How are the public goods of internationalisation of higher education viewed in Japan?

Futao Huang and Kiyomi Horiuchi

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to depict how the public goods of internationalising higher education in Japan are viewed by various stakeholders based on the main findings from semi-structured interviews. The study begins with a brief introduction to the research background before presenting the analysis and main findings from the interviews. It concludes by arguing the following points: first, multiple perspectives, levels and approaches, as well as the diversity of stakeholders, should be taken into consideration when the meaning of the phrase “the global or public goods of internationalisation of higher education” is discussed; second, diversity in
interviewees’ perceptions of the global public goods or public goods of internationalisation of Japanese higher education is considerable and evident; finally, it would be of great help and relevance to a more healthy development and enhancement of internationalisation of Japanese higher education if government, individual universities, students, and other stakeholders could share the core values of global public goods.

Keywords

public goods, inward international students, internationalisation of higher education, Japan, interview
Introduction

In recent years, economic globalisation and increased academic competition worldwide have made Japan realise the need to take more active measures to internationalise its universities and enhance its international competitiveness. Tremendous changes have occurred in various aspects of Japanese higher education at both policy and institutional levels for a number of decades. In recent years, as the negative impacts from the adoption of new public management and marketisation on higher education worldwide seem to be considerable and increasingly evident, a renewed interest has emerged in relation to both the public and common goods of higher education, and its internationalisation at the local, international or even global scale. In Japan, in 2017 the possibility of providing free higher education to certain groups was proposed at a government level, and media, industry and academics have since all been involved in the ongoing discussion (Mainichi Shinbun, 2017). It is still unclear to what extent this discussion is linked with or framed in terms of the public goods or global public goods of higher education, but there is little doubt that these concepts and their interpretation are acutely relevant to Japanese higher education, including its internationalisation, at both policy and institutional levels.

The purpose of this study is to depict how the public goods of internationalising higher education in Japan are viewed by various stakeholders based on main findings from semi-structured interviews. The interviewees include key persons from different levels or fields in Japan: officials from MEXT (the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology), national agencies in relation to international students and international cooperation, a national-level professional association of higher education research, both top-level and middle-level leaders of one research-intensive national university, academics from humanities, engineering and economics, administrators in charge of internationalisation of their respective universities, and international students from diverse backgrounds. The study begins with a brief introduction to the research background, before presenting the analysis and main findings from the interviews. It concludes by arguing how the public goods
of internationalisation of Japanese higher education are viewed and interpreted by different stakeholders and offers some brief implications for research and practice.

Research background

Context

Although the formation of the modern higher education system in Japan is modelled on Western ideas and models from the late 19th century, the characteristics of Japanese higher education essentially differ from both most European continental countries and North America. As a well-known example, the first Japanese modern university, the University of Tokyo, was directly established by the Meiji government in 1877, and alongside six other universities founded by the government by the start of WWII, represents an “Imperial University”. From the very start, the mission of these universities was to contribute to the modernisation of Japanese society by producing government officials and professionals, as well as social elites. According to the University Ordinance in 1918, other local public and some private institutions were conferred the status of a university, but the Ordinance explicitly states that the purpose of universities was to pursue academic studies “only necessary to the nation” (Tsuchimochi, 1996). There is little doubt that other sectors or types of higher education institutions also fostered numerous graduates in a wide range of fields, but the development of the modern Japanese higher education system was rigidly regulated and controlled by the central government to meet with the needs of the government rather than to pursue scholarship or undertake pure research.

During the US Occupation period of 1945-1951, the pre-war higher education system, with complicated levels and types of various institutions, was transformed into the single four-year university system, strongly influenced by the US model. During the process, driven by policies of both democratisation and massification of higher education1, the missions and functions of Japanese higher education also

1 Influenced by the US model, the Japanese government implemented a series of policies of building a democratic society after WWII. Main points of these policies include the establishment of national
changed from merely serving social elites and fostering government officials to being open to all people. However, the US idea of emphasising general education did not synergise with the demands of restructuring Japan after WWII. Especially after the 1960s when the “Plan to Double the National Income in Ten Years” was implemented by the Ikeda Cabinet, the top priority was economic recovery and growth through the expansion of higher education enrolment in faculties of science and engineering, centered in the national universities. The key character of higher education in this period is described as “a conjugation of economic policy and education” (Hata, 1999).

