dealings with Europe and North America were motivated (stimulated?) by the threat of force.

However, the recent turn toward internationalization seems to be more a result of the bursting of the economic bubble of the 1980s and a realization that globalization is an ongoing process that Japan's export-driven economy simply must deal with. There is a major semantic difficulty here, because many universities and programs in

Japan simply added the term “international” or the equivalent to their names without seriously changing (or even slightly modifying) their curriculum or other aspects of their programs. Ignoring what are clearly “imitations,” a couple of major trends can be seen.

Ironically, one of them is negative. In the immediate bubble and postbubble period, there were literally dozens of American university programs, of varying degrees of quality, started in Japan with various Japanese partners. However, almost all of these are gone, in effect forced out of business by differential Ministry of Education policies. For example, one of the few survivors, Temple University Japan, a branch campus of Temple University, a Pennsylvania state university with a main campus in Philadelphia (and other branches in London and Rome) has to pay regular corporate taxes; a burden that Japanese universities do not have to carry. In addition, MEXT-recognized Japanese universities are, in effect, subsidized. Temple University Japan is not.

However, there has been a trend toward the creation of various programs and institutions that have a real claim to being “international.” Some of the programs are in English (to varying degrees), and others have substantial “international” components, both in the curriculum and to the university community. The goal of having 100,000 foreign students, set for the millennium, was met a few years late and has now been enlarged to a goal of 200,000 non-Japanese students, mainly Chinese. Non-Japanese faculty has also been increasing in Japanese universities, with some of the more blatant forms of discrimination becoming less frequent.

Several major Japanese universities have programs that are English language or some variation of really “international.” Waseda, Tokyo, and Sophia all have long-standing programs in these areas, which have been substantially reinforced. Doshisha University just started a whole “English only” program, “International Liberal Arts,” combining elements of some fifteen departments across the university. Some of the funding from this has come from MEXT in the form of “super 30” money. There are at least three established universities that have always been “international,” at least to some extent. Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (TUFS), Kansai Gaidai University and Miyazaki International College (the latter two addressed in other chapters) are specifically international in their intent.

There has even been the creation of a completely new prefectural university with the specific target of not only being “international” but setting a new standard for academic excellence. Akita International University (秋田教養大学 Akita Kyōyō Daigaku) is a new prefectural university specifically founded by Akita Prefecture to replace the “international” component of the branch campus of the Minnesota State University and College system (MnSCU), which had been there for more than ten years. In fact, Akita International University occupies exactly the same campus that MSU-A (Minnesota State University — Akita) had occupied (cf Naganuma’s chapter in this Vol.).

INTERNATIONALIZATION IN AN URBAN/RURAL CONTEXT

In addition, is there an impact, social or demographic, on nonmetropolitan (and nonurban) Japan as Japan move further and further toward a postindustrial, globalized world? Yes, there is an impact. As Japanese industries reposition themselves for an increasingly globalized world, small industries previously scattered outside of the metropolitan centers are steadily being move "offshore," to places like Malaysia where labor is cheaper and there are fewer legal restrictions on operations. Thus, while education in Japan, specifically tertiary education, has become increasingly "internationalized," at least in some aspects, the deterioration of primary and secondary industries in nonmetropolitan areas has led these areas to be less "internationalized."

The argument is that "internationalization," however defined, simply exacerbates the situation caused by continuing urbanization, decreasing and aging population, and centralization of higher education. While there are extremely important informal impacts of internationalization outside of the metropolitan areas, virtually all of the formal aspects of international education are concentrated at least in regional urban centers. (Akita City, Miyazaki City, and Beppu are all regional urban centers, not rural areas).

One can also argue that not only does internationalization, as it is manifest in 21st century Japan, contribute to the depopulation of most of the country, it also contributes to the denigration of the countryside and the people who choose to stay there. Essentially, the perception is smart people live in the cities; stupid people stay in the countryside.

One may argue that this is true in all industrialized countries, but there are some differences with Japan. First, there has been no slowdown in the rate of urbanization in Japan and, in fact, government policies, at national and prefectural levels, still very strongly favor increased urbanization. In contrast, Western Europe and North America have something of a u-turn, which has slowed or even reversed the process of urbanization. Just as an example, it is hard to imagine a company like Microsoft starting in Japan outside of a metropolitan center. In much of North America, there is a growing secondary urbanization away from the original urban centers as industry moves to adjust to conditions of globalization.

In the East Asian model, Japan has tertiary institutions concentrated exclusively in cities, which is not the case in Western Europe or North America although many universities have stimulated urbanization (e.g., Oxford, Cambridge, Harvard, and Berkeley). There is really no such thing as a "university town" in Japan. It is said that Tsukuba University, an interesting conglomeration of existing universities' move to Tsukuba City in the 1950s, is dominant enough to make Tsukuba City a "university town," but even the most casual inspection of Tsukuba City would show few characteristics of a North American or Western European "university town." Further, Tsukuba City was a regional urban center long before Tsukuba University was created. It is seen as many as being "isolated" because it is a bit of a distance from Tokyo proper and, up until a few years ago, there was no high-speed rail connection.

In addition, it can be argued that "internationalization" means something very different in Japan than it does Western Europe or North America. International connections were something that were very carefully controlled and up until recently limited to a handful of ports and a few metropolitan airports. This is slowly changing as a host of small, and probably not sustainable, airports have sprung up, mostly as local pork barrel projects, with one or two "international" connections, almost invariably to China or Korea. Part of this is geography, Japan is an archipelago, but so is the United Kingdom. In fact, Japan is a much larger archipelago than the United Kingdom but has far fewer "international" air connections, something that would not be possible without specific government policies.

Finally, while rural people are often "put down" by urban people in many different societies, the level of negativity seems extremely strong in Japan. The non-metropolitan areas, in particular, are seen as very "not cool." This, combined with the overwhelming "tilt" of Japanese education in the metropolitan centers, seems to simply exacerbate the situation.

CONCLUSION

While education is certainly not the whole answer to the urban/rural imbalance in modern Japan, it appears to be a major piece of it. Looking at the impact of internationalization of higher education in Japan, it would appear that Japan needs to "internationalize" the countryside and, to a massive extent, disperse upper secondary and especially tertiary educational institutions across the country. Some of this would be relatively easy, a restructuring of high schools so that, within limits, almost every Japanese child had an accessible high school as close as possible. It might also be very worthwhile for MEXT (The Ministry of Education) to consider moving into the 21st century, recognize that something more than 98% of all Japanese children attend high school, and make high school mandatory. If high school was mandatory, the public high schools could be constructed, without worrying about the profit motive, where students would best be served. This is an idea that Benjamin Duke (1986) suggested long ago, and it was not an original idea then. To be even a bit more radical, one might look at the existence of the *juku* system and ask what is missing from Japanese secondary education that requires private industry to fill, so massively, this omission. If public education were sufficient, then *juku*, at least in this quantity, would not be necessary.

The part dealing with tertiary institutions might be slightly more difficult, particularly given the widespread mindset that "going to a university" means "going to the metropolitan center," but Akita International University's experience would suggest that not only might diversifying the location of universities be possible, diversification could be very successful. If Japan did "spread out" tertiary education and made internationalized tertiary education accessible in many parts of Japan, then much of the urban/rural tilt would not only be modified in a positive manner, it might also make Japanese tertiary education a far more serious undertaking, something rather desperately needed in an increasingly globalized world. Then one could argue that "smart people live everywhere, not just in cities."

