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Migration, displacement and education: Building bridges, not walls

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND STUDENT MOBILITY IN JAPAN AND ASIA

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1. INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY TRENDS IN JAPAN AND ASIA AND THEIR SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

1.1 Overview

One of the cornerstones of the internationalization of higher education is international student mobility. This is not a new phenomenon. The concept of students crossing borders and studying in other countries in pursuit of knowledge can be traced back to the beginnings of higher education (Lucas 2009). However, the scale of international student mobility we are currently witnessing is unprecedented. According to UNESCO statistics, the number of internationally mobile students has more than doubled, from about 2 million in 2000 to 4.6 million in 2015. This number is expected to further increase to as many as 8 million by 2025 (Guruz 2011).

At the center of the global landscape of international student mobility is Asia. The growing focus on this region is because of its role as the largest origin region for international students in the world and its growing popularity as a host region for international students. Since 1999, the number of outbound students from Asia has more than tripled, from 771,496 in 1999 to 2,328,887 in 2015 (Figure 1). Furthermore, the number of inbound students to Asia has also increased almost three-fold from 323,487 in 1999 to 928,977 in 2015 (Figure 2).



Figure 1. Outbound Mobility from Asia by Region, 1999-2015 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics





This astounding growth of international student mobility in the region of Asia is a result of intra-regional mobility, particularly to the sub region of the Asia-Pacific, rather than a new influx of students from the West, as shown in

Figure 3. In 2015, there were approximately 607,956 internationally mobile students in the Asia-Pacific region, with 447,124 originating from another country within the region — some 72% of the total. The number of students arriving from other regions were less prominent in 2015, with only 73,329 students from South and West Asia, 31,684 from North America and Western Europe, and 21,247 from Sub-Saharan Africa. This pattern of intra-regional mobility is not a new trend. Japan, for example, has had "Asian nations overwhelmingly provide...most of its overseas enrolments, and they have done [sic] for several years" (Verbik and Lasanowski 2006, 14). For Japan as well as many other Asian countries, the main focus of inbound mobility has been the attraction of students from within the region, and when possible, from traditionally dominant countries in the West.



Figure 3. Outbound Mobility from East Asia and the Pacific by Region, 1999-2010 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

While China and Japan are traditional destinations for international students in Asia, Malaysia, South Korea and Thailand are emerging as hot spots for international students. Meanwhile, there are also increases in outbound mobility from East Asian countries (Table 2). Tables 1and Table 2 suggest that, since the beginning of the 21st century, the majority of countries in East Asia have all witnessed significant increases in the number of international students within their borders that correlate to a certain extent to the number of students being sent abroad by neighboring countries in the region. For example, Table 1 shows that while the number of inbound international students to Japan grew from 14,960 in 1986 to 130,124 in 2006, the growth has slowed down to only 132,785 in 2015. This lower increase of inbound international students from 2006 to 2015 is only noticeable for Japan. China, Malaysia, South Korea, and Thailand all experienced substantial inbound growth from 2006 to 2015, with the numbers for China increasing almost three-fold and those for Malaysia, South Korea, and Thailand more than doubling.

	1986*	1996**	2006***	2015***
China	-	-	36,386	123,127
Japan	14,960	53,511	130,124	132,685
Malaysia	-	-	24,404	60,244
South Korea	1,309	2,143	22,260	54,540
Thailand	-	-	5,601	12,274

TABLE 1. INBOUND MOBILITY TO SELECT EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

Source: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1988); ** UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1998); *** UIS Statistics

Meanwhile, the number of outbound mobile students from East Asia has continuously risen from 1986 to 2016. Most notable is the growth witnessed from China, with a fifteen-fold increase from 53,378 in 1986 to 801,187 in 2016. If we focus on the timeframe of 2006 to 2016, countries as China, Myanmar, Philippines and Vietnam doubled their outbound mobility while South Korea, Brunei Darussalam, Indonesia, and Thailand experienced lower rates of outbound mobility growth. Japan is the one outlier that experienced a decrease in the number of outbound mobile students from 59,166 in 2006 to 30,179.

TABLE 2. OUTBOUND MOBILITY FROM EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES

	1986*	1996**	2006***	2016***
China	53,378	115,871	407,743	801,187

South Korea	25,978	69,739	104,788	108,047
Japan	17,926	62,324	59,166	30,179
Brunei Darussalam	910	1,173	2,159	3,488
Cambodia	-	1,573	2,633	5,275
Indonesia	14,156	22,136	31,041	41,919
Laos	877	1,060	3,008	3,460
Malaysia	39,980	49,413	49,002	64,480
Myanmar	-	745	3,270	7,450
Philippines	4,994	5,107	7,902	14,696
Singapore	7,539	18,087	18,910	24,135
Thailand	8,649	17,093	25,796	28,339
Vietnam	5,342	6,299	23,330	63,703

Source: *UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1988); ** UNESCO Statistical Yearbook (1998); *** UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Behind this increased international mobility from East Asian countries are a myriad of contextual factors. We must consider whether the driving force of this comes from an increase in the overall numbers of students seeking higher education or if students are becoming more internationally mobile in their pursuit of higher education. Indeed, higher education in Asia has experienced rapid expansion in response to economic globalization (Yonezawa et al. 2014). UNESCO (2013) suggests that even with this rapid higher education expansion unmet domestic demands are pushing students to be internationally mobile. Table 3 presents recent trends for total enrolment in higher education compared to outbound mobility from East Asian countries. First, for some countries, namely China, Indonesia, Myanmar, Philippines and Vietnam, overall higher education enrolments have increased while the number of international mobile students has also increased. This suggests that perhaps students from these countries are seeking higher education in general. Meanwhile, in countries such Thailand, the overall enrolment numbers and outbound mobility remains steady. For other countries, particularly Vietnam, higher education enrolment remains steady while outgoing mobility continues to increase. This suggests that students from Vietnam are in fact becoming more internationally mobile in pursuing higher education. For Japan and South Korea, the number of mobile students has decreased while overall higher education enrolment rates have remained somewhat steady. This suggests the possibility that their students are less internationally mobile. However, for Japan, it is not that simple. The next section of this paper will discuss in detail how Japanese students are in fact increasingly studying abroad through participating in short-term, non-degree international mobility programs (see Table 7 and Figure 7) rather than degree programs. The case of Japan illustrates that there is may be a possibility of even higher rates of international student mobility that are not captured in the UNESCO data that focuses on degree-seeking students.

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
China	31,308,378	32,585,961	34,091,290	41,924,198	43,367,394	43,886,104
Outbound Mobility	653,658	698,395	714,449	754,312	800,701	801,187
South Korea	3,356,011	3,356,630	3,342,264	3,318,307	3,268,099	-
Outbound Mobility	126,848	128,296	121,437	113,832	108,621	108,033
Japan	3,880,544	3,884,638	3,862,749	3,862,460	3,845,395	-
Outbound Mobility	40,342	35,922	33,494	33,141	33,295	30,180
Brunei Darussalam	6,626	8,336	8,797	11,292	10,866	10,833
Outbound Mobility	3,325	3,426	3,550	3,242	3,302	3,488
Cambodia	223,222	-	-	-	217,364	-
Outbound Mobility	4,172	4,259	4,225	4,127	4,624	5,275
Indonesia	5,364,301	6,233,984	6,423,455	6,463,297	5,107,999	6,140,695
Outbound Mobility	37,176	36,830	36,048	36,770	35,576	41,919
Laos	125,323	126,314	137,092	132,435	130,191	122,508
Outbound Mobility	3,877	4,151	4,359	4,693	3,143	3,460
Malaysia	-	-	-	1,128,027	1,302,091	1,336,550
Outbound Mobility	59,542	59,918	59,776	60,263	63,136	64,482
Myanmar	659,510	634,306	-	-	-	771,321*
	6,774	7,271	7,047	7,217	6,536	7,450

TABLE 3. TOTAL ENROLMENTS IN TERTIARY EDUCATION AND OUTBOUND MOBILITY FROM EAST ASIA COUNTRIES

Outbound Mobility						
Philippines	2,951,195	3,044,218	3,317,265	3,563,396	-	3,589,484-
Outbound Mobility	11,949	11,711	11,230	11,761	13,119	14,695
Singapore	236,891	243,546	255,348	-	-	-
Outbound Mobility	20,637	21,274	22,050	22,131	23,029	24,135
Thailand	2,497,323	2,430,471	2,405,109	2,433,140	2,235,450	-
Outbound Mobility	28,301	27,207	26,307	25,176	25,529	28,339
Vietnam	2,229,494	2,261,204	2,250,030	2,692,124	2,466,643	2,307,361
Outbound Mobility	47,268	52,225	53,976	55,967	59,103	63,702

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Notes: * denotes 2017 data

This section of the paper introduces the recent international student mobility patterns in Japan as well as in other major countries in East Asia that contribute to international student flows and provides an overall outlook on student mobility in Asia. The statistical evidence and discussion in this section shows that countries in Asia attract most of their international students from neighboring countries in the same region and discusses the socio-economic underpinnings of this intra-regional student mobility. It is important to note the statistics of this section are compiled from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) Data Centre, UIS Education Digests and UNESCO Statistical Yearbooks. Over time, the UIS has revised its definitions of regions. In the case of China, the Educational Statistics Yearbook of China was also used as a data source when statistics were unavailable in UNESCO's data sources. For Japan, additional data from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (MEXT) and Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO) were also used to provide additional insights and understanding of the realities of Japanese student mobility. Due to the differences in definitions of international student among the data collection agencies, please note that there may be discrepancies between the numbers presented.

1.2 Recent International Student Mobility Trends in Japan

Japan has a long history of sending and receiving international students. In 1978, 1,132 international students studied in Japan. At that time, 353 (31.2 percent) originated from North America, 42 (3.7 percent) from Central and South America, 21 (1.9 percent) from Europe, 13 (1.1 percent) from Middle and Near East Asia, 25 (2.2 percent) from Africa, 2 (1< percent) from Oceania and 676 (59.7 percent) from Asia. This trend of

inbound student mobility to Japan from neighboring countries in Asia is holding steady in the 21st century. The number of inbound students to Japan in 1999 stood at 56, 552, and included 51,535 from Asia (91 percent). As the number of inbound students to Japan doubled to 126,912 in 2015, students from Asia continued to comprised 93 percent of this total. As Figure 4 shows, the most important increases of inbound students come from China and South Korea.



Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

While China and South Korea dominate inbound student mobility flows to Japan, ASEAN students are increasingly present in Japanese higher education institutions. These increases are noted in Figure 4 for Vietnam (432 to 6,017), Indonesia (1030 to 2387), and Thailand (950 to 2256) between 1999 to 2014, representing increases of 1,292 percent, 132 percent, and 137 percent, respectively. The United States is the one inbound country outside of Asia that almost increased two-fold from 1004 in 1999 to 2034 in 2014.