Since the 1960s, a rapid increase in the number of private higher education institutions played a central role in accepting new entries and meeting with growing demand for higher education from students, and female students in particular. If South Korea or Taiwan were not considered as advanced societies by the early 1980s, as Geiger (1986) points out, Japan would be the only industrial society in which the private sector of higher education clearly outnumbers the public sector.² Despite the contribution made by national universities to remarkable economic growth in Japan, since the 1960s the government has limited the numbers of newly founded national universities due to the level of public resources needed to finance them. Instead, the introduction of a laissez-faire stance on private higher education institutions led to a constant and quick rise of both private institutions and privately enrolled students. Both the massification of Japanese higher education and near universal access to higher education in the 1990s were realised through the rapid expansion of private higher education institutions and private students studying at their own expense (Pempel, 1973; Tsuchimochi, 1996; Huang, 2012). Interestingly, on one hand, the government implemented the national policies of democratisation and massification of higher education to provide an equal opportunity for everyone to receive higher education. On the other hand, the government did not provide financial support for expanding national universities and did not subsidise the

² According to the MEXT’s annual Basic School Survey in 2017, among the total number of 780 universities in Japan, 604 are private, 86 are national and 90 are local public. In student’s ratio, 73.6% are enrolled at private institutions.
expansion of private institutions while they increased in a rapid way. Contradictorily, the government seemed to accept the concept of the public goods of higher education and the decisive role higher education played in facilitating the recovery and development of the Japanese economy, but it did not carry out corresponding financial policies which supported the expansion of higher education with public funding until the early 1970s.

Similar to other contexts such as the UK and Australia, since the 1990s the theory of new public management has also substantially influenced Japanese higher education. One of the most important outcomes of the increasing influence of this theory is corporatisation of both national and most local public universities. Compared to previous periods, more emphasis has been placed on the private goods of higher education and the benefits to individuals from receiving higher education. Even in Japan, changes in higher education have been more driven by the corporate sector and private corporations. In recent years, whether reforms on higher education are successful or not has been increasingly measured based on whether higher education could satisfy demands from private corporations and its relevance to corporate interests, rather than on its ability to educate the individual for civic life, or to distribute expertise throughout society for the public good (Hawkins, 2006). Also, at the same time, for most students and their parents, their goal is to gain the best possible position in the workforce upon graduation rather than to engage in active learning or participate in research and the production of knowledge for the public good (Kempner & Makino, 1993).

As discussed above, in contrast to European continental countries, Japanese higher education has expanded according to the “levy beneficiary” principle since the late 19th century. During the process, the central government founded national universities, approved the establishment of other sectors of higher education institution, and regulated and even controlled the size and functions of different sectors and types of higher education institution at a national level. University students, including those studying in national universities, were required to bear a certain amount of the cost of education, with very limited subsidy from the
government. According to Kaneko (1988), while students were charged tuition and fees across the three sectors from the late 19th century, the standard of tuition and fees was set quite low to make it possible for national universities to accept new entries based on their merit, based on the principle of “promotion of merit”. Until 2004 when all national universities and many local public universities began to operate as corporations, these two seemingly conflicting principles had dominated the development of Japanese higher education for a long time.

The importance of implementing the Act on Subsidies for Private Schools in 1976 for understanding and interpreting the public goods of higher education, including the internationalisation of higher education in Japan, cannot be overestimated. As a result of laissez-faire policies to private institutions, many of them, whose operating costs heavily rely on tuition fees, used to accept as many students as possible, even over designated student quotas previously approved by government, and this brought about the deterioration of educational conditions. Due to radical students' protests and increasing criticism in public opinion, the government began to realise the public goods of private higher education institutions and allocated public funding to them based fundamentally on their number of students and faculty. At the same time more strict regulations and control were also imposed on private higher education institutions in order to maintain the quality of educational conditions and alleviate the economic burden on students. However, some scholars doubted the public goods of private higher education institutions and objected to the provision of financial support for private institutions because of their inherent private nature (Ogata, 1977).

In summary, the brief introduction to the changing contexts suggests that first, seemingly, no consistent and clear national policies in relation to global or public goods of higher education, including internationalisation of higher education, were

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3 The Japanese government promulgated the Act with a purpose of improving educational and research conditions of private universities, maintaining healthy management of these universities, as well as reducing financial burdens of private students. Since the implementation of the Act, the government has provided financial support to private institutions and students constantly.