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John Mock
Temple University Japan

GREGORY S. POOLE

13. "INTERNATIONAL" HIGHER EDUCATION IN JAPAN

Expanding Intracultural Knowledge or (Re)defining Intercultural Boundaries?

INTRODUCTION

Herve Varenne wrote in the *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* that "Together, we [teachers and researchers] face the multiple institutions enforcing a cultural arbitrary that we cannot escape, even as we struggle to transform it." (Varenne, 2008, 356). When Varenne speaks of "institutions," he is not necessarily referring to "international programs" per se, but the "enforcement of a cultural arbitrary" is certainly a point that applies to higher educational institutions. In fact, it is a term that Bourdieu coined in the context of schooling.

> In any given social formation the legitimate pedagogic action, i.e. the pedagogic action endowed with the dominant legitimacy, is nothing other than the arbitrary imposition of the dominant cultural arbitrary insofar as it is misrecognized in its objective truth as the dominant pedagogic action and the imposition of the dominant culture. (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, 22)

One issue I think we are all ultimately grappling with in this volume is ways to transform—"change agents" as Debra Occhi (2009) puts it. So here I would like to explore Varenne's thought vis-à-vis educational practice and pedagogy, specifically with regard to the potential role that "internationalization of HE" or "international education" more generally, may play in social change, social transformation—a pressing challenge to develop a more inclusive society in Japan over the next 50 years.

Briefly, in this chapter I raise three points. First, the "need" for "international" approaches to HE in Japan, related not only to capitalist discourses of "competitiveness," but also the conceptualization of Japan as an immigrant society. Secondly, although an OECD report on tertiary education in Japan (Newby et al., 2009) notes numerous issues with governmental policy, I would like to focus more on issues of institutional and individual practice as they relate to the internationalization of HE in Japan. Finally, since this is a government sponsored project and might therefore have the ears of educational policy makers, I suggest that there needs to be a reconceptualization of "internationalization" (which risks further adding

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 207–220.

to the mystification of this multivocal symbol, rhetoric that Goodman (2007) and Ishikawa (2011) have pointed out elsewhere). In considering what constitutes the "international", one inspiration might be Paulo Freire's (1987) notion of critical literacy, and we might also consider how transnational university students themselves problematize the category of "the Other" (the "foreigner" or "*gaikokujin"*).

SOCIAL CHANGE

The recent approach to HE in Japan that this volume addresses is a variant on "internationalization" (cf. Altbach & Knight, 2007). Following projects of "modernization" in the Meiji, and "internationalization" in the late 20th century, recently the term "multicultural community building" [*tabunka kyōsei*] is an often-heard policy phrase. Indeed, looking at the demographics, like other East Asian societies, Japan is rapidly depopulating. Straight-line projections estimate a decline of 40 million over the next 50 years. Government reports estimate that over 600,000 immigrant workers will be needed yearly to support the present economy. Some project that in a few decades Japan will have been, or should be, largely transformed into an immigrant society (e.g., Sakanaka, 2005, see also Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008).

In an effort to attract over 300,000 top-level international undergraduate students to Japan, the national government enlisted thirteen elite HEIs in a "Global 30" program. Universities chosen for inclusion in the "Global 30" program received substantial subsidies from the Ministry of Education in return for providing inclusive, English-only liberal arts programs (Ishikawa, 2009, 2011). Although the overt goal has been largely couched in the neoliberal rhetoric of increasing "global competitiveness," of course, as more and more of these transnational students remain in Japan after graduating from university, this HE policy may have a secondary effect of adding further porosity to national borders (Inda & Rosaldo, 2001), completing the "disembedding" (Giddens, 1990) process of an already multiethnic Japan, and creating just such an immigrant society.

But will such a disembedding process of immigration bring the potential for transcultural inclusiveness in Japan, or will it be accompanied with "re-embedding" forces of boundary protection or nationalistic exclusiveness (Eriksen, 2007)? Probably both. In any event, though, the next few decades will see significant societal changes that will present new challenges to the category of the Other—the *gaikokujin,* the foreigner. What role, if any, will these so-called international educational programs at universities play in this change, given their potential for educating a new generation of transnational youth in Japan?

INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS

Japan is now the seventh largest exporter of HE in the world. Many universities offer "international education" programs—largely liberal arts or "global studies" programs with a language immersion element. Up until very recently these programs cater to local Japanese students; for non-Japanese it is still difficult to study for a degree without a high level of Japanese language skill, and even then they are assigned a rather "liminal status" at Japanese universities (Imoto & Horiguchi, 2010). With the Global 30 program this changed, however.

The Global 30 project, launched in 2009 and finishing in 2014, followed the move a decade ago towards the privatization of national universities (*kokuritsu daigaku dokuritsu hōjinka*) and has been part of the government's stated push to globalize and diversify HEIs in Japan. With the "…aim to nurture internationally competent individuals by creating an academic environment where international and Japanese students can learn from one another and build lasting international bonds that will propel them into the international scene," thirteen elite universities were selected by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) to be recipients of hundreds of millions of yen each. These monies went to support various programs of "internationalization," ranging from projects of campus document translation to the implementation of degree programs delivered in English.

As with many such government-funded efforts worldwide, the auditing of the G30 Project was largely driven by a ministerial effort to quantify the qualitative process of "globalization," beginning with the initial target of inviting 300,000 international students to Japan. In the midterm evaluation and assessment process that MEXT carried out in 2012, numbers were used as the key indicator of "success" in the internationalization process—numbers of incoming "international" students (*ryūgakusei*), however defined (see below); numbers of outgoing domestic students on study abroad programs (*haken ryūgakusei*); numbers of full-time foreign faculty (irrespective of permanency and terms of their employment contract); as well as how closely these numbers fit the initially stated institutional goals and actual numerical achievements of these goals.

Interestingly, though one might expect that the wielding of "soft power" (Nye, 2004; Yang, 2010; White, 2011) through the development of internationalized Japanese studies programs within the G30 Project would be part of the agenda, along the lines of the JET Program (McConnell, 2000), the degree courses developed and counted by the G30 were for the most part not involved in the internationalization of the social sciences or Japanese studies in Japan. In fact, looking at the undergraduate and graduate programs developed at the G30 institutions, there is only one program with "Japanese studies" in the label (the "Global Japanese Studies" undergraduate program at Meiji University) and only a few other programs, though not labeled as such, which might be broadly glossed as "Japanese studies" (Tokyo, Osaka, Sophia, Doshisha). And while internationally one could argue that Japanese studies is largely concentrated at the postgraduate level, interestingly, these five programs in Japan are undergraduate degrees delivered through English. Since MEXT insists that the G30 must be quantified to be evaluated, in terms of meeting the goals of numbers of international students, short-term, semester-long, and summer programs seem to be more the focus. These are often an extension of North American and European

Japanese studies programs (e.g., the Oxford Japanese studies program at Kobe University, The Kyoto Consortium of Japanese Studies at Doshisha University) or week-long tourist study tours for Chinese students (e.g., the "Stay in Kyoto" program at Doshisha that is run in cooperation with the Japan International Cooperation Center, JICE). There are also the Japan Language and Culture programs (the "*nichibun* centers") at Doshisha, Keio, Waseda, and other universities where students from around the world come to do Japanese studies, to experience Japan for a semester or two before returning to their home campuses to complete their degree. This is a well-accepted model, but still far from any sort of "international Japanese studies."