Figure 5. Inbound Mobility to Japan from Asian and Western Countries without Top Two Countries, 1999-2014 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Figure 6, based on JASSO statistics, provides an overview of the growing population of international students in Japanese higher education institutions by institutional type. Students studying at higher education institutions made up 182,384 of the 267,042 international students in 2017. This is a three-fold increase from 1999 when 55,755 international students studied at Japanese higher education institutions. It is interesting to note that inbound mobility to Japanese language institutions has greatly increased, from 24,092 in 2012 to 80,020 in 2015. But it is also important to note that JASSO categorizes an "international student" as an individual from a foreign country that entered Japan with a student visa, which can include both degree-seeking and non-degree seeking international students. This results in a discrepancy between the statistics from UNESCO and JASSO.



Figure 6. Inbound Mobility to Japan, 1983-2017 Source: JASSO, 2017a

Notes:

1. According to JASSO, international students are defined by the "Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Law," as a student from a foreign country who is granted the status of residence as a "College Student" (Student Visa), who is receiving education at Japanese university, graduate school, junior college, college of technology, professional training college, an educational institution that provides university preparatory courses, and Japanese language institutes in Japan;

2. Prior to 2011, students studying in Japan could receive two types of status of residence, "College Student" and "Pre-College Student". From 2011, these two categories were combined in the status of residence of "College Student," which is commonly referred to as a student visa. From 2011, international students enrolled in Japanese language institutes have also been surveyed and included in the data presented.

Since 2010, JASSO has released data regarding short-term study abroad in Japan. Short-term study abroad is limited to international students who study in Japan for a period of less than 6 months. The number of international students partaking in short-term study abroad in Japan has increased three-fold from 2010 to 2016, with significant increases at the graduate and undergraduate level demonstrated in Table 4 and Table 5.

Program Level	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Graduate	665	1,233	1,395	1,635	2,230	2,763	2,864

TABLE 4. SHORT-TERM STUDY ABROAD IN JAPAN BY PROGRAM TYPE, OVERALL TRENDS FROM 2010 TO 2016

Undergraduate	3,514	3,477	5,814	6,338	7,420	10,093	12,147
Junior College	207	239	120	128	149	116	230
Unknown	904	1,088	1,315	1,224	1,629	2,043	1,572
Total	5,290	6,037	8,644	9,325	11,428	15,015	16,813

Source: JASSO, 2017b

TABLE 5. SHORT-TERM STUDY ABROAD IN JAPAN BY PROGRAM TYPE AND LENGTH OF STUDY, 2010 AND 2016

Program Level	Less than 2 weeks	More than 2 weeks and less than 1 month	More than 1 month and less than 3 months	More than 3 months and less than 6 months	Total	% of Total
Graduate	1,592	453	685	134	2,864	17
	(363)	(77)	(186)	(39)	(665)	(12.6)
Undergradu	5,611	4,238	2,027	271	12,147	72.2
ate	(1,092)	(1,606)	(701)	(115)	(3,514)	(66.4)
Junior	88	102	28	12	230	1.4
College	(111)	(96)	(0)	(0)	(207)	(3.9)
Unknown	650	686	198	38	1,572	9.3
	(167)	(456)	(296)	(12)	(904)	(17.1)
Total	7,941	5,479	2,938	455	16,813	100
	(7,133)	(2,235)	(1,156)	(166)	(5,290)	(100)

Source: JASSO, 2012, 2017b

Note: A number in () indicates 2010 data.

Meanwhile, outbound mobility from Japan is often discussed in relation to its trend of year-by-year declines. Table 6 gives outbound international mobility from Japan by region. Unlike other countries, Japan experienced a decrease from 58,402 in 1999 to 35,922 in 2011. The decline in Japanese students travelling to North America and Western Europe from 54,553 in 1999 to 30,376 in 2011 is the main reason for the overall decrease in outbound students. Despite the overall decrease of outbound mobility from Japan though, destinations are diversifying as more students are studying in neighboring countries in East Asia and the Pacific sub-regions as well as in Central and Eastern Europe.

	1999	2005	2011
Arab States	-	-	-
Central and Eastern Europe	62	117	449
Central Asia	24	17	32
East Asia and the Pacific	3,647	5,855	4,708
Latin America and the Caribbean	60*	59	249
North America and Western Europe	54,553	57,520	30,376
South and West Asia	52	75	68
Sub-Saharan Africa	3		25
Total	58,402	64,285	35,922

TABLE 6. OUTBOUND MOBILITY FROM JAPAN BY REGION

*Note: * data from 2000 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics*

While UNESCO data paints a bleak picture for outbound mobile Japanese students in terms of overall numbers seeking degrees abroad, other data sources point to a different reality. JASSO statistics suggest a larger number of Japanese are seeking education abroad. While the number has decreased from its peak of 82,945 in 2004, the most recent data suggests an upwards trend with 60,643 Japanese nationals seeking education abroad in 2016, increasing from 54,455 in 2015. It is important to note this JASSO data defines study abroad as participation in university programs that not only include traditional classroom experiences but also language and cultural programs. We can also view Japanese outbound mobility through the lens of university exchange agreements. Horio (2017) suggests that as the number of university exchange agreements increases, the number of students studying abroad, especially for a month or less, are also increasing (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. Number of Exchange Agreements and Japanese University Students Studying Abroad Source: Horio, 2017

Thus, although there are discrepancies in outbound Japanese mobility numbers due to the different ways of categorizing international mobility, the data suggests that there is a clear upturn in Japanese nationals seeking education abroad through short-term programs and that the host countries are diversifying (see Table 6 and Table 7). Additionally, there has also been much focus on the perceived downturn in the number of mobile Japanese students to the United States. However, Table 7 shows the number of Japanese students studying abroad in the US is increasing through participation in university programs and academic agreements.

					1	1	1	1		1	1		
	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
USA	5,428	5,584	6,417	6,509	6,403	5,925	7,454	8,602	10,355	11,005	12,434	12,383	13,085
Australia	2,120	2,395	2,752	2,716	2,864	2,509	2,851	3,189	3,946	4,443	5,170	5,363	6,208
Canada	1,520	1,876	1,942	2,114	2,395	2,547	3,255	3,586	4,087	4,209	4,890	5,424	5,830
South Korea	1,009	1,305	1,690	1,399	1,745	1,891	2,573	3,853	4,365	4,040	4,217	3,713	4,604
China	2,120	2,223	2,530	2,858	2,154	2,269	2,939	4,477	4,414	2,859	3,477	3,836	4,091
UK	2,229	2,127*	2,616*	2,394*	2,459*	2,599*	2,567*	3,192	3,709	3,993	4,262	4,008	3,479
Thailand	-	418	317	399	498	-	-	912	1,499	1,601	2,013	2,485	3,109
Taiwan	-	-	-	-	-	455	746	1,021	1,265	1,534	1,991	2,361	2,996
Germany	700	757	768	793	888	923	1,069	1,274	1,443	1,598	1,719	1,708	1,881

TABLE 7. OUTBOUND MOBILITY THROUGH UNIVERSITY PROGRAMS FROM JAPAN BY COUNTRY

New Zealand	678	852	892	822	861	780	856	-	-	-	-	1,618	1,679
Overall Total	18,570	20,689	23,633	23,806	24,508	23,988	28,804	36,656	43,009	45,082	52,132	54,455	60,643

*Source: JASSO Annual Report on Japanese International Students through University Programs, 2004 to 2016 Notes: * data for England only available.*

1.3 Recent International Student Mobility Trends in Major Asian Countries

While Japan was the top host for inbound international student mobility with 132,685 in 2014, China followed closely with 123,127. It is also important to note that there is a noticeable increase of student flows in South Korea and ASEAN countries, particularly Malaysia and Thailand, as shown in Tables 1 and 2. As mentioned earlier, this flow of students from Asia is contributing not only to an overall increase of international students worldwide but also to the number of international students studying within the region of Asia.

1.3.1 China

China is widely known as the powerhouse of international student mobility. While China is usually highlighted for its outbound mobility, in recent years it is gaining traction as a destination for international students (Figure 8). Data regarding inbound mobility to China are unavailable from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics, so we have used data presented in the Education Statistics Yearbook of China in its place to gain a general understanding of international students in China. As we compare the statistics of inbound mobility for China to other countries in this paper, we must keep in mind that the Education Statistics Yearbook of China categorized international students as including both degree-seeking and non-degree seeking unlike the UIS that limits international students to degree-seeking only.

In 2001, 61,869 students studied abroad in China, with about 75 percent from Asia (46,142). By 2016, the number increased over seven-fold to 442,773. Furthermore, the home regions of the international students have diversified with 264,976 from Asia (about 60 percent), 71,319 from Europe (about 16 percent), 61,594 from the Americas (about 13 percent), 38,077 from Africa (about 8 percent) and 6,807 from Oceania (about 1 percent).



Figure 8. Inbound Mobility to China by Region, 2001-2016

Source: Educational Statistics of China Yearbook

Note: The figure contains data for international students as defined by the source that includes both degreeseeking and non-degree seeking inbound students.

South Korea is the main source of international students for China. Students from the United States and ASEAN countries are also increasing in numbers. Figure 9 notes the increases for the United States (8,534 to 23,838), Thailand (2,327 to 23,044) and Indonesia (3,768 to 14,714), between 2004 to 2016.



Figure 9. Inbound Mobility to China from Asian and Western Countries, 2004-2016 Source: Educational Statistics of China Yearbook

Note: The figure contains data for international students as defined by the source to include both degreeseeking and non-degree seeking inbound students. China, well-recognized for its influential role in the global education landscape for sending large number of students abroad, also continues to increase its outbound mobility (Figure 10). From 1999 to 2016, the numbers increased more than six-fold from 123,539 to 801,187. During this time, North America and Western Europe maintained position as the top destinations. While the number of outbound Chinese students to East Asia and Pacific steadily increased from 51,698 in 1999 to 289,285 in 2011, in the last five years the number has hovered around the 280,000s.



Figure 10. Outbound Mobility from China by Region, 1999-2016 Source: UNESCO Institute of Statistics

1.3.2 South Korea

One of the growing destinations for international mobile students is South Korea. As Figure 11 illustrates, the most important increases come from Asia. In 1999, 2,869 students studied abroad in South Korea, with 2,318 from Asia (81 percent). By 2015, the number of international students studying in South Korea had increased nineteen-fold to 54,540, including 49,230 from Asia (90%).