4 At its peak in 1980, government funding covered nearly 30% of operating expenditure of individual private higher education institutions, it shrank to approximately 10% since 1990s.
developed in Japan; second, a wide gap between policies and reality in terms of global or public goods of higher education exists; finally, no comprehensive or in-depth discussions or arguments about global or public goods of higher education have been made at national or institutional levels despite the fact that some reforms – such as the provision of public funding for private universities and colleges and private students and increasing the amount of scholarship for inward international students – to Japanese higher education were launched based on the idea of public goods of higher education. All these conflicts and seeming contradictions between national policies and the realities of higher education are also partly reflected in previous research into this theme in Japan.

**Review of literature**

Given the fact that a comprehensive review of literature on higher education and public good has been made by scholars like Marginson (2011, 2018) and Hazelkorn and Gibson (2017), the study does not intend to provide an extensive review of earlier studies being conducted in Western countries or in English, but rather to focus on reviewing previous studies on this topic in Japan and creating a conceptual framework for further study based on previous research.

Compared to Western countries, very little research or discussion has considered the public goods of higher education, let alone the public goods of internationalisation of higher education in Japan. Among the limited earlier research, much deals with the public goods of higher education from the perspectives of higher education economics and financing. Two previous studies seem to discuss the relations between public goods and higher education in Japan. For example, as noted by Ichikawa (2000), on one hand, although higher education has the character of collective consumer goods, it cannot accommodate those who do not pay for tuition and fees and it sets limitations on those who want to receive higher education (through entrance examinations and other restrictions). In this sense, higher education is not completely provided on the basis of the idea of public goods. On the other hand, it is not only university students who can benefit from their higher education in the future, but also higher education can have external positive effects.
on other stakeholders and society at large. Therefore, it is not appropriate for students and their parents to cover all the expenses for higher education; government should also contribute. Yano (1996) also raises an external effect to society as one of the grounds on which public funding should be injected into higher education, and accordingly places higher education in Japan as a quasi-public good. However, he also emphasises that because it is extremely difficult to measure the educational benefits of education, it is almost impossible to identify the real outcomes or social benefits of higher education. Further, in reference to prior studies in the USA, Maruyama (2002) divides the benefits of education into two categories: monetary and non-monetary. The former means economic growth and increase of GDP while the latter denotes social benefits such as health, the declining crime rates, improvement of the environment, and favourable civic conditions, etc. In contrast to the few comprehensive research studies into public goods of higher education, there have been various criticisms about the understandings of the public goods of higher education in Japan. For example, as early as the late 1980s, Horio (1988) pointed out that if there is an increasing commodification of scholarship and education, there will surely be a commodification of knowledge and the universalism, communitarianism or universality of scholarship or knowledge will be lost. Shigemoto (2009) also criticises the fact that the university management of Japanese universities devotes too much to economic efficiency or performance, and does not take into consideration any public issues or issues in relation to general citizenship.

Conceptual framework and methods of research

Based on earlier research, the study presents the following conceptual framework of analysing public goods of internationalisation of higher education (Figure 1). To illustrate, first, prior research indicates that the phrase ‘public goods’ is an all-encompassing concept and its interpretation is highly relative to different contexts. At least, it should be discussed at different levels, from different perspectives and approaches, and it should distinguish between the many activities of internationalisation of higher education. Among which, despite debates over various activities of internationalisation of higher education, it is primarily concerned with the international mobility of students, academics or researchers, the international
perspective or orientation of teaching, learning and research activities, and newly emerged activities of transnational higher education such as international collaborative university, jointly operated programmes and branch campuses, etc. In terms of levels, public goods mainly include global, society, country, regional and community. The meaning of the term can be approached at least from academic, cultural, social, political and economic angles. More importantly, the interpretation of the phrase is determined by who defines it. These include international organisations, national government, local authorities, NGOs, industry, individual universities, parents, and students, etc.