The next amalgamation of G30 that was launched in 2013 is being referred to as "G30+" and has been directed at increasing the numbers of "*Global Jinzai* or Global Human Resources," a gloss for "Globalized Japanese graduates/workers." Contrary to what one might expect, MEXT and Keidanren (Japan Business Federation) do not often use "Global Human Resources" as a reference to the integration of immigrants and returnees into Japanese society and workplace. The training of more globalized workers is almost always with reference to workers born and raised in Japan and educated in Japanese schools, not international students or those educated in international schools at home or abroad. The rhetoric then, is a rather nationalistic one focused on the long-term goal of the global competitiveness of Japanese corporations through the training of more globalized, Japanese workers.

Needless to say, the ministry appears not to be satisfied with the success of the G30 (nb., only three G30 members were selected by MEXT to continue on into the G30+), especially among the darling former Imperial institutions (*kyūtei*). To further encourage the national universities to internationalize their undergraduate programs, They have been enticed with further enormous budgets (the "Super Global" project) that prompted the university presidents to somehow persuade the faculty chairs (*gakubuchō)* of their campuses to aim to offer 50 percent of their classes in English. As early as March 2013 it was reported in the *Nikkei*, *Asahi*, and *Japan Times* newspapers that Kyoto University will be hiring 100 non-Japanese faculty members to help with this effort. The quote by the president of Tokyo University, Junichi Hamada, is: "Unless we set numerical targets, [each university] cannot see how many efforts [sic] it should be making. We should promote the quick globalization of universities by taking every step possible" (*Japan Times Online*, 3/10/13). Again, the focus of "globalization" is on numerical targets. At the Japan Association of National Universities meeting in Tokyo in 2013, the national universities decided to double their admissions of overseas students to 10 percent by 2020, with the number of courses offered in English increasing two-fold, to around 24,000, and the number of domestic students attending studying abroad to increase to 5 percent (*Japan Times Online*, 3/10/13). "Globalization" of Japanese universities is then being defined in the guidelines by these figures.

The story behind these bold proclamations includes both the success and the failure of the G30. The success is a slow realization that more diverse, more transnational campuses do much to further the mission of a university. The failure is the recognition that the resistance on national university campuses proved the downfall of achieving such a diversity. A top-down approach has characterized these recent proclamations, as well as the rather heretical plan at Tokyo University to change the university calendar to begin in September rather than April. Perhaps this new wave of top-down "internationalization" efforts might achieve more effective integration of the social sciences, and Japanese studies in particular, between Japan and the world?

Outside the walls of academia as well, the effect of these "international programs" on local communities has been minimal, as the research in this volume and elsewhere (Mock & Poole, 2009) explicates. One of the challenges is a lack of a clear, integrated national policy, as a 2009 OECD report argues (Aspinall, 2009). Indeed another challenge is a unified understanding of what exactly "internationalization" means, as Roger Goodman (2007) has emphasized. And certainly the lack of professionalization at HEIs has been pointed out before as another challenge (e.g., Hall, 1998; Bradley, 2009). But my focus here is probably closest to the challenge of social identities that Robert Cowen (2010) spoke of in a "call to arms" for comparative educational studies. I would offer that at a local level, administrative practices and institutional structures reinforce national boundaries, and in doing so remind university actors (students, administrative and academic staff) that their social identity is, or should be, a national identity. This exposes a deeply imbedded resistance to the possibility of a pedagogical practice, a conceptualization of "internationalization," that might perhaps be socially transformative in nature, along the lines of what White (2003) has described as the "co-construction of intra-cultural knowledge."

CULTURAL ARBITRARY OF INSTITUTIONS

This story of social identities is a complementary tale to what Imoto (2013) has related elsewhere, but deals less with struggles around individual identity and more with that of institutional identity. Not only do individuals, transnational academics working at HEIs, struggle to establish their professional identities, but they must then also struggle to work within very local campus settings, dealing day-to-day with institutional, and especially administrative, practices. These practices very often force us to question the larger mission of an integrative, transnational system of HE, where flows of students and academics are fully embedded in the central activities of local university life. The challenges, then, focus on these institutional/administrative practices. How are these practices affecting the ability of institutions, and individuals in these institutions, to respond to the problems and pressures of globalization being felt by Japanese HEIs? Let me begin to answer this question with a vignette.

Up until 2013, once a semester the president of Doshisha University hosted a "*shin-nyū gaikokujin ryūgakusei no tsudoi*" (get-together for incoming "foreign overseas students") at a downtown hotel. Over five-hundred student participants in both short-term academic programs, including those offered at the Doshisha-based

Kyoto Consortium of Japanese Studies and Stanford Center, as well as degree-seeking undergrads and postgrads, such as students at my home, the Institute for the Liberal Arts, all made the trek down to Kyoto Station to partake in food and nonalcoholic drinks while putting up with the obligatory speeches by university bigwigs and student representatives. This is all pretty much standard fare. However, what is interesting about this event for my discussion here is the university administration's bounded view of who is allowed to participate in this "international" event.

As *gaikokujin ryūgakusei* ("foreign exchange students") implies, the event is limited to "foreigners"—foreigners not by self-identity but by visa status. Not only are Japanese students not invited, but would-be crashers are stopped at the door by the careful registration and name tag system. Since at Doshisha "exchange student" (*ryūgakusei*) is strictly defined as those students who do not hold Japanese passports and are studying on so-called "college-student visas," the returnee students (*kikokushijo*) in our program, for example, were denied admission to the event (even though these "Japanese" students typically self-identify as being from Long Island or San Diego when asked) as are the Japanese teaching assistants or other Japanese undergrads (*gakubusei*) without proper *ryūgakusei* status as defined by the university. In fact, when I asked one of our freshers if she knew why only a handful of the students from our fall intake were in attendance, she implied that there had been a sort of boycott of the event by our Institute students owing to the fact that not all had been invited. This is interesting, since much of the rhetoric behind the Japanese government funding of "internationalization" hints at the rub-off globalization effect that non-Japanese students are expected to have on the Japanese campuses, which are still populated predominately with domestic undergraduates, not to mention the fact that most of the *ryūgakusei* are, if not full-fledged students of Japanese studies, are at least studying the language and have an interest in interacting with Japanese students.

So even as Alex Kerr describes the venue for Doshisha's overseas student party, Kyoto Tower, as being a "stake through the heart" of the city of Kyoto, (Dougill, 2006, 219), I would argue that this party itself, while well-intended on the surface and since aborted, is indicative of practices within administrative systems that drive a stake through the heart of "internationalization" of universities, especially those institutions that are part of both the G30 and G30+ projects, of which Doshisha is one of only three (along with Tohoku and Waseda).

These practices effectively work to re-embed national boundaries and identities, working to further peripheralize the more integrative voices on campus, both those of transnational students and transnational faculty. The locus of many of these practices falls squarely with the administrative and academic staff who wield authority at the center of the university. These actors, and the practices that they enforce, appear on the surface to be dedicated to increasing a crossover between flows of students and researchers. Many of the actors are themselves ostensibly part of "internationalization" or "globalization" offices or programs at the university campus. However, close-up observation of, and intense engagement with, the actual processes of reform reveals how university structures are embedded in domesticated "precedent" (*zenrei*) and "tacit understandings" (*anmoku no ryōkai*), which maintain a status quo that has the effect of impeding transnational flows of students, scholars, and curricula, a "de-internationalization".