Figure 11. Inbound Mobility to South Korea by Region, 1999-2015 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

While not to the scale of growth of Asia, Figure 12 shows that the regions of North America (741 in 2007 to 1,935 in 2015), Europe (159 in 1999 to 1,071 in 2015), and Africa (26 in 1999 to 1,583 in 2015) represent the most important regional sources of international students for South Korea outside of Asia.



Figure 12. Inbound Mobility to South Korea by Region (Excluding Asia), 1999-2015 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Thus, while China provides most of the increase in international students studying in South Korea with an increase from 992 in 1999 to 34,145 in 2014 (Figure 13), students from Japan, the United States, and ASEAN countries are increasingly visible in South Korean higher education institutions. Figure 14 notes the increases for Vietnam (33 to 2,548), United States (222 to 1,355), Japan (555 to 1,286) and Indonesia (20 to 841) between 1999 to 2015.



Figure 13. Inbound Mobility to South Korea from Asian and Western Countries, 1999-2015 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics



Figure 14. Inbound Mobility to South Korea from Asian and Western Countries (excluding China), 1999-2015 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Meanwhile, Table 8 shows that the number of outbound international mobile students from South Korea is on the rise. From 1999 to 2011, the numbers increased 88 percent from 68,154 to 128,296. While the top destination is North America and Western Europe, there has been a notable diversification of host regions since the turn of the 21st century. There is an increase of students choosing to study abroad in neighboring countries in East Asia and the Pacific, with a 74 percent increase from 21,623 in 1999 to 37,802 in 2011. Moreover, South and West Asia, Central Asia, and Central and Eastern European are growing in popularity.

	1999	2005	2011
Arab States	-	-	-
Central and Eastern Europe	59	162	925
Central Asia	17	71	220
East Asia and the Pacific	21,623	29,906	37,802
Latin America and the Caribbean	-	98	297
North America and Western Europe	46,296	70,470	88,525
South and West Asia	35	75	298
Sub-Saharan Africa	10	-	194
Total	68,154	100,825	128,296

TABLE 8. OUTBOUND MOBILITY FROM SOUTH KOREA BY REGION

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

1.3.3 ASEAN Countries

Within East Asia, there has been an increase of the number of inbound mobile students to ASEAN countries. The number has increased over six-fold, from 9,580 in 1999 to 63,962 in 2015. This dramatic increase is caused by a continuous growth of inbound students from within Asia. This pattern was 7,104 in 1999 (74 percent of the total) to 59,865 in 2015 (almost 94 percent of the total). Within ASEAN, Malaysia and Thailand, in particular, are growing in popularity as study abroad destinations. Malaysia experienced a 1,617 percent increase of inbound international students from 1999 with 3,508 students to 60,244 students in 2015. Students from neighboring countries in Asia are the driving force of this growth with an increase from 2,492 to 1999 to 44,380 in 2015. The growth of students from Africa is also remarkable with a nineteen-fold increase from 735 in 1999 to 14,410 in 2015.

	1999	2002	2006	2008	2011	2015
Africa	735	2,417	2,821	7,702	14,598	14,410
North America	-	-	61	119	211	265

TABLE 9. INBOUND MOBILITY TO MALAYSIA BY REGION

Caribbean and Central America	-	-	23	14	45	-
South America	3	7	17	18	504	-
Asia	2,492	24,112	21,001	31,487	44,014	44,380
Europe	250	523	395	569	2,417	763
Oceania	11	42	52	79	103	212
Total	3,508	27,731	24,404	41,310	63,625	60,244

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Figure 15 illustrates the number of international students from select Asian and Western countries from 1999 to 2015 studying in Malaysia. ASEAN countries dominate as the source of international students to Malaysia. For example, the number of students from Indonesia increased from 863 to 5,700, Thailand increased from 185 to 1,361, and Vietnam increased from 22 to 620 from 1999 to 2015. Meanwhile, although China sent a record 10,849 in 2002, the number of students from China has wavered between 5,000 and 7,000 in recent years.



Figure 15. Inbound Mobility to Malaysia from Asian and Western Countries, 1999-2015 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

While Table 10 shows that the number of outbound students from Malaysia only increased 10 percent from 54,257 in 1999 to 59,918 in 2011, their host region destinations are changing. About 12 percent fewer Malaysian students studied abroad in North America and Western Europe in 1999 compared to 2011. Meanwhile, about 24 percent of Malaysian students studied abroad in East Asia and the Pacific, and about 40 percent in South and West Asia during the same time period. This data suggests that destinations within Asia, both in East Asia and the Pacific as well as in South and West Asia, are growing in importance.

	1999	2005	2011
Arab States	-	-	-
Central and Eastern Europe	1,354	1,723	3,774
Central Asia	1	2	-
East Asia and the Pacific	21,138	22,057	26,285
Latin America and the Caribbean	52*	7	31
North America and Western Europe	25,316	19,601	22,348
South and West Asia	168	195	832
Sub-Saharan Africa	-	-	20
Total	54,257	47,397	59,918

TABLE 10. OUTBOUND MOBILITY FROM MALAYSIA BY REGION

*Note: * denotes 2000 data Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics*

Meanwhile, in Thailand the number of inbound students increased eleven-fold, from 1,882 in 1999 to 13,623 in 2015.

Table 11 indicates that the majority of this astounding growth comes from within Asia, with a 654 percent increase from 1,580 in 1999 to 11,925 in 2015. There is also noticeable growth from Europe (143 to 745), Africa (6 to 405), and North America (133 to 440) over the same timeframe.

	1999	2002	2005	2008	2011	2015
<u>Africa</u>	6	16	56	140	454	405
North America	133	151	360	638	913	440
Caribbean and Central America	2	3	2	20	198	-

South America	1	2	9	15	33	-
Asia	1,580	3,054	3,547	9,213	17,224	11,925
Europe	143	133	332	834	1,191	745
<u>Oceania</u>	17	13	24	55	74	113
Total	1,882	4,092	4,334	10,915	20,155	13,628

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Figure 16 shows that most of the growth in inbound students from Asia is from China. The number of students from China studying in Thailand increased from 404 in 1999 to 4,544 in 2015. Despite China's prominent inbound mobility to Thailand, there is an increasing flow of students from neighboring ASEAN countries to Thailand. In particular, significant increases were observed from Myanmar (145 to 1,620), Cambodia (27 to 1,182), Laos (301 to 793) and Vietnam (65 to 748) between 1999 to 2015, representing increases of 1,017 percent, 1,155 percent, 163 percent, 1,051 percent, respectively. There are also notable increases from North America (121 to 416), South Korea (76 to 377), and Japan (137 to 250).



Figure 16. Inbound Mobility to Thailand from Asian and Western Countries, 1999-2015 Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

Table 12 indicates that between 1999 and 2011 there is an almost 24 percent increase in the number outbound students from Thailand from 21,967 to 27,207. While North America and Western Europe

experienced limited growth with an 8 percent increase from 15,186 to 16,490, East Asia and the Pacific had an almost two-fold growth from 4,262 to 8,022 during the same period. This change in flow patterns suggest neighboring countries in East Asia are growing in importance for Thai students.

	1999	2005	2011
Arab States	-	-	-
Central and Eastern Europe	17	26	142
Central Asia	-	-	-
East Asia and the Pacific	4,262	7,989	8,022
Latin America and the Caribbean	-	2	15
North America and Western Europe	15,186	15,142	16,490
South and West Asia	308	289	374
Sub-Saharan Africa	-	-	3
Total	21,967	25,618	27,207

TABLE 12. OUTBOUND MOBILITY FROM THAILAND BY REGION

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics

1.4 Outlook of Student Mobility in Asia and its Socio-Economic Background

1.4.1 A CLOSER LOOK AT JAPAN

Japan is often noted for its increases in student inbound international mobility and decreases in outbound student international mobility. This section will provide additional insights into the realities of the inbound flow by exploring how it has shifted from an educational elite activity to a middle-class phenomenon. We will also shed light on the trends of Japanese students studying abroad and demystify contradictory information about this population.

For Japan, a noticeable shift from inbound international mobility for the educational elite with limited access for the middle-class is observable. As neighboring countries in the region are unable to keep up with the increased demand for higher education, Japan has received more international students from these countries. The overall increase in international students studying in Japan is partly due to the vast increase in enrollment numbers in Japanese language institutions and specialized training colleges, as indicated in Figure 6. In addition, as discussed earlier Japan is also experiencing a diversification of its origin countries with more international students coming from Asia and new growth from Nepal, Vietnam and Indonesia.

Although tuition costs in Japan are relatively lower than those in English speaking countries, a survey conducted by JASSO in 2015 indicated that 46.8 percent of privately financed international students expressed concern about financing their education prior to beginning their studies in Japan (JASSO 2016). Once in Japan, 70.5 percent indicated that high living costs caused them difficulties. On average, privately financed international students reported receiving 57 percent of their monthly expenses from remittances by family members, 55 percent from part-time work, and 22 percent from scholarships. Compared to undergraduate degree seeking international students who reported a monthly expenditure of ¥122,000, students at Japanese language institutions reported ¥143,000 and specialized training colleges reported ¥157,000. While 75.2 percent of undergraduate degree seeking international students were employed in part-time positions during their studies, 83.0 percent of international students at specialized training colleges undertook part-time work.

Study Type	Less than 5 hours	5 to 10 hours	10 to 15 hours	15 to 20 hours	20 to 25 hours	More than 25 hours
Degree Seeking Undergraduate	4.6	10.2	18.0	26.1	29.5	2.7
Specialized Training College	4.4	4.2	6.3	15.3	41.3	24.7
Japanese Language Institution	3.0	4.1	10.8	15.2	42.2	21.4

TABLE 13. NUMBER OF HOURS WORKED BY PRIVATELY FINANCED INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN JAPAN, 2015
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Source: JASSO, 2016.

However, when we examine the number of hours worked amongst these groups in Table 13, we can see that international students at specialized training colleges and Japanese language institutions work many more hours than degree-seeking undergraduate students. It is important to note that the Study Visa issued by the Japanese immigration authorities places limitations on the number of hours holders of this type of visa may work (up to 28 hours per week while classes are in session and up to 40 hours per week during school breaks). This combined with the data presented in Table 13, as well as the financial concerns mentioned earlier suggests that students enrolled in specialized training colleges and Japanese language institutions are working towards the upper limits allowed under their student visa to fund their study in Japan.

Despite the Japanese government strengthening its scholarship systems to accept international students, as discussed in detail later in this paper, the scholarships focus on the more elite segment of international students in Japan by providing a MEXT scholarship for degree-seeking students, a MEXT Honors Scholarships for Privately Financed International Students, and Student Exchange Support Program for those studying in

Japan for less than one year. While private foundations and organizations may provide scholarship opportunities for international students enrolled in Japanese language institutions and specialized training colleges, such scholarships are limited in number. Overall, this indicates that the socio-economic background of international students has shifted towards being a middle-class phenomenon, with students attempting to overcome financial barriers with self-sufficiency through part-time work during their study abroad.