Figure 1 Conceptual framework of studying public goods of internationalisation of higher education


In relation to the research methods, by using common interview questions the study only analyses the main findings from interviews with relevant persons focusing on the question “What are the main global public goods – benefits flowing not just to your country but to other countries, including the countries of student origin – that are created or augmented by inward student mobility in your nation?” As mentioned earlier, a wide range of key persons from different government agencies,
professional associations, and two national universities were interviewed. Based on the same question, the study only uses data from interviews with key persons shown in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3. The case university named as Star University for the purposes of this research is one of the former “Imperial Universities”. Currently, it is a research-intensive university which accommodated nearly 2,300 international students from different parts of the world in May 2017. Except for a few international students who only speak English and take English programmes, Japanese was used to interview these key persons. All the interviews listed in the three tables were undertaken from early August 2017 to late February 2018. The duration of interviewing time varies depending on individual interviews and topics, but most interviews lasted between one and two hours. Further, all the interviews were recorded and a majority of them have been transcribed into Japanese and English.

Table 1 Outline of interviews at Star University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic rank</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A  Professor</td>
<td>Executive Vice President</td>
<td>Physics</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8th Aug. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B  Professor</td>
<td>Dean of Faculty of Engineering</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1st Aug. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C  Professor</td>
<td>Director of International Planning Section</td>
<td>Anthropology</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>12th Sept. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D  Professor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1st Aug. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E  Professor</td>
<td>Director of Center for International Affairs</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8th Aug. 2017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 Outline of interviews with key persons from government agencies and national professional and international associations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>F National Profession Association of XXX</td>
<td>President</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; Oct. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G MEXT</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Feb. 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H JICA</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>6&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Feb. 2018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I JASSO</td>
<td>One of key leaders</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dec. 2017</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1. JICA refers to Japan International Cooperation Agency
2. JASSO refers to Japan Student Services Organisation

Table 3 Outline of interviewed students at Star University

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Discipline</th>
<th>Level*</th>
<th>Language at interview</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J China</td>
<td>Linguistics</td>
<td>M2</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Sep. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K China</td>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Sep. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L South Korea</td>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>B1</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dec. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Iran</td>
<td>Human Sciences</td>
<td>D3</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>20&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dec. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N U.S.A.</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>D2</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Dec. 2017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O Indonesia</td>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>D2</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; Feb. 2018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note: *B=bachelor, M=master, D=doctoral course: a number beside degree level indicates the year students enrolled. Ex.) M2 means 2nd year master course student.

Findings and discussion

As discussed below, except for one international student, almost all interviewees believe that public goods of internationalisation of higher education are obvious and substantial. No interviewees deny the existence of global public goods of internationalisation of higher education, especially the acceptance of inbound international students to Japanese campuses. One of the interviewees clearly asserts that

My understanding is that public good is different from materials being dealt in the market, and regard higher education as something providing public benefit (F).

Because of non-profit research and provision of quality talent for society, the public goods of higher education are numerous, I think. Further, in terms of global public goods, more and more research papers have been written and published in English recently. From the perspective of sharing knowledge, there has been increased internationalisation of research activities being undertaken in higher education institutions. Also, compared to the past period when university graduates used to work in their own countries, currently, with a growth in numbers of foreign-ventured or global corporations in Japan, international students could also be hired in these places after graduation (L).

In contrast, one international student does not think Japanese national universities yield any global public goods.

… When you look at some places like Japan, you can see this national university is NOT primarily for the students coming here. This university
plays a strong role in nation-building, and research study does preparing workforce. You see, it’s not a student-focus here, it’s part of a sort of national bureaucratic machine that serves a number of different national functions. And in that sense, I see more blatant public good mentality (N).

However, it appears that no generally accepted definition could be identified from the main findings of the following interviews. Some interviewees even claim that the phrase is not employed widely in the field of higher education and almost no one knows what it implies in relation to internationalisation of higher education.

…As the traditional consciousness still prevails among many faculties such as, “National universities were built for fostering future leaders in Japan, so its educational resources should be dominantly allocated to Japanese citizens.” In this sense, the majority of Japanese faculties and stakeholders lack the viewpoint of global public good (C).

But in general, Japanese people are not aware of such public good concept. Rather, the idea of Neo-liberalism has prevailed, and therefore, the discourse that university should be regarded as public good has regressed…As the country of homogenous society with almost single race and language, there is a limitation to discuss the issue of international students from global perspective. If we mention the term “global public good,” Japanese people would imagine something like idealistic but unclear concept floating in the air. Japanese cannot think it with reality since our daily life is far away from the diversity (F).