Apinall (2010) and others (e.g., Ninomiya et al., 2009; Poole, 2010) have described professorial resistance to "internationalization." My participant observation at both small, less-esteemed universities and large, prestigious private and national ones suggests that though this is true, the issue is fairly nuanced and involves a competing discourse of the practice of education on the one hand and the institutional/school management of these educational programs on the other. Breaden (2012, p. 36) puts it nicely when he sums up how the success of internationalization projects at a Japanese university "... is more likely to be defined in practice as the capacity to absorb new tasks into the existing operational framework."

Though university presidents and ministry officials may indeed have as a mission the better integration of students and faculty, administrative systems and institutional norms—the "operational framework"—present a formidable resistance to these goals, a drive toward de-internationalization on campuses around Japan that one might label as the "cultural arbitrary of institutions." The framework of the bureaucracy at large universities, including the cultural, "common sense" norms and accepted practice (*jōshiki*) that guide the administrative actors within the bureaucracy (see Breaden, 2012), works against change. Without substantial and sustainable reform of the operational and cultural framework that drive the daily practice of a Japanese university, implementation of the above-stated, and oft-repeated, numbers will be nearly impossible.

Interviews with key figures at a number of institutions in Japan, and my own personal observations over the past ten years, summarize a set of assumptions, *jōshiki*, that embed the bureaucratic framework and administrative practice and that effect a "de-internationalization" of the Japanese university campus. I focus on two dimensions of these *jōshiki* beliefs surrounding administrative work—the first involves skills and hiring practices, and the next is the administrative system itself.

OPERATIONAL FRAMEWORK OF ADMINISTRATIVE *JŌSHIKI*

Amano Ikuo the doyen of Japanese higher educational research, once related to me in an interview that he was of the opinion few HEI leaders realized the fact that the administrative staff (*shokuin*) were potentially the universities' greatest asset if managed properly (Amano, 2004). Indeed, the incorporation of national universities has introduced more flexibility and emphasis on administrative staff development (Oba, 2007). However, the management of human resources at most private and public Japanese universities, specifically the hiring practices and skills expected of administrative staff, are surrounded with a set of five assumptions.

To begin with, nearly all full-time, permanently employed (*shūshin koyō*) administrative staff are generalists, not specialists. There is a high rate of job mobility, but it is intra-institutional. All administrators are rotated throughout the campus departments, changing jobs every few years. By the time they reach a senior level in the escalator system of promotion (*nenkō joretsu seido*), university administrators are familiar with most aspects of work around the campus—from the library, to the accounting office, to student affairs, to the different departments—having worked for years in numerous different offices. Because of this practice, there is very little, if any, job mobility between institutions. For example, an administrator in the admission office of one university would normally not be hired as an admission officer at another university.

With a few exceptions (e.g., Breaden, 2013), hiring practices assume that permanent administrative staff are Japanese nationals educated in Japan. Non-Japanese, or transnational Japanese, even if fully bilingual, are usually hired into temporary contractual positions. The assumption is that a life-long, generalist administrative position is most easily filled with university graduates who are Japanese nationals. With the increase in non-Japanese undergraduates, it will be interesting to see whether this assumption will change and international students will be employed more frequently.

The third *jōshiki* belief is that permanent staff are hired directly from university (*shinsotsu ikkatsu saiyō*). When hires are made from other industries into university administrative work, it is rarely a late career hire. Though headhunting mid-level managers into university administration is not unheard of, it is certainly very uncommon. This is a feature of traditional employment practices in Japan more generally. That is, employment streams are inflexible, and university staff initially hired as contractual employees are rarely if ever then able to be moved into a permanent track. This fourth assumption is based on the belief that promotion should be an escalator system available only to permanent employees. Administrators hired into contractual positions are given no opportunity to take part in administrative staff development. There is little institutional investment or incentives in place for the large number of nonpermanent members of the university administration.

These first four assumptions generate an administrative environment where, for example, a prestigious national university, striving to reach a higher rank in the international league tables, could have an administrator rotated into the position of international student office manager with few global skills, or in the worst case, who defiantly admits "I dislike foreigners," as related to me by a colleague. This is a reflection of the fifth assumption that a generalist university administrator will be conducting "global work" with local understandings and perspectives. The administrators in the university finance office will be making decisions about overseas travel budget calculations having had no experience traveling abroad themselves. The cultural norm dictates that since "we Japanese administrators lack 'global skills'," all "international" work will be relegated to a specific set of administrators on campus—usually bilingual temporary staff on the very periphery of the campus power structure.

This style of peripheralizing responses to globalization into universities’ “International Offices” relates to another set of assumptions surrounding the administrative systems on campuses. The *jōshiki* beliefs that university administrators have about the organizational systems on campuses in Japan are revealed by considering two questions:

1. Are administrators with “global skills and experience” at the center of the university HEI power structure?
2. What skills, strategies, and work patterns are most valued by administrators in power?

A full discussion of these questions is beyond the scope of this chapter and has been addressed comprehensively elsewhere (Breaden, 2012b), but I will offer a few points of observation at this juncture. Firstly, though the diversity of HEIs in Japan precludes unqualified generalizations, it is safe to say that many comprehensive research universities are rather decentralized organizations. The prevailing assumption among administrators is that departmental or group (*buka*)-centered work is more effective and takes priority over university or team-centered work. There are constant struggles over the claiming or refusing of responsibility for campus administrative work tasks. Chain of command and hierarchy create the appearance of a highly centralized organization, but in effect these structures actually obstruct efforts to focus on interdepartmental cooperation and, hence, the larger mission of the university as a whole (e.g., Collini, 2012).

Another important belief that I have observed is that the university campus is dichotimized. This assumption reveals itself in everyday communication events, through interactions with colleagues on campus. Even though I have an administrative position of “Dean” in addition to my academic position of “Professor,” administrators will employ the *jōshiki* that they represent the side of the university (*“daigaku gawa”*) in their daily work-related interactions with me. The assumption is that in addition to micro-managing students (Breaden, 2012), the faculty members, must also be “managed.” The belief being that the role of the administrator is to “represent” the “university,” the HEI as an organizational entity more than an educational or research one. The effect of this administrator versus faculty dichotimization is an impediment to change, a status quo that is defended by the enforcement of administrative *jōshiki.*

One example is the paradoxical Catch-22 where a department is given the mandate and mission to implement a new initiative or program, but the tacit organizational rules of precedents (*zenrei*), which are rather strictly enforced through administrative *jōshiki,* actually work to prevent the implementation of the innovation. At risk of oversimplifying the complex cultural nuance, this creates another dichotomy—the campus “innovators” or “heretics” versus the “maintainers of the status quo” or “loyalists.” Importantly, the lines are drawn individually, and often even situationally, rather than by job title. We might observe a faculty member acting as a “loyalist” in one instance, while an administrator in the same department may be taking the side of the "innovator." These lines are especially visible on campuses that have a long and proud tradition behind them, such as the former imperial universities and elite privates.