Much attention has also been placed on Japan's outbound mobility trends. Against the backdrop of the decreasing degree-seeking international mobility rates of Japanese nationals since the peak in 2004, Japanese students have gained a reputation of having inward-looking tendencies. In other words, they are often categorized as not having any interest in studying abroad during their university career nor working outside of Japan once they graduate and enter the workforce. This concern over inward-looking Japanese students was further compounded in a study by the Sanno Institute of Management in 2010, that found that more than 50 percent of new employees would rather stay at their company in Japan and did not want to work overseas. This focus on the decline in Japanese study abroad participation rates, particularly to the US, and the inward-looking tendencies of its younger generation has caused public concern about possible repercussions these could have for national economic growth in a globalized world.

However, are Japanese students really showing inward-looking tendencies or are there other factors in play that contribute to this idea of an inward-looking Japanese youth? First, institutional barriers to studying abroad remain. According to Ota (2014), the main barriers to studying abroad while enrolled in a Japanese university include the rigid job hunting system university students typically participate in during their 3rd and 4th year of university study, the difficulties in transferring credits and the differing academic calendars, and the delayed development of university international programs. Ota further explains that the number of Japanese nationals seeking degrees abroad is on the decline because there are limited merits to advanced degrees (especially in the humanities) since they are undervalued in the domestic market, a lot of short-term thinking in terms of their careers, and an increase in the number of PhD degrees awarded domestically within Japan.

Additionally, Japanese students may not feel the need to go abroad for their education since there are now more opportunities to have an international experience at Japanese universities. For instance, 37.1 percent of Japanese universities have undergraduate classes and 33.3 percent have graduate classes in English. Furthermore, it is possible to complete a degree in English with 48 programs available at the undergraduate level and 208 at the graduate level (Horio 2017). These perceived barriers plus the economic stagnation of the Japanese economy, rising tuition fees in English-speaking countries, and increased opportunities to have international experiences at Japanese universities may lead us to believe Japanese youth are hesitant to leave Japan. Yet, on the contrary, increasing numbers of Japanese students are studying abroad on university programs, exchange programs, and academic agreements, but for shorter periods of time. Furthermore, their destinations are diversifying as more and more decide to study abroad within Asia. This suggests that Japanese students perhaps are not necessarily inward facing; rather that there is a new norm to study abroad for shorter periods of time rather than to receive a degree from abroad. This may also signify the possibility that universities are creating and promoting short-term study abroad opportunities that work around the perceived barriers and their attempts are successful to a certain extent. In addition, the Japanese government has recently placed much attention on increasing the number of Japanese students studying abroad through national policies and funding of programs, and these will be discussed in length later in this paper.

1.4.2 OVERALL OUTLOOK FOR ASIA: THE "ASIANIZATION OF ASIA" AND THE REGIONALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY

The current reality of the intra-regional international student mobility in Asia since the turn of the 21st century is a result of the rapid growth of international students in Asia. That growth has mostly resulted from the staggering influx and circulation of students in Asia, primarily amongst China, South Korea, Japan, and the ASEAN countries (Figure 17). Higher education exists in a world that is constantly in flux. We need to under the contextual factors that influence higher education to understand its international dimension (Innes and Hellsten 2004). The rationales, academic, economic, political and social/cultural, of the internationalization of higher education are fluid and shift in importance over time (De Witt 2002).



Figure 17. Intra-Regional Mobility Trends in Asia, Growth from 1999 to **C**irca 2015 Source: UNESCO Statistical Institute, *Education Statistics of China Yearbook

Note: While UNESCO Statistical Institute defines international student as individuals seeking a degree outside of their country of citizenship, the data reported for inbound mobile students to China in the Education Statistics of China Yearbook includes both degree-seeking and non-degree-seeking students.

While the immediate post-World War II era was marked by the political rationales of peace and mutual understanding (De Witt 2002), the rise of the Information Age and globalization after the end of the Cold War has placed emphasis on the economic rationale of higher education's role in educating societies to compete globally (Muller 1995; Twombly et al. 2012). The rising nationalism and xenophobia of the last decade has brought a new era of global uncertainty that has resulted in a reorientation towards the rationales of mutual understanding for peace and social cohesion in addition to global competitiveness. In Asia, the paradigm shifts in international student mobility reflect these global contextual changes and are further bolstered by a regional context that accentuates the demand to cultivate individuals for global and regional economic competitiveness and cooperation as well as harmony.

At first glance, the volatile context of Asia, compounded by the political, economic and cultural histories that have shaped its past and present, may cause us pause as we witness the current regional cooperation efforts. However, with the realities of globalization, Asia exists in an era where the sweeping political, economic and social changes experienced within national borders are also connected to the region and the world. The 1997 Asian financial crisis illustrated how China, Japan, South Korea and ASEAN countries moved towards greater cooperation in the face of economic upheaval. In 2009, former South Korean President Lee Myung-Bak noted that "under the influence of globalization, regional cooperation within Asia has become inevitable" (Choonsik 2009). The growing economic interdependence of Asia, or the "East Asianization of East Asia," is verified in an analysis of interaction amongst the Asian economics (Watanabe 2004). Watanabe argues, "the most significant challenge now in Asia is whether this de facto economic integration can further develop into a systematic framework or not." (Watanabe 2004, 9).

In the light of this growing economic globalization, higher education in Asia rapidly expanded to cultivate human resources for a global competitive economy and the formation of knowledge-based society (Yonezawa et al. 2014). However, this accelerated evolution from an elite system to a mass higher education system is not yet capable of meeting the "domestic demand as parents and students flock to higher education as a means to improve or maintain socio-economic mobility and enhance individual competitiveness in the job market" (UNESCO 2013, 1). In turn, an increasing number of students in Asia have started to seek higher education outside of their home country. The mid-1990s was marked by the prominence of traditional English-speaking countries, such as the United States, the United Kingdom and Australia, underpinned by the commonly held view of English as a global language. However, from the late 1990s until the present day, there has been a noticeable trend of an increasing number of students from Asia deciding to attend higher education institutions within their home region of Asia, which is reflected in the statistics presented earlier.

Within higher education in Asia, the "Asianization of Asia" is taking place (Kuroda 2007; Sugimura and Kuroda 2009). The data presented previously suggests at the center of the growth of international student mobility to and from Asia is a circular flow of students within the region. This increased intra-regional mobility is largely made possible through greater collaboration between education systems. Higher education institutions are one of the principal drivers of the Asian intra-regional mobility we are currently witnessing. Their early internationalization strategies included fostering mobility through active recruitment of students within the region. Inter-university agreements, increasing in number, further contribute to the acceleration of intra-regional mobility. Institutions have also made improvements in the quality of education, increased the number of programs taught in English and internationalized their campuses. Regional university alliances and networks that link higher education institutions in Asia also play pivotal roles in promoting student mobility in the region.

The recent trend of intra-regional student mobility has contributed to the *de facto* regional integration of higher education rather than *de jure* regional integration due to the absence of a political and regulatory framework. With globalization, "the economic, political, and societal forces [are] pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement" (Altbach and Knight 2007). Similar to the challenges of moving from *de facto* towards *de jure* economic integration, *de facto* regionalization of higher education through intra-regional student mobility produces concerns, and there are questions as to whether it is possible to have a regional mechanism to regulate its expansion.

Following this ongoing *de facto* regionalization of higher education in Asia, Japan, as well as other Asian nations are placing focus on promoting student mobility within the region. Government officials have recognized the economic, social and cultural benefits of increasing international student mobility participation rates. The foundation of these benefits stems from the personal outcomes of study abroad experiences. There is a wide consensus that international student mobility provides a transformative international experience that leads to increased foreign language skills, increased intercultural and global competences, greater financial potential, and the ability to live and work in diverse socio-cultural settings both at home and abroad.

In light of this, government officials in Asia, taking note of the phenomenon of the intra-regional mobility trend, are seeking to regulate it (Kuroda and Passarelli 2009). The number of regional frameworks has increased in the last decade with a new emphasis being placed upon collaboration with other Asian countries in national higher education policies. In addition, regional multi-layered frameworks for quality assurance, credit transfer and recognition of qualifications to promote student mobility in Asia are growing in number. These points will be further elaborated upon in later sections of this paper.

This movement towards regional cooperation in higher education through international student mobility is also marked by a reorientation towards its social benefits. In some ways, what we are observing in the promotion of intra-regional student mobility in national policies, which will be discussed in detail later, signifies the progression of the rationale for student mobility from the potential of advancing self-interests through the power paradigm of soft power for global competitiveness (Nye 2004; Knight 2015) to its other potential of contributing to Sustainable Development Goal 4.7 through fostering mutual understanding for peace and social cohesion. With this understanding, governments in Asia are now recognizing and placing importance on the potential of education as a method to "promote inter-faith and inter-cultural dialogue to enhance mutual understanding among different cultures and religions" (ASEAN Plus Three 2007, Section D 5.2).

Since the turn of the 21st century, the *de facto* regionalization of international student mobility and recent attention from governments have led to Asia being both a source and hub for international students. The hallmark of international student mobility is how students play a cardinal role in connecting countries through their higher education journeys. Asia is not only a dynamic context with its current realities connected to its history, but it is also a region with vast socio-cultural diversity. The trend of intra-regional student mobility in Asia has the potential to enhance connectivity amongst its countries through people-to-people and people-to-culture connections for economic and social outcomes. Asian nations and higher education institutions are harnessing the potential of the perceived high impact practice of student mobility to cultivate interculturally competent, internationally minded individuals with both cognitive and non-cognitive skills, and hope of not only succeeding in a globally and regionally competitive economy but also increasing regional and global cooperation and harmony.

2. POLICY DEVELOPMENT AND THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND STUDENT MOBILITY IN JAPAN

2.1 Policy Development in relation to Promoting International Student Mobility in Japan

2.1.1 EARLY STAGES OF THE POLICY FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENT MOBILITY

The Japanese government has attached great importance to international student mobility since the early 1980s, particularly by sending Japanese students overseas and attracting foreign students to study in Japan. Before the 1980s, student mobility was regarded as cultural exchange and selected scholarship students were the main target of policy. The government launched a "100,000 International Students Plan" in 1983. At that time, there were only around 10,000 international students in Japan, a smaller number compared to other developed countries such as the US, UK, France and Germany. It was only after the government set this target that the number of foreign students began to increase gradually.