It is an extremely difficult question. I am afraid that I cannot give you a clear answer because I cannot fully understand what it means (H).

In short, the meaning of global public goods seems to be interpreted from three dimensions as follows.

The first dimension is about what global public goods inward international students themselves could obtain.

www.researchcghe.org
Experiences in studying abroad will be of help to fostering the youngsters who
could think and behave with the global perspectives. The current borderless
world needs more human resources who could solve the global issues. Unless
they experience and absorb other culture and value outside their home
countries, it is difficult to gain this kind of attitude and way of thinking.
Broadening perspectives and nurturing global citizenship will be the main global
public goods (E).

I think my decision to studying abroad is a good thing for the wider world. (In
Engineering department) there are a lot of collaborative research projects, so I
am not communicating only with Japanese. This makes many impacts on other
countries as well (O).

A second dimension denotes what global public goods Japanese universities and
Japanese society could derive by accepting inward international students. It appears
that more interviewees emphasise that attracting inward international students could
produce more benefits for Japanese society at large, especially for Japanese
companies to strengthen their position abroad.

Accepting international students confer long-term benefits to the host country, I
think….Due to the shrinking domestic market and globalization of the economy,
Japanese industries keep enlarging their factories and branch offices outside
Japan. Those places are in need of recruiting more and more domestic
employees. Ideal figures for them are those who understand Japanese culture
with Japanese language proficiency, so that they could manage in bridging
linkages between Japanese business with local business (B).

Even several international students mentioned this point. Some of them assert that,
as Japan is a country with an extremely high homogeneity or ethnic purity, there are
not so many opportunities for ordinary Japanese people to get in touch with
foreigners. It is thought that the daily communication between international students
and local people could provide more opportunities for local people to be aware of a variety of values and cultures, and also exert a form on internationalisation of local community.

Perhaps there is no big contribution, but some of my Japanese friends seem to have changed their impressions on Chinese students around me (J).

There’s certainly quite a lot of people … who have not had any substantial interaction with foreigners before. So, because I’ve at least to certain extent been able to be a bridge to language divide. … I would hope it has some kind of positive impact on those communities (N).

The globalisation is the major impact Japanese society will have. I think Japan just started to be open to other countries…International students have a different point of view, so that makes Japan more open (O).

The third dimension is concerned with both inward students and Japanese universities and society at large. This is not only mentioned by academics but also stressed by inward international students as follows:

Having “supporters” outside Japan will be the public goods for both Japan and the countries of student origin. “Supporters” are fostered by studying and experiencing real life in Japan. The global public goods might not be achieved in a short period, but with a longer perspective, it will be gradually transformed as a basic foundation. In the time of tensions between two nations, if there are several figures who truly understand both countries, conflicts could be avoidable, or even such tensions would not occur. Accepting international students is consequently leading to bring up those “supporters” and yield long-term benefits (B).

There is an alumni association consisting of graduate students and researchers who came to learn or do research in Japanese universities. It is supported by the
Iranian government. It provides a platform on which both Japan and Iran can explore the possibility of helping each other and contribute to each side. Also it contributes to the partnership and collaboration of universities and industry between Iran and Japan. … Through these conferences, usually people come and share the knowledge about Iranians in Japan, and how we can better contribute to Japan’s society and to our own society (M).

In terms of approaches to understanding the term, several interviewees stress that the meaning of public goods of internationalisation of higher education could be defined from a wide range of approaches. F points out that more emphasis should be placed on its economic value as follows:

When considering in accepting international students as educational diplomacy, we should first calculate how much cost is necessary to fulfil its implementation and gain the future benefit. By investing on public good, public benefit will be returned. Japanese educational policies claim the numerical target with vague purposes, but seem to ignore planning the actual roadmap to fulfil its aims (F).

Relatedly, several interviewees state that one of the largest global public goods of accepting inward international students to Japanese universities is that it is of relevance and significance to the economic development of countries from which inward international students come.

Those international students who obtained their degrees from Japanese universities return and could help their countries become more economically prosperous and further development of their countries with their learnt knowledge and competencies (I).