If one of the motivations for "internationalization" projects on Japanese university campuses is to effect innovation and change, it is interesting to note that in reflecting on the first question stated above, those with power in the HEI organization are not necessarily those with "global skill sets." The ability to work within the rules of campus-wide *jōshiki* enable the accumulation of social and cultural capital within the institution. This same ability, however, hinders the adoption of different norms based on a different set of *jōshiki*. Global skill sets tend to hinder one's ability to work effectively and efficiently within the organizational system of the HEI. And no matter if a skill set is based on a deep understanding of either local or global *jōshiki*, only permanent members of administrative or academic staff are given the full responsibility that their role entails. Contract workers, whether nontenured faculty or administrative specialists, are rarely considered to be full-fledged members of the university community. Not only on an individual level, but on an institutional level as well, those universities with administrative systems deemed rather effective at responding to the pressures and challenges of globalization, less handcuffed by locally held *jōshiki* beliefs, are usually regarded by society as being "niche" institutions on the periphery of the Japanese HEI system (e.g., International Christian University, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Temple University Japan).

So is the present model of university administration sufficient to respond to globalized degree programs? Rephrasing Amano Ikuo's (2004) thoughts about administrators being the greatest, most important, most overlooked resource of universities, one might ask is it possible to build global human resources *("global jinzai")* with organizational systems controlled by local bureaucrats (especially when these local administrators are employed to enforce a cultural arbitrary of norm-driven beliefs, *jōshiki*)?

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS: CRITICAL LITERACY AND A RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF THE "INTERNATIONAL"

The answer to this question is "probably not." So what to do. The organizational frameworks can be changed only by challenging those within, the university actors and players would have to reexamine their own cultural assumptions, *jōshiki*. Might one not best accomplish this reexamination of the cultural arbitrary at HEI within the HEI curriculum itself? In terms of this pedagogy, I would suggest that Paulo Freire's (1987) concept of "critical literacy" may be a useful approach to teaching "the international" in Japan to university students—the next generation of administrators. In an educational sense, Freire's critical pedagogy—reading the world and reading the word—is an implementation of a dialogic relationship to learning, an emic understanding of society and the institutions that make up society, such as universities.

An accurate reading of the world would allow for more flexible *jōshiki*. In classes, seminars, and corridors, an interdisciplinary perspective might help to implement a better understanding of the multivocality of the symbol "international" (Goodman, 2007), explicating how "internationalisation is the sum of the many different contexts, motivations and practices surrounding the term's usage" (Breaden, 2012, 22). Such an understanding of "international" (or "global") might offer an alternative to the more dominant discourse that is the "cultural logic of nationalism," a *jōshiki* that Ulrich Beck (2007) has pointed out is a "methodological nationalism," one based on the assumption that the nation-state is the natural, and only, social and political form of the modern world. Considering our lived reality in a globalized society, why is "transnational" an afterthought rather than the starting point for our methodology?

For anthropologists, sociologists, and comparativists, this reconceptualization is not all that difficult, using metaphors from social scientists like Beck, and others such as Street's (1993) idea of "culture as a verb," Mathews' (2000) concept of a "cultural supermarket," or White's (2003) idea of "intracultural development." Such conceptualizations help teachers and learners to challenge long-held assumptions, stereotypes, of their own social worlds and social identities—the "international." This, I would argue, is the dialogic relationship to learning that Freire argued for in his critical pedagogy.

Outside the fields of anthropology and sociology, linguists and educationists have also been quick to point out the limitations of the national culture model (e.g., Holliday, 2010; Bray, 2010), upon which educational programs such as Hirsch's (1988) "cultural literacy" (*What every American needs to know*) and the Common Core State Standards in the U.S. are based and which equate an "educated identity with that of mere skill acquisition" (Arnove, 2010), begging the question of what Americans (or the citizens of any society) are not allowed to know (Macedo, 1994). By challenging the assumptions and stereotypes of a national cultural model, moving away from re-embedded intercultural boundaries, and placing citizens of nation-states—the U.S., the U.K., Japan, China, etc.—within a larger, intracultural space of hybridity and creolization (Willis & Murphy-Shigematsu, 2008) allows us to "read the world."

Such an approach to reading the world makes for some interesting transformative moments. For example, a few years ago I arrived at San Francisco airport with a group of Japanese university students embarking on a semester abroad program. Upon arrival at the gate for the domestic transfer flight, one of the young men observed, "*Sensei, yappari mawari ga minna gaijin da*!" ("Sensei, everybody here is a foreigner!") to which I quickly retorted, "*Nani iutteiruyo! Omae no hō wa gaijin dai yo*!" ("What are you saying?! You're the foreigner!"). This exchange had all the students and me laughing, but it also reflects a serious reality that we sometimes forget—in today's globalized, accelerated world of transnational citizens, we are all "Others."

In another example, a second-year student wrote a reflection essay based on a discussion. “Today,” she wrote, “we had only a short time to think about the meaning of ‘foreigner.’ Though our discussion looked ‘quiet’ it is was actually exciting! I thought about the meaning of ‘foreigner’ when I was a junior high school student. That was the time when I first went to New Zealand. There, people were really kind to me, and they treated me as almost the same as their own children or friends. Then I found that we shouldn’t judge people by their nationality or stereotypes, but by personal relationships. I need to know each person individually.” She continues, “After that experience, I don’t want to use the word “foreigner” (*gaikokujin*), because that is too simple an explanation of a person and little bit exclusive in its meaning.” This experience connects to that of another Japanese student’s, who upon return from volunteer work in Cameroon announced that she had discovered “In Africa, I am ‘white’!”

Our social identities are constructed by the perception of the Self and the Other. These “aha” moments, I feel, effect an “internationalization” at a level that could eventually lead to a certain social transformation of *joshiki* beliefs held by many administrators and faculty at Japanese HEIs. Without them, many of these “international” HE programs may merely end up redefining and reconstructing cultural boundaries.

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Gregory S. Poole
Professor of Sociocultural Anthropology
Doshisha University
Kyoto, Japan

PART 5

OVERVIEW

WESLEY SHUMAR

14. INTERNATIONALIZATION AS A CONTRADICTORY SIGN IN THE GLOBAL ERA

The chapters in this collection constitute an important contribution to thinking about higher education in Japan. The focus in Japanese higher education on "internationalization" and "globalization" underscores the effort to update and inscribe the system of higher education into the contemporary Japanese economy in several ways. This effort in Japan is paralleled by recent transformations in higher education in Europe and by the longer set of transformations that have been going on in the U.S. since the 1970s. This volume speaks to a global trend and is one example of how this global trend has specific local features and consequences.

Increasingly, in the global knowledge economy, universities are playing an important role as regional economic development drivers. In many cities and regions universities, along with medical systems, are the key employers and economic actors in the local political economy. In this economic context, there is a heightened interest in workers/citizens with cosmopolitan exposure as well as advanced technical skills for a knowledge economy.

It is in this economic context that more and more universities worldwide are focusing on making sure all their students have study abroad experiences. There is also a parallel interest in international programs that take faculty and students to other places or bring groups of faculty and students from other nations to a home campus. All the articles in this volume discuss various aspects of how an older notion of internationalization, which played a relatively small role in Japan, is now a major symbol in the global era. And while Japan is a major player in the production of tertiary education for an international audience, as well as a major player in the global political economy, international programs continue to struggle to find their places at Japanese universities. This summary essay comments on some of the key themes across the chapters in this volume, situating these comments in the larger political economic contexts and addressing the contradictions therein.