During the 1980s and the 1990s, Japanese higher education policy was not very active in increasing student mobility. Meanwhile, other Asian countries launched their international student policies as a tool to attract better human resources and promote the internationalization of higher education by encouraging cross-border higher education initiatives. For example, in the early 1990s, some foreign universities established branch campuses in Japan, but most of these could not be sustained because the Japanese government did not recognize them as registered higher education institutions under the Japanese education laws in force at the time. As a result, nearly all foreign universities withdrew from Japan except for Temple University, which established its Japanese campus in 1992 in Tokyo.

The goal of "100,000 International Students Plan" was finally achieved in 2003. With this increase of inbound students, the ratio of Chinese students increased rapidly. This shows that the realization of the Plan was partly due to the increase of Chinese inbound students. The Chinese government changed its policy on student mobility in 1993 and encouraged Chinese students to study abroad more than ever before. This applied not only to governmental scholarship students but also to private-financed students. As a result, the inbound flow from China to Japan was affected.

2.1.2 New Policies on International Student Mobility

After the "100,000 International Students Plan" reached its target in 2003, the Japanese government reflected on the international situation in higher education transformation and launched a new policy on international student mobility called the "300,000 International Students Plan" in 2008. This plan aimed to reach the target number by 2020 and came in the context of a Japanese way of strategic internationalization called the "Asian Gateway," which was launched in 2007. This will be discussed further in the next section.

2.1.2.1 The Inter-University Exchange Project (Re-Inventing Japan Project)

The Japanese government recently initiated another global initiative called the "Inter-University Exchange Project (Re-Inventing Japan Project)." This aims at preparing human resources for the global labor market by

giving financial support to collaborative programs with foreign universities and by promoting student mobility. The first project under this funding scheme started in the Japanese Financial Year (hereinafter FY) of 2011. It focused on China, South Korea and Japan in East Asia and is known as "CAMPUS Asia." It was jointly launched by the governments of the three countries. The second project from FY 2012 focused on an Asia - US Network. The FY 2013 (the third) project focused on ASEAN countries and is the ASEAN International Mobility for Students (AIMS) Program conducted in collaboration with the Regional Center for Higher Education and Development of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO-RIHED). The FY 2014 project focused on Russia and India while the FY2015 project concentrates on Latin America, the Caribbean, and Turkey. The FY 2016 project focused on Asia and FY 2017 refocuses on Russia and India. Finally, the FY 2018 project focuses on Collaboration in Online International Learning among Japan and US Universities.

The government supports universities that are developing and conducting international student exchange programs with partner universities in designated foreign countries. It is expected that an increase in the number of student exchanges through these quality-assured programs will be seen, and that mutual understanding and cooperation will be strengthened through the development and implementation of educational programs with partner universities overseas. Another important feature of the Inter-University Exchange Project is that quality assurance is strongly emphasized when establishing student exchange schemes. In particular, special attention has been given to credit transfer systems and accreditation systems when promoting international student mobility. What is more significant is that this program relates to the reinforcement of governmental commitments made through high-level diplomacy. Examining these various countries and regions, it is obvious that the Japanese government selected countries with which it has strong political and economic relationships. This reflects the Japanese government's diplomatic strategy.

Meanwhile, it can be noted that the new Japanese higher education policy emphasizes the need for collaboration and cooperation with other Asian countries through the CAMPUS Asia and AIMS programs. These programs provide opportunities for Japan to play an active role in regional development beyond its national borders. This regional strategy is important when considering the role of Japanese higher education in the current era of internationalization and globalization.



Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan (MEXT)

2.1.2.2 The Go Global Japan Project

With regards to sending Japanese students overseas, the "Go Global Japan Project" was implemented from 2012 to 2016. This was the *Project for the Promotion of Global Human Resources Development*. The Council for Promotion of Human Resources Development was established by the cabinet ministers concerned under the umbrella of Japan's New Growth Strategy in 2011. The purposes of this project were: to promote studying abroad among Japanese students by overcoming the Japanese "inward tendency," to nurture talented people, and to internationalize university education. In particular, the number of Japanese students studying in the US had been decreasing rapidly. At the end of the 1990s, more than 40,000 degree-seeking students were studying in the US, but the total plunged to less than 20,000 in 2017. This is a unique phenomenon compared with other Asian countries which have sent more and more students to study in the US.

Eleven universities and 31 faculty/school-specific programs that were selected for this project. The aims of the project are to: (i) increase the opportunities for experiences overseas including studying and living abroad; (ii) strengthening English education; (iii) improving college entrance examinations; and (iv) improving recruitment strategies. For these points, it was required that institutions set targets of practical English test scores (e.g. TOEFL) and the number of students studying abroad, and offer special programs (intensive language training for studying abroad). This project encouraged the recruitment of foreign professors. As a result of this project, the number of students studying overseas increased from 7,090 in FY 2012 to 10,547 in FY 2015.

2.1.2.3 TOBITATE! Young Ambassador Program

Meanwhile, the Japanese government started strengthening scholarship systems for accepting international students' and sending Japanese students abroad. The scholarships for international students by the government are the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) Scholarships for degree-seeing students, MEXT Honors Scholarships for Privately Financed International Students, and Student Exchange Support Programs for those studying in Japan for less than one year. The scholarships for Japanese students studying abroad include those for long-term (more than one year) and for short-term (less than one year). Besides these, the government set a new scholarship scheme called, "TOBITATE! Young Ambassador Program," that is to operate from 2014 to 2020. This is a scholarship program supported by the private sector in terms of financial matters, selection of scholarship awardees, training before and after studying abroad, and the provision of internship opportunities. It covers several types of overseas experience, such as studying aboard up to two years and practical training like internship and volunteer activities.

2.2 Policy Development for the Internationalization of Higher Education in Japan

2.2.1 New Strategic Policy for Internationalization: the Asian Gateway Initiative

The Japanese government has promoted the internationalization of higher education. In particular, a comprehensive political and economic strategy called the Asian Gateway Initiative proposed that Japan should be the gateway connecting Asian countries by opening up its society and strengthening ties with its neighbors in order to share prosperity with other Asian countries.

The Asian Gateway proposed ten major policy priorities that included two specific objectives on education in 2007. The first of these objectives is to "restructure the policy for foreign students in order for Japan to serve as a hub for a human network in Asia: mobilize stakeholders in order to formulate a new national strategy" (Council for Asian Gateway Initiative 2007, 13), and the second is to "further open up universities to the world: target educational hubs and improve evaluation of universities to encourage universities to become more international" (Council for Asian Gateway Initiative 2007, 16) To achieve these objectives, seven basic plans for action were proposed as follows (Council for Asian Gateway Initiative 2007, 13-15):

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

2.2.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION

2.2.2.1 The Global 30 Project

The strategic plan of Asian Gateway Initiative was implemented by the Global 30 Project that started in 2009. The Global 30 Project is a funding project for the establishment of a university network for internationalization that aims to promote the internationalization of academic environments in Japanese universities and the acceptance of excellent international students to Japan. The 13 core universities selected have been implementing a variety of approaches to internationalize academic systems and campuses, such as developing degree programs conducted in English and enriching international student support, while they are expected to enhance inter-university networks for sharing educational resources and other outputs, including the establishment of overseas offices that can be jointly used by all Japanese universities. It aims at accepting 300,000 international students by 2020 as a part of the strategic plan to expand the flow of people, things, money and information within Asia and the world. Furthermore, the government will awaken the interests of international students to study in Japan. The strategic plan is to organize systematically

student progress from entrance to Japan, acceptance in Japanese universities, to employment in Japan after graduation. To implement this plan, various ministries are coordinating the smooth progress from entry to exit. It was a joint effort of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Economy and Industry, the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare, and the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure and Transport, as well as the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT).

The Project includes some specific strategies to attract more international students, such as to promote studying in Japan, to facilitate the student admission process, to internationalize Japanese universities, to improve living conditions for international students and to encourage Japanese companies and organizations to accept international students for employment. In other words, the Japanese government is encouraging the higher education Institutes to promote policies related to admission to life after studying in Japan. Seven public universities, namely, Tohoku University, University of Tsukuba, University of Tokyo, Nagoya University, Kyoto University, Osaka University, Kyushu University, and six private universities, Keio University, Jochi (Sophia) University, Meiji University, Waseda University, Doshisha University and Ritsumeikan University were chosen to participate in the project. Each university had a different plan for internationalization, but there were also several commonalities. They were to increase classes in English and to accept more international students as well as to promote strategic international cooperation, networking and the sharing of resources among the group of universities. The Japanese government finally started a strategic plan to enlarge activities for internationalization, and in the Global 30 Project, overseas offices that serve as liaison offices for promoting "Study in Japan" were set up in eight cities in seven countries. The number of foreign faculty members working in Japanese universities, English-taught programs and the number of foreign students studying in Japan has been increasing although it decreased temporarily after the Great East Japan Earthquake and tsunami that occurred in March 2011.

2.2.2.2 The Top Global University Project

The Global 30 Project ended in March 2014, and the Japanese government initiated a new project known as the Top Global University Project (TGUP) in 2014. TGUP is a ten-year project that will last until 2023. It aims to enhance the international compatibility and competitiveness of higher education in Japan by carrying out comprehensive university reform and internationalization. It involves two types of universities. Type A institutions, called Top Type, should aim to rank in the top 100 in the world over the ten years, and Type B, called Global Traction Type, are required to lead Japan's internationalization program by pioneering innovative and experimental practices. MEXT finally selected 13 universities for Type A and 24 for Type B from more than 100 applications from universities.



Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan (MEXT)

The TGUP has three pillars to improve these universities' international profiles and to enhance their international competitiveness. The first point is to promote internationalization of higher education. The Japanese government expects the project universities to be core universities in the international higher education market. They are required to nurture human resources who have the capacity to understand and appreciate cultural diversity and global issues and how to acquire skills to develop a sustainable future while improving their performances to meet global competencies. Some Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) for internationalization are the ratios of: 1) international full-time faculty staff to full-time faculty staff who have received their degrees at a foreign university; 2) the number of international students to that of all students; 3) the number of Japanese students who have the experience of studying abroad to the students without overseas experience; 4) the number of classes conducted in foreign languages to that of all the classes; 6) the number of students enrolled in degree programs in foreign languages to that of all the programs; 7) the number of students who meet foreign language standards to that of all the students; 8) the syllabi that have been translated into English to that of all the syllabi; 9) the number of Japanese students who stay in international dormitories to that of all students; and 10) the introduction of flexible academic calendars.

