South Korea hosts approximately 86,000 international students and attracts most of this population from China (69%). In a comparison between students from different regions, East Asian students reported greater difficulties and unfair treatment compared to students from Europe, North America, and even other parts of Asia. Chinese students in particular reported feeling less welcomed compared to those from other countries, including other East Asian countries. A Chinese student explained, "Korean students tend to socialize well with students from Western countries and also not bad with Japanese students. But they don't do so with, particularly, Chinese students." Such ex-

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Resistance against international students has been well documented in various media outlets, in the form of discriminatory acts, from subtle stereotyping to physical attacks.

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periences were explained as based on negative stereotypes about China, and were manifest in a range of discriminatory acts. Common examples included the following: "I made my best effort to search jobs but I was rejected since I was foreigner. Actually, managers didn't recognize it while we were speaking, but I told them honestly since I thought I should not be embarrassed of being Chinese. Then, soon they rejected me." Another student said, "The dorm mother said she never accepted Chinese to live here, since they were dirty and noisy." Such accounts cannot be explained as discrimination by race, but based on national origins.

Such discrimination based on nationality, despite sharing the same race, is not isolated to East Asia. In the case of South Africa, the majority of its approximately 73,000 international students are from Southern Africa (74%), with the largest group from its border country, Zimbabwe (27%). As in South Korea, international students in South Africa reported mistreatment on the basis of nationality. A student explained, "Zimbabweans are treated badly because of our political and economic challenges." Another African student shared, "People seem to be uncomfortable with my being Nigerian." Accommodation is a common problem for international students; as one Zambian student reported, "We as foreigners are usually treated with contempt by South Africans. When it comes to accommodation, we are treated unfairly. We would be charged twice the amount that South African citizens pay." In comparison to other

international students, a student from Malawi explained, "Home students are more welcoming to students outside Africa than to those from within Africa… home students do not associate with African international students. However they are always friendly to those coming from overseas."

Complex Challenges Ahead

Although the dominant hosts in the West continue to grapple with successfully integrating international with local students, similar challenges exist for regional hosts, despite educating a majority of culturally similar international students. While neo-racism might be observed in major Western destinations, such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia, neo-nationalism might also be at play, particularly in emerging economies that serve as educational destinations within the region, such as South Korea and South Africa. As some recent research has revealed, the difficulties that international students encounter are global. Even so, neo-racism and neo-nationalism are two different but powerful challenges in this increasingly complex global society.

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Challenges of Student Mobility in Southeast Asia

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Influenced by globalization in the beginning of the 21st century, Southeast Asia has experienced a remarkable development of student mobility: The number of Southeast Asian students studying abroad is increasing significantly, and the number of international students in Southeast Asia is gradually increasing. While the benefits of student mobility programs are clear, Southeast Asian countries face several challenges when trying to develop them further.

Recent Developments

Southeast Asian countries rank among the top 25 countries of origin for international students studying in the United States, including Vietnam (8), Indonesia (19), Thailand (20), and Malaysia (24). By 2011, these four countries, plus

the Philippines, accounted for 214,000 students primarily studying in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia. The increase in student mobility also results from international cooperative education programs via franchising and twinning agreements, and branch campuses between Southeast Asian countries and foreign higher education institutions. There are currently 25 branch campuses in Southeast Asia: 1 in Indonesia, 6 in Malaysia, 13 in Singapore, 3 in Thailand, and 2 in Vietnam.

Southeast Asia is not only sending its students abroad, but it has also developed national academic systems to attract foreign students. Owing to their ambition to use English as a medium of instruction in higher education, and to relatively low tuition fees and living costs, Southeast Asian countries have gained momentum in the global student market competition. Leading countries such as Singapore and Malaysia have aimed to become regional education hubs; they have become education exporters. According to the *Guardian*, Singapore welcomed 52,959 international students from 120 countries in 2014. Similarly, Malaysia had 63,625 international students from 160 nations. Singapore and Malaysia ranked among the top 20 destination countries for international students. The majority of international students studying in Southeast Asia are from Southeast Asia, South Korea, China, and India.

The flow of international students from Western countries to Southeast Asia, though small (approximately 5,000), has also gradually increased in the last few years. These students are primarily American, Australian, and British, and are coming to emerging and developed Southeast Asian countries such as Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand. In addition, Southeast Asia has also experienced an influx of international students from Middle Eastern countries, including the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, and Lebanon. In the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, the United States adopted a more restrictive visa policy toward applicants from Middle Eastern countries. Consequently, the flow from some Islamic countries into Southeast Asia has gradually increased. Iran accounted for 21.44 percent of more than 61,000 international students in the Philippines in 2012. In Malaysia, recruiters have widened their market search for international students, targeting countries in the Middle East.