In this volume, "internationalization" is a contradictory sign and one that has a very unclear and uneasy relationship to globalization. For most of the researchers here, it smacks of an older era when study abroad was a nice liberal arts tradition, but it was more like icing on the educational cake. International programs were ones that provided a well-rounded education. They made students more worldly. And if they

J. Mock et al. (Eds.), The Impact of Internationalization on Japanese Higher Education, 223–230.

were successful, they potentially brought a little money into the university, or at least broke even. But in a previous era it was relatively unimportant what educational role they played. If international students did not mix much with domestic students, and they did not, this was not really an important matter. What was important in the past was that the student have an international experience.

Today, when faculty, administrators and students use the term "internationalization," it brings up these older notions of a supplementary program where students and faculty did not really connect much across nation and culture. This is the main part of what makes the term "internationalization" contradictory today. Several of the authors in this volume take up the current reality of this need to, as Mock states in his introduction, address "the acquisition of intercultural skills." (See Fukuzawa, Kawamura, Occhi, & Naganuma, this volume.) Because today, in Japan and elsewhere, this is not seen as icing on the cake but an essential part of the educational experience for many if not most students. In today's global economy, these kinds of cross-cultural experiences are important. They are important at a number of different levels, because all parts of the social system are global. And so citizens need a global perspective in order to understand where they stand locally as well as in the larger world. Employers need a work force that is capable of working cross-culturally and is sensitive to difference in the world, etc. Further, employers need workers who are willing to consider relocating for temporary or permanent positions in another country.

Several articles in this volume look at the issue of trying to help students develop intercultural skills. Kawamura and Occhi discuss their work with various measures of intercultural competence and the things that are needed to help students become more open to others from different cultures and be more interculturally adept. Yet, as Watanabe points out in his personal reflection, international students and international experiences do not result in a great cultural experience because people live "apart together." This questions the value of experiences abroad and international universities fostering a more international attitude, as Naganuma states. For most of the authors concerned with these issues of intercultural competence and international attitudes, there is a linguistic component as well: can students be willing to interact with others from different cultures if they do not have some of the requisite linguistic competencies (Naganuma, Fukuzawa, Occhi).

But, as stated above, the contemporary context is more concerned with a broader economic and cultural globalization that is going on, and this has made internationalization feel more anachronistic. Perhaps we still use the term "internationalization" to express a sense of continuity with the past, but it is clear to most everyone who is working with international programs and international students in universities that what is driving these movements is globalization and the contradictory pressures of global capitalism. These global contradictory forces do a number of things. On the one hand, they drive universities around the world to compete for international students so that those universities, which have been marketized, can meet their budgetary requirements. We have seen this a lot with the competition for Chinese students in the West. Another thing global forces do is pressure students to become the managers of the global economy, although there are probably many fewer of those managers needed than our international programs might like us to think. And here is another ideological function "internationalization" performs; international experience is good for the self, whether or not it leads to a better job: it is good for us to have cross-cultural experience, to be less local and more global in our vision and understanding.

What lurks behind the contradictory symbol of "internationalization" is the equally contradictory symbol of "cosmopolitanism." An older image of cosmopolitanism is of the colonialist, be he a manager of an international firm or administrator working for government within the colony. With his elite education and his worldly ways, he[1] brought civilization to "natives" while smoothing the way for the extraction and exportation of surplus value that would fuel the industrial revolution and then, later, the consumer economy of the mother country. And if the cosmopolitan elite were perceived as necessary early in modernity, they certainly were also seen as exceptional. Not everyone needed to have a pith helmet and a jeep and go off to the colonies to make the world safe for market and commodified consumption. This was a special task for a rare breed of elites. But at its core, cosmopolitanism was a symbol that was needed to support the management of the colonial system, itself a highly contradictory system of capital accumulation. And its primary function was economic, to guarantee the extraction of surplus value from the colonies to support the developed economies.

Cosmopolitanism was a political ideal that embraced a cultural set of beliefs and was undergirded by an economic logic. As Ronald Stade has suggested, cosmopolitanism signaled an engagement with the liberal political project on a global scale (Rapport & Stade, 2007). It was about the democratization and emancipation of the human race. At a more practical and status-based level, cosmopolitans were liberal. In anthropology, the image is of Malinowski, the cool, savvy, cosmopolitan who was equally comfortable in a chic London restaurant or in the bush. And so this political idea of the liberal enlightenment project had cultural implications. Cosmopolitans were worldly and culturally relativist, open to others. This was part of the upper middle class status in a developing modernity in the early twentieth century. The contradiction was that it offered the hope that with mass production and mass transportation, everyone could have Freud's library, travel to the ends of the world and share in the common humanity of the world. But, of course, this was the elite status marker of an educated and liberal rising upper middle class and as such would need to remain exclusive, even as it grew in social stature, power, and size.

If cosmopolitanism was a political project that was linked to a set of cultural ideals and the new markers of upper middle class status, it was also part of capitalism's drive to seek new sources of labor, materials and, most importantly, markets. Baudrillard (1983) suggested, talking about how America lost but won the Vietnam War, the drive is to transform all social systems worldwide so that they are compatible with capitalist production, distribution, and consumption (Shumar, 1997). The common humanity ideal is also about a common desire to consume mass-produced products. This economic logic, while without consciousness, was often behind the push for a more global and cosmopolitan society. So there is a double economic logic to cosmopolitanism, one where the managers of the global economy attempt to smooth capital accumulation and where elite products like coffee, tea, sugar, spices, and later many other products fuel a growing consumerism that itself is status driven (Mintz, 1986).

Today, cosmopolitanism is seen as a necessary skill or subjective position. Ever since the 1980's, the global economic system has really begun to function much more completely as an interlinked system of production, distribution and consumption on a global scale. With a much larger and interconnected system of global production more people are considered to be cosmopolitans (Althusser, 1971; Butler, 1997). And while many individuals have been drawn into global production, sociologists like Castells (2010) have pointed out that, overall, the percentage of the population that could be considered a cosmopolitan elite has not changed. His point is that the benefits of globalization are not spreading out to a larger percentage of the working population. Cosmopolitans are still a small percentage of the population who see more of the benefits of globalization, while others are informed of the benefits of globalization but are not affected by those benefits, or, worse, have lost locally situated jobs as the global system replaces their forms of work. Sassen (2001) in a parallel way has shown that much of the growth in the knowledge economy is in the area of corporate services and has not spread to a more general population. Nevertheless, nations and employers remain very interested in making sure there is a skilled workforce with global cosmopolitan experience so that there is a large pool of workers to draw upon.

This situation sets up a number of scarcities and contradictions that affect modern universities. First, nations and national policies are often about becoming nimble neoliberal states, where highly educated citizens can command the top businesses and jobs in the global knowledge economy. But these industries and jobs are not ubiquitous, and in the competition there are winners and losers. Hence much of the highly paid, high-skill jobs are in global cities and dominated by elites who reside there (Sassen, 2001), leaving others who seek a more cosmopolitan and high-paid global lifestyle to settle for much less.

It has been a mainstay of modern anthropological research to situate local situations and experiences within a broader historical and social context. While not specifically anthropological, the chapters in this volume do some of that same research. And there are different levels of context. The first is the national context, how higher education is impacting and is affected by the nation state. But the larger historical and social view is how various institutions of higher education fit within a global context.