The second pillar of TGUP is educational reform. This includes KPIs of the ratios of:1) the number of numbering syllabi to that of all syllabi, 2) the number of universities using external tests such as TOEFL in entrance examinations to that of all entrance examinations; and 3) the number of classes where evaluation by students is conducted to that of all classes. Finally, the third pillar is governance. Compared with past projects, such as the Global 30 Project, TGUP differs in that it calls for governance reform while promoting internationalization. TGUP requires universities to focus not only on program reforms but also on how they govern themselves. The KPI for governance reform are evaluated on: 1) the introduction of their annual salary system; 2) the introduction of a tenure track system; and 3) the up-grading of administrative staff who meet foreign language standards. This group can assist faculty and staff promotion and achievement of international mobility. Meanwhile, MEXT also moved to change the School Education Law to strengthen the power of university presidents in decision-making at the expense of the authority of the faculty in their various organized forms, and to make it easier for universities to reform themselves. Traditionally, as professional meeting structures have great power and influence in the governance of Japanese universities,

especially in curricula and personnel matters, the introduction of "top-down system" in this reform has been controversial.

2.2.3 MOVEMENTS THROUGH CONNECTIONS WITH OVERSEAS INSTITUTIONS

2.2.3.1 Japanese Government-led Bilateral Institutes

Meanwhile, new projects have been implemented in the internationalization of higher education relating to movements overseas. The Japanese government set up some government-led bilateral institutes. A first example is that of the Egypt-Japan University of Science and Technology (E-JUST), which is a project that started in 2009. This is an Egyptian government university established in partnership with Japan in Alexandria for postgraduate and undergraduate programs. It is a mutual cooperation between the Egyptian and Japanese governments for the purpose of having a longstanding partnership between the two countries to promote human development in the region and worldwide. Collaborating in developing educational partnerships with Egyptian and Japanese universities, E-JUST enjoys a status of national and international recognition that enhances the exposure of its students to a myriad of the best academic and research experiences. The missions of E-Just are: 1) to become a role model for postgraduate education and accreditation by Japanese, local and international accrediting bodies; 3) to contribute to the enhancement of human resources in the region; and 4) to promote strong business, technical and commercial ties between Japanese industries and organizations and their counterparts in countries and regions served by E-JUST. Furthermore, it is part of the Japanese Supporting University Consortium (JSUC) of several universities.

The second one is the Malaysia and Japan International Institute of Technology (MJIIT), which was established in 2012. Originally, the idea was initiated and agreed upon by the prime ministers of both countries in 2001. Between Japan and Malaysia, there has been the "Look East Policy" of the Malaysian government that has sent Malaysian students to Japan to learn knowledge, technologies and work ethics. The MJIIT was established as an institute where Malaysian students can learn these in Malaysia. It has the mission of providing Japanese style engineering education blended with Malaysian distinctiveness for sustainable industry and society, and of leading in academic and research excellence in electronics, precision, environmental and green engineering, and the management of technology.

The dialogue between the two governments dragged on until 2010, when it was decided that MJIIT would be set up by Universiti Teknologi Malaysia (UTM), one of the principal national universities in Malaysia. MJIIT has been encouraged by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in addition to MEXT. MJIIT focus on electronics, precision, environmental and green engineering, and the management of technology. It aims to expose graduates to the relevant knowledge skills and open mindset needed to ensure the sustainability of not only Malaysia but also the ASEAN communities. To develop ASEANs human capital to improve the quality of life in the region, MJIIT aims to provide exposure to graduates with the relevant knowledge, mobility, suitable skills and open mindedness to ensure the ability of ASEAN communities to overcome global human capital challenges. On the other hand, the Japanese side expects that this Institute can contribute to the development of ASEAN human capital, who in turn can support a holistic partnership between Japan and ASEAN, especially in linking Japanese industries and enterprises with Malaysian industries and agencies through R&D and social community projects. MJIIT is in line with the internationalization aspiration of UTM Kuala Lumpur in achieving at least a 40 percent international student
intake. The academic programs at MJIIT are strongly supported by a consortium of twenty-nine Japanese universities, and some Japanese researchers and teachers from the member universities work together with the Malaysian local faculty and staff. MJIIT also aims to establish a holistic and strong work culture by combining the existing skills at UTM and Japanese universities along with Japanese industries to achieve the dynamic global needs.

The third Japanese-government led bilateral institute is the Vietnam-Japan University, which was opened in 2016. The starting point for the university was a 2010 joint Japanese-Vietnamese statement considering the establishment of a high-quality university in Vietnam with the cooperation of Japan, and it promotes the Japan-Vietnam joint human resource development program. JICA provided a wide spectrum of assistance, including curriculum development, the dispatch of teaching staff and university management to establish the master's program that was the first step in the Vietnam-Japan University's concept of a new Center of Excellence. The university adopted an educational program that was cross-disciplinary, encompassing both literature and science. Japanese universities support its curriculum creation and actual educational and research activities and half of the classes are taught by Japanese faculty members. In addition, to deepen local understanding of Japanese culture and Japanese business style, Japanese language education and internships at Japanese companies, some of which are in Vietnam, have been incorporated into the curriculum.

There are common points among these government-led institutes. First, they aim to become high qualified world level universities for human resource development. Second, they emphasize science and technology. Third, they are international cooperation projects in education, and fourth, it is expected that the bilateral relationship of both countries will become stronger and even support the creation of a multilateral one in their region.

2.2.3.2 Introduction of a Joint Diploma Scheme

The Japanese government also focused on a new Joint Diploma scheme, and the "Guidelines for Building International Joint Diploma Programs including Double and Joint Degree Programs" was launched in 2014. For a long time, the Japanese School Law did not permit any higher education institutions in Japan to introduce collaborative degree programs with foreign universities even though other Asian countries had started to offer cross-border programs from the 1990s. However, the Japanese government finally changed its policy and amended its School Law in April 2015 to enable institutions to offer double degree or joint degree programs. As a result, currently, institutions in Japan can move ahead to expand their transnational education programs, which are more effective in attracting both foreign and domestic students.

According to the Guidelines, "With the trend of globalization in various fields, cross-border mobility of students and academic staff in higher education has been growing at an accelerated pace, and universities are beginning to work actively on various joint educational programs. Japan, too, must improve its international compatibility with educational systems to meet global expectations and ultimately enhance its international competitiveness from the standpoint of developing education, research, and human resources that can proactively contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world. To this end, Japan has, on the initiative of the Central Council for Education, discussed the necessity of an attractive mechanism enabling Japanese universities to create joint programs and confer academic degrees jointly with universities in foreign countries, with appropriate quality assurance of the degrees conferred and programs offered, so that Japanese universities can successfully host competent overseas students and more capable, motivated young

Japanese students can study abroad" (Central Council of Education, Working Group on Internationalization of Universities in Japan. 2014, 1).

There are various advantages in Joint Diploma Programs. Students can gain advanced and value-added learning opportunities, develop academic careers that could not be gained at a single university, and acquire degrees in the names of more than one university in a shorter period of time, possibly at a lower cost. Universities can strengthen and improve their international presence by presenting study-abroad degree programs whose quality they can guarantee, improve international competitiveness and attractiveness by making curricula more fulfilling through educational academic cooperation with universities in foreign countries and by developing human resources with international perspectives. The government can promote Japan's higher education abroad and encourage international exchanges and can contribute to improving international compatibility through creating opportunities to globally harmonize quality assurance systems and strategically strengthen human security through organized and systematic personnel exchanges.

The Joint Diploma scheme is meaningful to companies and local communities as well. It can develop global human resources demanded by a society and easily evaluate the capacity of students who have degrees both from Japanese and foreign universities. The scheme is also useful in the enlargement of the human networks of students completing those programs, in understanding the characteristics of universities, and in taking advantage of this knowledge for recruitment activities.

2.2.4 NATIONAL UNIVERSITY SYSTEM REFORM

In addition to the abovementioned projects in the Japanese higher education policy for internationalization, there are other higher education reforms occurring. The Japanese government introduced a categorizing scheme for national universities in 2015. There are three types of national universities according to their functions: 1) universities which can contribute to local development based on their specific and strong areas; 2) universities that can promote national and international programs; and 3) universities which can compete and cooperate with world-class universities. Each national university was required to choose one category and to reform their programs to succeed within it.

More controversial is the reorganization of the human and social sciences undergraduate programs of national universities. MEXT issued a reform plan called "National University Reform for the Coming Era" in 2013 and gave notice about the "Overhaul of Organization and Overall Operations of National University Corporations" in June 2015. This plan said that university education would require a qualitative overhaul, which raised a controversial issue among academia and society. Some of the interpretations among the public concerning the Minister's notice were that humanities and social sciences faculties and graduate schools ought to be scrapped or transformed into natural science providers. MEXT denied this misunderstanding and explained that they would like each university to tackle the reorganization of undergraduate and graduate programs in a proactive manner, in order to enhance the quality of education and research. The background of this discussion was that Japan had faced challenges as society in transforming rapidly on a global scale. Japan had realized that the significance of competitiveness in the world had come to be more important and had tried to cultivate young generations' competencies. In implementing this governmental plan, some universities have reorganized their human and social sciences programs and teacher-training courses.

2.2.5 THE TRANSFORMATION OF JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION

When we look back at all of the abovementioned projects of higher education in Japan, it is possible to say that higher education policy for internationalization has been transformed. In the 1980s and 1990s, there were few policies of internationalization except for the "100,000 International Students Plan" after 1983, but after the Asian Gateway proposed its Initiative, the Japanese government policy on higher education seems to have become more open and diversified through a variety of programs, including the Global 30 Project, the "Inter-University Exchange Project (Re-Inventing Japan Project)," the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resources Development, and the Top Global University Project.

On the other hand, Japan has become more active in many international organizations. In particular, the establishment of government-led bilateral institutes and the cross-border programs like Campus Asia and AIMS are not only for internationalization but also for cooperation with international societies. These cross-border activities raised the level of recognition of the importance of the Joint Degree scheme, which can promote the mobility of international students. Meanwhile, in a process of internationalization, the national universities have been reformed, and the functions of universities have been reviewed. Thus, the internationalization of higher education in Japan has been developing, and it has been transformed in both the international context and the national context that emphasize the values of the local context.

3. GROWING REGIONAL COLLABORATIVE FRAMEWORKS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN ASIA AND STUDENT MOBILITY

3.1 Regionalization of Higher Education in Asia

Unexpected results in recent years of the internationalization and globalization of higher education have been the advancement of regionalization and the growing regional framework of higher education, but policy discussion on the direction of regionalization still lacks a coherent understanding of its relationships with regional integration and regional cooperation.

Because there has been little progress in better defining regionalization, at least not in international higher education research, the concept has been used with reference to regions to mean both globalization and internationalization. That is to say, regionalization was used to refer to the evolution of regional socioeconomic interdependence including increasing intra-regional student mobility, but at the same time the response to advancing regionalization in Europe and Asia of higher education institutions was itself seen as a structural part of regionalization. If we are to use this terminology to better effect, we must call the former "de facto regionalization," and the latter "regionalization" as the process of integrating regional aspects into higher education advances. That is, recognition of a regionalization and the construction of a regional integration and the construction of a regional integration and the latter definition of regional integration.