From the academic perspective, one of the interviewees emphasises the benefits that accepting inward international students could bring to Japan.
As a research intensive university, collaborative work at international settings is definitely important. Sciences cannot develop without such international cooperation….For social contribution, especially at Japanese society, it is beneficial for domestic youngsters to know and learn through experiences that there are different kind of people and values around the world. Such experiences will be eye-opening to them as well as to international students. So, it is meaningful for university to provide an international learning environment (B).

It is also considered that accepting inward international students to Japanese universities is of importance to developing good relationships between Japan and countries from which inbound international students are coming. It is especially true in the case of East Asian countries.

Sometimes political relationships among East Asian countries are extremely unstable. Even if there are political conflicts, international students in Japan can build human-to-human bonds with Japanese students and faculty. Such grass-roots interaction of young people must be contributing to the global public goods (C).

The outcomes of accepting inward international students are substantial and obvious for it could help build up regional community and help international students and local students to form such consciousness of regional community. More importantly, it could provide a basis of peace, I believe (H).

It is pointed out that returned international students could help improve the level of internationalisation of their home countries.

For sending countries, those returned students from other countries can contribute to not only the enhancement of educational level of their home countries, but also development of science and technology. It is quite different in their perspectives and way of thinking between those who learnt in foreign countries and those who do not have any experiences of studying abroad. At
least those returned students from other countries could help further internationalise their home countries (K).

One interviewee mentions that acceptance of inward international students could help international students who come from different parts of the world to share common values of culture with Japanese people and even share common values within inward international students studying in Japanese universities.

The importance of creating and maintain basic human relationship between countries cannot be overestimated. And accepting inward international students could contribute it, I suppose. Even if conflicts between countries take place, it makes huge differences if you have a close personal networking with the country (I).

Further, accepting inward international students, especially providing financial support for those coming from developing and emerging countries could provide young people with quality higher education which they may not receive in their home countries. More importantly, it could also help build capacity of young generation from these countries (G).

**Concluding remarks**

This study presented an overview of perceptions of global public goods of internationalisation of higher education focused on the acceptance of inward international students to Japanese campuses based on interviews with diverse persons from different backgrounds and affiliations. The main findings from both the literature review and interviews can be summarised as follows:

First, multiple perspectives, levels and approaches, as well as the diversity of stakeholders should be taken into consideration when the meaning and implications of the phrase “the global or public goods of internationalisation of higher education”
is discussed. This is also true in the case of examining the terms common or public goods of higher education, too. The phrase “global public goods of internationalisation of Japanese higher education” covers various levels and could be approached from various standpoints and by diverse stakeholders. In a major sense, the conceptual framework (Figure 1) is reliable and makes sense, and can be applied to the analysis of global public or common goods of higher education.

Second, the brief instruction to the changing context of Japanese higher education reveals that despite the acceptance of the concept of public goods of higher education, in reality, changes in and reforms to Japanese higher education have been dominated by the demand from business and industry. Sometimes the national policies seem to conflict with what happened in practice in terms of charging tuition and fees from students and their parents.

Third, although little is known about the real meaning of global or public goods of internationalisation of higher education in Japan, diversity in interviewees' perceptions of the global public goods or public goods of internationalisation of Japanese higher education could be identified. Some explained its meaning from different levels such as global, national, regional within Japan, and institutional while others interpreted it from different areas or domains or in relation to different activities such as the acceptance of international students and internationalising the university curriculum, etc. Interestingly, both officials from governmental agencies and institutional leaders seem to interpret the meaning of the term in a more positive way, and emphasise more the importance of internationalisation of higher education than any other groups. In contrast, some academics express more their concerns and worries about the government's initiatives which exclusively underscore an achievement of numerical targets of internationalisation and especially a short-term vision of internationalisation of higher education in Japan.

Fourth, it is apparent that some student interviewees understand the global public goods of internationalisation of higher education as something they acquire personally and that they embody and 'channel' themselves as individuals, though differences also exist within different groups.
Finally, the existence of these different understandings of the phrase "global public goods of internationalisation of Japanese higher education" seems to have affected and be likely to affect the development of national policies and practices of internationalisation of Japanese higher education at the institutional level. While it would be extremely difficult for government officials, professionals, industry, institutional leaders, academics, international students and other stakeholders to acquire a mutual understanding regarding global public goods of internationalisation of Japanese higher education, it would be of great help and relevance to a more healthy development and enhancement of internationalisation of Japanese higher education if these stakeholders could share the core values of global public goods based on the Japanese context.
References