Japan finds itself in a unique place, due to its economic history, in the development of the global economy and globalization. The long post-World War II economic booms in Japan came to an abrupt end in the early 1990s. And especially after the powerful and expansive decade of the 1980s, where policy makers in the U.S. and other countries felt Japan was going to become the leading economic power, the bust of the 1990s and the so-called “lost decade” was a surprising twist of fate. The long and slowly recovering recession, which now some are thinking of as two decades long, means that issues of globalization and economic development are felt acutely in Japan. So some of the contradictory pressures on institutions of higher education are perhaps more acutely felt in Japan as well.

Several of the articles in this volume discuss the contradictory situation of the economy, globalization pressures, and the role of higher education. Aspinall and Eades focus directly on the contradictory position of the economy and its impact on higher education. Aspinall uses Beck’s (1992) notion of the “risk society” to frame the contradictions as Japan moves from a historically protectionist position to globalization. Aspinall points out that as there have been increasing pressures on Japanese companies to be truly global; they need workers who are capable of functioning in a global marketplace. But the national universities are adverse to change and risk. Eades takes this analysis and complicates it by looking at different kinds of Japanese universities and how they deal with the pressures of internationalization and different kinds of internationalization. Gonzalez Basurto and Cooper look at these pressures from within particular institutions. At Tsukuba, Gonzalez Basurto sees a lot of resistance to change. She suggests that internationalization at the university needs to focus less on numeric targets of international students and more on cultural change. Cooper echoes her thought and adds that with a weak economy and a declining group of traditional age students, international students might become a more valuable commodity. Hansen is even more direct, pointing out that the much-touted numerical goals are ephemeral. Hansen suggests that the whole move toward having more “international” participants is illusory.

In the current era, globalization and neoliberal economic policies are having an impact on institutions of higher education in several ways. First, universities have become central to regional economic development. They are not just partner institution; but they are often drivers of this development. As large institutions that are large employers, they often have a power in the postindustrial economy that perhaps they did not feel in the past. And as the global knowledge economy is driven by technological and biomedical development that comes out of university research labs, universities are looked to as the source of new products and new services. It’s ironic that an educational institution has become a source of driving economic development worldwide. It is one of the ways that the economic is colonizing other institutions and segments of society. And its one of the main and most important definitions of commodification in my mind, an ongoing and central process to consumer capitalism. Further, as Mock points out, as globalization is driving universities to become focused on particular industries this has a tendency to impoverish rural areas even more. If industries are too small or unimportant to be driven to the city where they can be part of the technological center, then there is a tendency for those industries to be moved offshore. The result is to leave the countryside even more impoverished both economically and culturally.

A second and related function of the new global economy is the production of cosmopolitan elites who become the managers of the global system. As discussed above, while the percentage of cosmopolitan elites has not grown, their numbers have and they play a critical function in the global system. Their guaranteed reproduction is important even if this means over-educating a portion of the society. The cosmopolitan elite in the 21st century economy are prosumers, and this has had a profound impact on the ways that workplaces and universities are structured. As knowledge production and innovation become so critical to the knowledge economy, work and knowledge production need to be creative and open. Workplaces are getting rid of offices and desks, creating more spaces for conversation, hanging out, collaborative work, etc. Likewise universities have become a cross between a corporate research park, country club, and shopping mall (Shumar, 2008).

Neoliberal ideology suggests that state support of educational institutions is not the most efficient way to motivate those institutions. Rather and ironically, while neoliberalism suggests that the free market should structure all, what happens, as David Harvey has suggested (2000), is that the state ends up helping to fund corporate development projects, especially as they relate to privatizing prosumer spaces, rather than supporting public good. Indeed throughout this process the public gets legislated out of existence, since space where the public meets is gradually reduced. As part of this process, state support for universities is decreasing worldwide. The U.S., with its large number of private universities, was a leader of this trend, but Europe and the other OECD nations are rapidly catching up with the U.S. This has led more and more universities to depend on student fees and tuitions as a way to raise funds and support their operations, as they receive less money from state support. This, ironically, creates a major tension, as universities become more important to regional economic development and to the production of the global cosmopolitan elite who run the global political economy; they are more dependent upon their own revenue generation to perform these critical tasks.

Finally I would add that this tension to generate their own income to perform these critical tasks is experienced differently by different universities. First, elite (and rich) universities have not only be able to pay for these tasks, but they have seen themselves become extremely rich over the last thirty years. As Breault and Callejo Perez (2012) point out, only a very small number of universities in the United States have an endowment of over $1 billion dollars. And the top universities in that group have much more than $1 billion. The rest of the universities in the U.S. have much more modest endowments that are not likely to grow so large. They are hence dependent upon state funding, or tuition, or a combination of both. The situation worldwide is much the same. So most universities are being pressed to be regional economic development drivers and produce the individuals who will lead in those spaces, without the resources to do so. All universities then end up competing to be the next entrepreneurial university in these situations.

The Japanese university enters into this situation within the context of the long recession, catching up with globalization, and the place of the university in the global economy. During the boom years of the 1970s and 1980s, Japanese higher education began to reach out to bring more international students to Japan to study. It was also the case that many affluent Japanese students went to study in other countries. Many Western universities, especially in the U.S., began to open branch campuses in Japan during this time. Internationalization was a flourishing concept in these very early days of globalization. As the global economy expanded dramatically in the 1990s and early 2000s, Japan found itself in the midst of a large and protracted economic recession that got dubbed “Japan’s lost decade,” and some are now calling it “Japan’s lost two decades.”

For higher education, this has meant a number of important things. First, higher education is an important service industry in Japan, in much the same way it is in other countries. While there is a difficult language barrier for Japanese students studying in English and for European and American students studying in Japanese, higher education in Japan has a large number of international students and would like to expand that pool. At the same time, the Japanese economy is attempting to catch up with globalization and the significant economic development that has happened in China, Europe, and the United States. This has put a lot of pressure on higher education to become a more central part of the global system and for it to play the role of regional economic development driver as it does in other countries. So Japan is at a critical juncture. Poole suggests that maybe this is not just an opportunity to compete in the global marketplace but maybe it is also a Freirian (1986) pedagogical moment. In this moment Japanese students and faculty could not only more genuinely engage with the international, but they could also raise questions about the current global system that is putting pressure on them to respond in particular marketized ways. And Hardy says that in order to do this work that Poole suggests, maybe we need to begin this critical pedagogy process with students in primary and secondary schools. He looks at a group of textbook writers to pursue this view of the international.

These are a lot of pressures on a traditional educational system, which is best structured to allow scholars to pursue their own independent interests. And Japan has not had as much time as universities in other nations to get used to these pressures. Each of the chapters in this collection does a great job talking about pieces of these pressures, from issues of language and language training to issues of economic development and globalization. To my mind the power of this volume is it brings together in one place different looks at the contradictions of “internationalization” and how different constituents—students, faculty, administrators, policy makers—are dealing with these pressures.

NOTE

[1] And while the image that comes to mind is a he, Ann Stoller in her work in Indonesia has shown us that many of the colonialists were neither elite nor men. But we are trading here in a cultural imagination of cosmopolitanism, one that my discipline, anthropology, falls into quite easily with our photos of Malinowski and his notebooks sitting with the natives and extracting knowledge about their cultural ways.