There are many aspects of the internationalization of higher education. The task of analyzing in detail the ways that the internationalization of higher education is adapting to globalization and regionalization will

henceforth be important in international higher education research, but limitations in terms of data means that there is still overall little empirical research. In the following section we look at the regionalization of higher education, focusing on trends and responses of governments and international intergovernmental organizations to this kind of higher education globalization. In Asia, there are many studies that observe the rapidly growing intra-regional student mobility and institutional collaboration, and the "Asianization of Asia" or "East Asianization of East Asia" is being realized in the field of higher education (Kuroda 2007; Sugimura and Kuroda 2009). Following this ongoing de facto regionalization of higher education, Asian governments and higher educational institutions have tried to establish a multilayered structure of higher educational cooperation in the region.

3.2 Regional Development of Higher Education in the Southeast Asian Region

It is clear that the area historically most advanced in regional integration in higher education within Asia is Southeast Asia, where a pioneering experiment in regionalization is being carried out in higher education. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967. Although its goals have changed with history, they are primarily: (1) promoting economic growth and socio-cultural development in the region; (2) ensuring political and economic stability in the region; and (3) cooperating on sundry regional issues. Initially, the organization was centered around foreign ministries, but in recent years it has become a regional international organization, aspiring to regional cooperation over a wide range of political, economic, social and cultural issues and thereby to regional integration and the realization of an "ASEAN community." ASEAN operates by action plans, in each of which education has a place. At the first ASEAN Informal Summit in 1996 (Jakarta), the drafting of an "ASEAN Vision 2020" was agreed to and was adopted the following year at the second Informal ASEAN Summit (Kuala Lumpur), where Southeast Asia set the goal of becoming an ASEAN community. ASEAN Vision 2020 was intended to show a way for regional cooperation, which encompassed fields as varied as politics, culture and economic development, and also pointed out the need for international cooperation in the region in order to cultivate human resources to ensure dynamic regional development.

At the ninth ASEAN Summit (Bali), the Declaration of ASEAN Concord II was agreed upon, which stated the goal of building the ASEAN community on the three pillars of political and security cooperation, economic cooperation, and socio-cultural cooperation. Here, education was recognized as a part of socio-cultural cooperation. At the tenth ASEAN Summit in 2004 (Vientiane), in order to translate the above Concord into reality, the Vientiane Action Programme was adopted, which dealt with the theme "Towards shared prosperity and destiny in an integrated, peaceful and caring ASEAN Community." In particular, in order to realize a socio-cultural community, the goal was put forward of "nurturing human, cultural and natural resources of the region for sustained development in a harmonious and people-centered ASEAN," and included as strategic thrusts "facilitating access to education" and "managing the social impact of economic integration through human resource development."

The first intergovernmental meeting focusing on education within the ASEAN framework of education ministers was held in Manila in 1977. At that time, education issues discussed at ASEAN ran the gamut of vocational education, teacher education, examination systems, management information systems for education, special education, and a vision for an ASEAN university. The education ministers' meetings within the framework of ASEAN were limited because of the parallel development of vigorous activities by the

Southeast Asian Ministers of Education (SEAMEO), which had been in existence since 1965. However, since the ASEAN Vision 2020 was formulated in the late 1990s, policy-level discussions on education and ASEAN's engagement in the field of education have once again gained momentum. In recent years, fomenting an ASEAN identity and a sense of an ASEAN socio-cultural community and quality of education for national development were the main topics under discussion at the ASEAN Education Ministers' Meetings. The topics discussed included the use in education of the ASEAN Charter, the importance of education in the formation of "ASEAN citizens," and the fostering of an ASEAN identity, the promotion of "ASEANness" among students by strengthening the ASEAN university network through the cooperation of ASEAN and SEAMEO, and cooperation between East Asia Summit (EAS) member countries.

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

SEAMEO RIHED, whose parent organization was a research institute established in 1959 by UNESCO and the International Association of Universities with the financial support of the Ford Foundation, was officially designated a specialized agency of SEAMEO in 1992. The purpose of SEAMEO RIHED lies in increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of higher education in member countries, and its diverse activities include technical cooperation, international conferences, training and policy research. In recent years, it has been particularly engaged in activities to develop a standard and framework for quality assurance in higher education: it has strengthened support to countries such as Cambodia, Myanmar and Laos, which have weak quality assurance systems, and has made efforts to create a quality assurance framework throughout the entire Southeast Asia region to increase intra-regional student mobility. This suggests the necessity of cooperation on quality assurance in order to promote higher education harmonization in Southeast Asia, and an organized effort has been taken to establish an ASEAN Quality Assurance Network. To promote intra-regional student mobility directly, SEAMEO RIHED initiated the Malaysia-Indonesia-Thailand (MIT) Student Mobility Pilot Project in 2009 and then based on this, it launched the ASEAN International Mobility for Students (AIMS) Programme in 2012.

Established as an official organ of ASEAN in 1995, AUN is a network of universities representing those countries. At its establishment, there were 11 members, but the number has since risen to 30. While student and faculty exchanges, joint research between member universities and the promotion of ASEAN research and education are its main activities, AUN has made efforts in higher education quality assurance, actively constructing AUN – Quality Assurance, which works for the harmonization of higher education systems in member universities. What makes the activities of AUN so different from the activities of SEAMEO RIHED and

ASEAN is that AUN is a network of so-called "leading universities." While this draws criticism from other universities in the region, the region is accumulating practical experience in functioning regional cooperation and exchange amid the diversity of higher education in Southeast Asia. For example, as a sub-network of AUN, the ASEAN University Network/Southeast Asia Engineering Education Development Network (AUN/Seed-Net) has functioned quite well. AUN/Seed-Net was established in 2001 as a network of representative engineering universities in ASEAN with cooperation from the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and has been very active in pursuing its goals of human resources development in the region and strengthening higher education institutions in member countries in the field of engineering (Sugimura and Kuroda 2009).

3.3 Regional development of higher education in the Asia-Pacific Region

Asia–Pacific frameworks have undergone a relatively lengthy regional development in the field of higher education. There are four representative frameworks: namely, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), University Mobility in Asia and the Pacific (UMAP), the Association of Pacific Rim Universities (APRU) and the Asia-Pacific Quality Network (APQN). APEC, founded in 1989, currently has 21 participating countries and regions, and is expressly organized to promote regional economic cooperation. Education ministers have met only intermittently since 1992 but have created a HRD working group/education network to oversee the field of education. APEC has worked for cooperation between member countries in fields closely connected with the economy, such as science and mathematics education, career education, technical education, language education and information technology education, but it has not actively addressed the field of higher education.

UMAP was founded in the same year as APEC but has no formal relationship with it. Amid the momentum of regional Asia-Pacific cooperation within APEC, UMAP has achieved a membership of 31 countries, including non-APEC members, and has developed student mobility frameworks among regional universities. UMAP was also known as the Asian version of the European Erasmus Programme thanks to what were at the time pioneering efforts in Asia, in a region which had no system of credit transfer at all. UMAP can boast certain achievements, such as developing a UMAP credit transfer scheme comparable to the pioneering European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), and the setting up of a UMAP scholarship programme for the promotion of student exchange. However, due to the inclusion of Taiwan as a full member, China does not participate in the UMAP framework. This presents a significant problem to becoming a core framework in Asia as China sends and accepts the highest number of international students in the region.

The Asia-Pacific equivalent to AUN in Southeast Asia is probably APRU. While not the same as the APEC framework, APRU is a consortium of 56 research universities from 17 countries of the Asia-Pacific region. Its activities include various efforts to promote teaching and research exchange with the cooperation of various actors, from university administrators, such as university presidents and vice presidents, to professors and students.

In the field of quality assurance of higher education in the Asia-Pacific region, the recent activities of APQN, formed in 2003, have been remarkable. At present, 204 higher education evaluation agencies and related organizations from Asian countries participate in APQN. Initially, its activities were limited to information sharing among evaluation agencies. However, in 2006, at an Asia-Pacific regional education ministers' meeting in Brisbane, Australia, the Brisbane Communiqué was announced, strongly influenced by the

Bologna Process in Europe. It pointed out the importance of higher education quality assurance in the Asia-Pacific region and to create frameworks and qualification certification systems to that end, it accelerated the activities of APQN. In 2008, APQN held an international conference on quality assurance in Chiba, Japan, which resulted in the "Chiba Principles" report on initiatives for quality assurance in higher education in the greater Asia-Pacific region. This document has become one of the bases for quality assurance in higher education in the Asia–Pacific region.

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

3.4 New Frameworks: ASEAN+3 and the China–Japan–South Korea Trilateral Cooperation

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

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

6) We will enhance people-to-people exchange aimed at developing a "we" feeling; 7) We will encourage the sharing of ideas through greater interaction between students, academicians, researchers, artists, media, and youths among countries in East Asia; 8) We will conduct regular exchange of intellectuals, members of think tanks, religious personalities and scholars, which will benefit East Asia and the world through deeper knowledge and understanding so as to fight intolerance and improve understanding among cultures and civilizations (APT 2005).

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

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

At the APT Summit in 2009, Thailand and Japan proposed holding a new conference on cooperation in the field of higher education and, in 2010, Thailand invited policymakers and leading regional university officials to the first APT Officials' Meeting on higher education. Based on these discussions, AUN took the initiative to formulate ASEAN+3 University Network in 2012. Also, ASEAN+3 Working Group on Mobility of Higher Education and Ensuring Quality Assurance of Higher Education was launched in 2013.

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

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

At the third summit held on Jeju Island, South Korea, in 2010, an accelerated realization of trilateral program to promote intra-regional quality student exchange was agreed to, with a future plan of extension to ASEAN. Accordingly, CAMPUS Asia (Collective Action for the Mobility Program of University Students) has been implemented since 2011. Also, at the third summit, the Japan–China–ROK Trilateral Cooperation VISION 2020 was published, which included the following:

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

among universities. Also, we will consider a concrete policy package to facilitate the exchange of prospective students. Meanwhile, to further promote trilateral educational cooperation, we will make full use of meetings to facilitate the establishment of a ministerial meeting mechanism. Moreover, we will promote the exchange of teachers among the three countries (Japan–China–ROK Trilateral Cooperation 2010).

The CAMPUS Asia program among China, Korea and Japan continues, and the second phase was started in 2016.

