



Title	The 'International' University in Japan and The Netherlands
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Citation	大阪大学, 2022, 博士論文
Version Type	VoR
URL	<a href="https://doi.org/10.18910/89589">https://doi.org/10.18910/89589</a>
rights	
Note	

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## Abstract of Thesis

Name ( VAN DER VEERE ANOMA PHICHAJ )	
Title	The 'International' University in Japan and The Netherlands (日本とオランダにおける大学の「国際化」)
<p>Policy makers in Japan and The Netherlands have always looked abroad to learn lessons about how to shape the university as a tool for nation-building across the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the latter half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this process ran in parallel with the introduction of economic liberalism and globalization. As liberal, and later neo-liberal principles seeped into university education, national policies of "internationalization" were introduced. Now, over the course of the last two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, these policies have had a great effect on the country's national systems of education.</p> <p>This dissertation shows that Japan has reached its main policy targets concerning receiving foreign students, but has neglected to focus on the exchange of Japanese students. This is the result of policy priorities. I argue that this is largely due to a continuation of the nationalist discourses through which political actors communicate this new form of "internationalization". Moreover, it seems that policy makers are satisfied with the current policy trajectory, and are likely to accept new policies in the same format if they were to be introduced.</p> <p>Like in Japan, both proponents and opponents of these policies utilize nationalist arguments to formulate their positions. Unlike Japan, Dutch politicians on the critical side of the debate seem to be gaining the upper hand, especially in the last few years. There are fears concerning the effects of internationalization that have translated into politics. The combination of these concerns has emboldened the nationalist rhetoric of critics, leading to the current situation in which the government has shown signs of shifting its position vis-à-vis uncontrolled internationalization.</p> <p>In The Netherlands, the political discourse has shifted in the other direction, as opponents of</p>	

internationalization have successfully used nationalist rhetoric in their attack of internationalization policies.

This is the result of a number of factors that have influenced the course of the debate, as the analysis shows.

This dissertation argues the following: that 1) internationalization is not new to the university, as is often assumed in public and academic discourses. In fact, the international element has always been part and parcel of higher education since its inception, as the two historical case studies combined with the analysis show. And, 2) political actors in Japan and The Netherlands on both sides of the debate have utilized nationalist arguments in their defense or attack of current internationalization policies. In Japan, this has had little effect on the course of these policies, as defendants have successfully coated their position in a layer of national interest rhetoric. Critics, in turn, have been forced to adopt the same language, making it difficult to critique the neo-liberal assumptions that are inherent in these policies.

In short, it can be said that Japan is more likely to adopt more internationalization policies, while The Netherlands is unlikely to do so in the near future.

## 論文審査の結果の要旨及び担当者

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## 論文審査の結果の要旨

This thesis examines the phenomenon of internationalization in the university, using Japan and The Netherlands as case studies. Utilizing both historical analysis and discourse analysis, it argues that 1) internationalization has been an element of the university since its inception, and, perhaps somewhat counterintuitively, 2) nationalist arguments have been utilized both by those supporting and opposing policies aimed at promoting internationalization. In terms of the former, the thesis serves as a response to policy and academic narratives suggesting that policies promoting internationalization at universities (critically, not globalization) are a relatively recent phenomenon. Regarding the latter, it sheds light on the seeming contradiction between the promotion of both (neo-liberal) internationalization (critically, not 'globalization'), and domestically aligned nationalism.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters, with the first and last being the introduction and conclusion, respectively. Chapter two examines the role of education and the modern state, historically tracing the formation and development of the nation-state in relation to the development of (mass) education. It demonstrates the critical role of education in consolidating the state, and its utilization in subsequent acts of governance. It also discusses liberalism and neo-liberalism, arguing that governments have utilized education in pursuing national economic growth.

Chapters three and four take up the case studies of Japan and The Netherlands, respectively. It traces historical and policy developments in each case from the initial phases of modern education, and how policymakers developed and adjusted education policies and systems in response to challenges of war, occupation and liberalization. It shows how the role of education has come to be seen as a vehicle for promoting national identity and prestige, while at the same time becoming increasingly corporate-like.

Chapter five lays out the applicable theories and methodologies, primarily the use of discourse analysis in qualitatively analyzing official government statements in both cases (both politicians and ministries, from 2000–2020), with a particular focus on foreign student exchange. Chapter six lays out the analysis. It demonstrates that while nationalist rhetoric has been used (in conjunction with neo-liberal policies) to promote large increases in the intake of foreign students (albeit with less focus on outbound exchanges) in both cases studied, historical, political and social circumstances have resulted in slightly different outcomes. In the case of Japan, nationalist based arguments back a consensus on the need for greater internationalization, while in The Netherlands, the sheer volume of foreign students has led to an equally nationalistic backlash against internationalization.

While it remains to be seen what light may be shed by the use of other case studies on this phenomenon, this thesis contributes to our understanding of the role of the state in tertiary education policies and conversely, the role of education in the formation and promotion of the state.

The members of the Committee were in agreement that this thesis meets the conditions for the attainment of a Ph.D. degree.