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ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Robert Aspinall is a professor in the Faculty of Economics, Shiga University. He holds a Bachelor's degree from Reading University and Master's degrees from Manchester University and Essex University in the UK. He was a secondary school teacher in England for four years before coming to Japan on the JET programme where he worked at Urawa High school in Saitama for three years. After completing a D.Phil. doctoral degree at St Antony's College, Oxford he worked at Nagoya University for three years before taking up his present position. He is the author of *Teachers' Unions and the Politics of Education in Japan* (SUNY Press, 2001), *International Education Policy in Japan in an Age of Globalisation and Risk* (Global Oriental, 2013) as well as numerous articles on Japanese education and language policy.

Malcolm Cooper teaches tourism management and environmental law at Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Beppu, Japan. Formerly Vice President for Internationalization and Research, he is a specialist in tourism resource management (natural, cultural, social) and tourism development, environmental and water resource management and environmental law, and has published widely in these fields. He has lectured at the Universities of New England, Adelaide and Southern Queensland (Australia), and Waiariki Institute of Technology (New Zealand), and has worked in the environmental planning and tourism policy areas for Federal, State and Local Governments in Australia. At other times he has been both a private environmental planning consultant in Australia, and a tourism education consultant to the Governments of Sri Lanka, China and Vietnam. He is a recipient of the Australian Centennial medal and has published over 150 books and papers.

J. S. (Jerry) Eades is Emeritus Professor of Asia Pacific Studies, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University. He holds a PhD in social anthropology from Cambridge and honorary research positions in anthropology at the University of Kent and the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. He has taught in West Africa (1971–1976), the United Kingdom (1976–1991), and in both national and private universities in Japan (1991–2012). His current research interests include international migration and integration, the urban environment, tourism and higher education.

Rebecca Erwin Fukuzawa is a professor in the Faculty of Science and Engineering, Hosei University where she teachers anthropology and English. Her research interests include comparative education, social inequality and the school-to-work transition. Her current research focuses on the globalization of Japanese universities and the effects of educational, family and class background on university student job hunting. She is the author of *Intense Years: How Japanese Adolescents Balance School, Family and Friends* (RoutledgeFalmer: 2001) with Gerald K. LeTendre.

Grace Gonzalez Basurto is a lecturer in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, International Christian University and Postdoctoral Fellow at the Center for the Study of the Creative Economy, Doshisha University. She holds a Ph.D. in International Political Economy from the University of Tsukuba, Japan and a M.Sc. in Asia Pacific Studies from Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, Japan. She specializes in contemporary issues of urban political economy, particularly those reconfiguring the form and function of cities in the context of the knowledge/creative economy.

Paul Hansen completed his PhD in anthropology at SOAS focusing on dairy farm industrialization in Hokkaido. Through a pair of post-docs at Minpaku and Hokkaido University his research shifted to dog-human relations in urban Japan. He currently does research on animal-human-technology, ethics, affect, and embodiment in Japan and Jamaica alongside developing a budding interest in cosmopolitanism and music and gender relations. He was a contracted assistant professor at a Japanese national university. He is now a contracted professor at Hokkaido University.

Thomas Hardy is an associate professor in the Faculty or Nursing and Medical Care at Keio University where he teaches English. His PhD in anthropology is from the New School, New York. He has done research on volunteerism in Japan, especially with people living with AIDS, and conducted an ethnographic study of a Tokyo community and its relationship with a local garden. His current research is based on his work with a team of writers, scholars, and editors involved in constructing an English textbook series for Japanese junior high school students. He is interested in the ways culture mediates the uses of power, meaning, and language in their work.

Hiroaki Kawamura is an associate professor and chair of the Department of Language and Culture at The University of Findlay, Ohio. He holds a Ph.D. in cultural anthropology from The Ohio State University. His areas of research include symbolic anthropology and applied anthropology (program evaluation and language education). He has published articles on native Americans, program evaluation and study abroad. In recent years, he has been leading a community internationalization project in northwest Ohio.

John Mock is a social anthropologist who has lived and worked in the United States and Japan. After being retired as a professor in the Doctoral Program in International Political Economy at the University of Tsukuba, he is now a visiting professor at Temple University Japan teaching anthropology and history. He is the author of *Culture, Community and Change in a Sapporo Neighborhood 1925–1988: Hanayama* (Edwin Mellen Press, 1999) and is increasingly interested in Japan outside of the Metropolitan core.

Naeko Naganuma is an assistant professor in the EAP (English for Academic Purposes) program at Akita International University. She has been teaching a variety of courses, including reading, writing, communication, computer, and TOEFL courses, at AIU for ten years. Her research interests have been in CALL (Computer Assisted Language Learning), especially in methods of making use of technology to enhance second language learning, and pragmatics. She is also interested in researching ways how Japanese students can acquire intercultural competence as well as linguistic competence.

Debra J. Occhi, a linguistic anthropologist specializing in Japanese, is Professor of Anthropology at Miyazaki International College, Japan. Her research interests include ideology, gender, regionality, emotion, and nature, as well as education. Recent publications include "Wobbly Aesthetics, Performance, and Message: Comparing Japanese Kyara with their Anthropomorphic Forebears" (2012, *Asian Ethnology*), "Tiny buds whispering: flowers in contemporary Japanese culture and ideology" (2009, *Social Semiotics*), and "Ideologies and Practices of Naming in Cross-cultural Educational Context" in *Ethnographies of the Professoriate in East Asia: Faculty Tradition in the Face of Globalizing Reforms* (2009).

Gregory S. Poole is a professor of sociocultural anthropology at the Institute for the Liberal Arts, Doshisha University, Kyoto, Japan. His areas of research include the anthropology of education, language, and Japan and he has served on committees of the Council on Anthropology and Education (American Anthropological Association), Anthropology of Japan in Japan, and the Japan International Education Society. His publications include *The Japanese Professor: An Ethnography of a University Faculty* (2010), *Higher Education in East Asia: Neoliberalism and the Professoriate* (2009, co-edited with Ya-chen Chen), and "The Japanese University in Crisis," (*Higher Education,* 2005, coauthored with Ikuo Amano).

Wesley Shumar is a cultural anthropologist at Drexel University whose research focuses on higher education, ethnographic evaluation in education and virtual educational communities. His current work in higher education focuses on the spatial transformation of American universities within the consumer spaces of cities and towns. This work looks at the most recent phase of the commodification of the university, earlier phases of which were explored in *College for Sale: A Critique of the Commodification of Higher Education*, Falmer Press, 1997 and in the co-edited volume with Joyce Canaan titled *Structure and Agency in the Neoliberal University*, Routledge/Falmer, 2008. He is co-editor with Ann Renninger of Building *Virtual Communities: Learning and Change in Cyberspace*, published by Cambridge University Press.

Shumpei Watanabe is currently a researcher at the Institute of Energy and Economics, Japan. While he was a student, he studied at five schools in three different countries, including University of Tsukuba, Japan (BA in International Studies), University of Utrecht (exchange student in international law program), University of Tokyo (Master in Public Policy), and National University of Singapore (dual degree with University of Tokyo, Master in Public Policy). During his student life he studied the dynamics between Japanese and international students in higher education. His current research field is international cooperation in energy efficiency policy making and global climate change.

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