3.5 Perspectives: Contemplating a New Higher Education Framework in East Asia

As discussed, there were originally two types of framework in East Asia, centered in Southeast Asia and the Asia-Pacific region; but recently, higher education frameworks have been created based on APT and China-Japan–South Korea trilateral cooperation. Taking into account the facts that students from China account for the vast majority of international students studying in ASEAN higher education institutions, that Southeast Asian higher education can be said without exaggeration to have been internationalized due to the rapid increase of students from China, and that Japanese and ASEAN universities have been closely associated in agreements between universities, the development of installations overseas, and faculty exchange, it can probably be said that higher education is advancing in a reasonable direction within the APT framework. Between China, Japan and South Korea, de facto student exchange and cooperation between universities is making progress like nowhere else in the world. For each of the three countries, the other two are the major source of international students. In such a situation, it is only natural that policy consultation between the three countries catches up and that there is likely to be sufficient demand for the construction of a regional higher education framework in North-east Asia. Just as the East Asian Community concept was previously discussed in the ASEAN-based framework of APT, China–Japan–South Korea could plausibly use the ASEAN frameworks (SEAMEO and AUN) that have led regional framework policy in Asia (including higher education), as a basis to become involved; this could result in an Asian framework.

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

Meanwhile, considering the presence of India, Australia and New Zealand, especially the latter two countries, a new framework to functionally capture the internationalization of regional higher education seems possible. One issue is what to do with the influential United States, with its long history of educational exchange with Asia. The vast scale of the higher education sector in the United States may pose challenges to the cohesion of a regional framework. On the other hand, the integration into this new framework of the Latin American APEC member countries, such as Mexico, Chile and Peru, which at present have not made enough progress in higher education exchanges and cooperation with Asia, is not promising. On the other hand, although UMAP started in the framework of cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region, it has since become a coherent framework covering the nations of East Asia, Southeast Asia and Oceania in addition to its current member countries. The non-membership of China, however, with its elephantine presence in higher education in the region, appears to significantly diminish the capacity of UMAP. When considering regional integration and regional cooperation in Asia, conflict between Asia-Pacific-ism represented by APEC and East Asian-ism represented by APT may become an issue depending on the position and response of the United States, and similar problems may arise in higher education. Still, the current situation in Asia suggests the possibility of a "Third Way;" namely, a multilayered regional framework.

3.6 A Theoretical Understanding of Regionalization in Higher Education in Asia

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

Regardless of whether or not this holds for higher education in Asia historically, the present reality is far from the situation that "peripheral" Asia is subordinate to the Western "center." In a global context, higher education in Western countries still does have a certain influence, but as its expression in Asia dynamically undergoes qualitative and quantitative transformation, the structural relation between Western and non-Western higher education systems cannot convincingly be described as center–periphery. Umakoshi (2004), in noting the limitations of the center–periphery model as an approach to deciphering the present state of higher education in Asia, has found a certain utility in Cummings's "East Asian approach" or the "J-model." Cummings explains the core of a human resource development strategy common throughout Asia that he named the J-model in "Human resource development: The J-model," which is included as the final chapter in *The Challenge of Eastern Asian Education: Implications for America* (Cummings and Altbach 1997). The four elements of the J-model are as follows:

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

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

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

3.7 A Vision of a Higher Education Framework in Asia as Seen from Regional Integration Theories

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

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

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

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

Even so, care must be exercised in applying lightly a theoretical framework of regional integration to the discussion of regional frameworks in the field of higher education. Deutsch's views on European integration and Acharya's views on ASEAN suggest that we should strive for a form of harmonization that is adapted, not to Europe's highly homogeneous and standardized higher education of the Bologna Process but rather to higher education in diverse and disparate Asia: a harmonization of higher education that does not call for drastic change within the diverse higher education systems of the region, but rather one that tightly joins points of connection between them. Visually speaking, the former is "melting pot harmonization" and the latter is "mosaic harmonization." In other words, the choice is between a harmonization that aims at a one-size-fits-all standard, or a harmonization which seeks many points of connection, as in a mosaic. This harmonization will better explore points of connection in higher education framework in Southeast Asia, often emphasizes the need for cooperation at multiple levels of frameworks, which have become gradually connected with one another, and it may be in such an approach, a mosaic harmonization that explores points of connection, that we can watch for a breakthrough.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

As overviewed in this paper, students from Asia to Japan account for a large proportion of the world's study abroad student population. In recent years, however, this general trend is beginning to change slightly. For example, the numbers of Korean and Taiwanese students coming to Japan are on the decline, and students from China to Japan are likewise projected to decrease. Also, the decrease of Japanese students going abroad has slowed down in recent years, with the number dropping significantly from its peak in the first half of the 2000s. This is a tendency that has been associated with the term "inward-looking," which means that many young Japanese feel hesitant about going abroad for their studies or work and prefer to stay in Japan to enjoy their lives in more comfortable zones.

In the face of this situation, what should be on the agenda for Japanese universities and the Japanese higher education system as a whole? As a possible answer to this question, this paper would like to emphasize that expanding international collaboration is essential for invigorating student mobility. What individual universities can offer is limited given today's diversification of student needs, and the diversification of university offerings. Creating frameworks for international collaboration is expected to enable universities to better meet student needs and make greater use of their unique features. It is therefore important to promote "connectivity" and "comparability" between universities and between higher education systems of different countries. For this to take place, political decisions and policy-level cooperation are required in addition to relationships of trust and exchange experience built by individual universities and scholars.

An example of a relevant move is the ASEAN Community, launched by the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in December 2015 to drive the region's economic, political-security and sociocultural integration. Although modeled after the ongoing process of European integration by the European Union (EU), the ASEAN Community is anticipated to be primarily about economic integration because, unlike the EU, political systems (capitalist, socialist, military regime, and so on) differ significantly between member states, and sociocultural conditions, such as the coexistence of diverse religions, languages and ethnicities, can pose considerable challenges to the realization of integration. By contrast, economic integration through free trade and greater labor mobility within Southeast Asia is expected to bring economic benefits to each and every member state.

Although the move toward intra-regional integration is focused on the economy, education is looked upon to play an important role in many aspects of it. In addition to training a high-quality workforce within the region, thereby contributing to the economy, there is a wide range of contributions education can potentially make to the political and sociocultural aspects of the region, such as nurturing the region's future political and social leaders, promoting region-wide shared values, and cultivating identities based on shared values among ASEAN countries. Human mobility within the region is expected to rise in the coming years, which highlights the importance of issues such as how to support student mobility in higher education and how to nurture people who can be entrusted with the future of not only a country but also all of Southeast Asia, Asia, and the world. Accordingly, there are already moves toward systemic improvement, such as streamlining academic year dates and educational stages (6-3-3-4 system); introducing the subject of ASEAN Studies into curricula; and offering scholarships to students from low-income countries in Southeast Asia in order to rectify regional economic disparities.

These changes are occurring not just in Southeast Asia but in all of East Asia. The 1st East Asia Summit was held in Malaysia in 2005. Dialogue for deepening political, economic and sociocultural cooperation in the region — which includes Australia, New Zealand and India in addition to East Asian countries — has since

been ongoing, including in it the discussion of plans for an East Asia Community. The regional integration under discussion is largely based on the ASEAN+3 (China, Japan and Korea) model, which makes it essential for China, Japan and Korea to overcome political disagreements and rivalries (Haba 2012). As also discussed in this paper, moves to promote intra-regional collaboration based on the ASEAN+3 model is becoming active in the field of education as well.

Asia held its 1st ASEM Education Ministers' Meeting in Berlin in May 2008, opening ongoing policy dialogues. In August 2015, an EU SHARE office opened within the ASEAN secretariat building in Jakarta, Indonesia. EU SHARE is a joint project by the EU and the ASEAN secretariat aimed at promoting inter-regional collaboration in higher education through the development of international joint educational programs and improved scholarship programs. Although the future form that EU SHARE will take is still uncertain, at least its aim of promoting inter-regional collaboration by leveraging the EU's experience of intra-regional collaboration is clear.

The EU is not the only region keen to promote collaboration with ASEAN. North American and Oceanian universities are also actively pursuing joint degree and other programs designed to deepen their collaborative relationship with ASEAN universities. China, while participating in frameworks for intra-regional collaboration, is also working on building its own channels with ASEAN and the EU. It is same for Japan and Korea. These North East Asian countries have been contributing to improving student mobility in East Asia by promoting intra-regional collaboration. As mentioned in this paper, Japan launched its Top Global University Project program in the fiscal year of 2014 to improve the international competitiveness of its universities. Rather than continuing conventional modes of "internationalization," universities adopted for this program have been directed to devise their own unique development path. Slightly worrying from this point of view are the numerous criteria put before Top Global University Project applicant universities and the possibility of restraining projects in ways unconducive to improving essential educational and research quality.

One criterion in question is the "number of academic exchange agreements." From the point of greater diversity in international collaboration, increasing the number of partner universities is certainly important. But it is also possible to argue for limiting partner institution numbers to ensure high-quality exchange through deeper, more strategic collaboration. Also invested with growing importance in an increasingly globalized higher-education market is university collaboration with society and their contributions to society. Patent licensing income and income from university-business collaborations serve as important yardsticks for the international evaluation of universities. It is worth pointing out that many Asian universities have yet to build sufficient experience in these fields.

As discussed above, moves are under way in the EU and in Asia to promote student mobility by advancing intra- and inter-regional collaboration in higher education. Although influenced by political motives and economic interests, it should not be forgotten that the moves aspire to bring stable regional growth through shared sociocultural values. The internationalization of higher education in today's globalized world is thus progressing amid an intricate web of motives, but the most important question, across interests and positions, is how to ensure and improve educational and research quality in this environment. Many people who work in the field of higher education are hopeful that the quality of higher education will benefit from greater student mobility and deeper exchanges between students from diverse backgrounds. However, hasty moves to "internationalize" run the risk of rendering educational programs obsolete or of compromising quality by increasing the number of study abroad students who do not meet academic requirements. As

overviewed in this paper, the many frameworks for intra-regional collaboration can be seen as means of creating mechanisms for mitigating such risks.

Few would doubt the significant effects that studying abroad has on careers and subsequent lives, and that the impact largely depends on how rewarding the overseas study experience was. For this reason, the environment provided by host universities is critically important, if not more so than the efforts and attitudes of the students themselves. Universities thus face an ever-increasing list of requirements, which already include high-quality curricula, faculty with educational and scholarly excellence, well-appointed facilities and lodgings, and generous scholarships.

Although meeting each of these requirements is important, universities in Japan as well as most of other Asian countries must, above all, keep sight of the fundamental principles maintained throughout the history of their higher education. In the case of Japan, which was early to develop in Asia, these basic principles are academic freedom and university autonomy. Because Japan has, perhaps above any other country in Asia, cherished these notions, it has the responsibility of seriously discussing with higher education personnel from different countries how to protect and encourage these principles throughout the process of driving intraand inter-regional collaboration.

Finally, the authors wish to conclude by raising the question of how to enable appropriate cooperation to coexist with healthy competition as we advance intra- and inter-regional collaboration.

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