CHALLENGES

The above-mentioned growth of student mobility is a proof of the success of governments and higher education institutions in these countries on the internationalized higher education market. However, Southeast Asian countries encounter challenges that hinder them from reaping advantages, and from continuing to develop transnational education programs.

Periphery. The peripheral status of Southeast Asia in knowledge production is the most significant challenge, and is considered the root of other challenges. In fact, not many Southeast Asian countries have been primary producers of new scientific knowledge and cutting-edge technologies. Among the list of top 500 research universities listed by the Academic Ranking of World Universities, only two Southeast Asian universities—both from Singapore—have ever appeared on the list. Since the ranking focuses on research productivity and prestigious awards for outstanding research, this fact reveals that higher education institutions in Southeast Asia are remarkably peripheral in expanding the borders of knowledge and contributing to knowledge production.

> **Southeast Asian countries rank among the top 25 countries of origin for international students studying in the United States**

The peripheral standing of higher education institutions in Southeast Asia also makes the institutions of the region less attractive for study abroad. For example, Southeast Asian students are less likely to go to other Southeast Asian countries for a degree or even an exchange program. Instead of selecting higher education institutions within the region, many wealthy families from Vietnam, Malaysia, and Indonesia attempt to send their children to English-speaking institutions outside the region for an international degree. This is a problem for institutions in Southeast Asia, since they tend to lose the best or the richest students to foreign institutions.

Brain-drain. In the last few decades, statistics show that most students move from East to West and from non-English-speaking countries to English-speaking countries. Also, many successful professors and academic staff currently working in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, or Japan are coming from Southeast Asia. This is brain drain, and though the issue of brain drain varies among Southeast Asian countries, it poses a real challenge for them. The more developed countries in the region, such as Singapore, tend not to lose their best and brightest to Japan or Western countries. However, for other countries of lower academic quality, the fact that most of their bright students and outstanding academics go to study or work at foreign institutions represents a loss of human and financial resources to create and develop their own reputable universities. The majority of intelligent students and pro-

ductive academics from Vietnam are studying or working outside their home country. For instance, nearly 100 percent of the brightest high school graduates from the best high schools in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City go abroad for undergraduate education. Similarly, most of the Vietnamese students who achieved medals in the International Mathematical Olympiads are working as academics in developed countries.

English as a Language Barrier. The fact that English is not the official language of instruction and publication in many countries in the region is another obstacle to attracting international students and to participating in the broader scientific community. With the exception of Singapore, the Philippines, and Thailand, most universities in the region offer very few courses in English. This is one reason why few international students come to those institutions for exchange programs, let alone a degree. If the effort to provide more courses in English at an acceptable cost is not successful, it is foreseeable that universities where English is not a language of instruction will not become attractive places for a large pool of international students.

It is crucial that the countries of Southeast Asia recognize the challenges described in this article. Clearly, they should frame higher education policies in order to overcome the challenges to reduce negative impacts and improve quality and educational effectiveness. This is a way to improve their level of higher education and increase their contributions to social development. ∎

France Debates International Student Fees

Ariane de Gayardon

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With 4 million students studying abroad in 2012, student mobility has become one of the most prominent features of the internationalization of higher education. But host countries receiving an ever-increasing number of international students are starting to think over their funding strategy. In an age of global austerity, it is legitimate to question whether international students' education should be as subsidized as domestic students' education.

This question was under scrutiny in France during the first half of 2015, as a report by France Stratégie—a think tank working for the prime minister—suggested the introduction of international tuition fees. France is not the first country to face this debate and will not be the last, but it takes special significance in the third most attractive country in the world and in a country where half the international students come from Africa.

Welfare States

European welfare states have proven particularly vulnerable to the debate around the financing of higher education for non-domestic students, as they subsidize heavily higher education, which is conceived as a right. In a time of financial hardship for higher education globally, the welfare states are questioning whether they should continue to accept international students under these lenient financial conditions. The fact that such debates have been omnipresent in the Nordic countries, the archetypes of welfare states, in the past decade shows how prevalent this question has become. Denmark and Sweden now charge tuition fees to international students, and Finland will likely start doing so in 2016 despite mixed reviews of the trial period and resistance from student unions.

The State of French Higher Education

France is without doubt a welfare state, with a very low-tuition higher education system. In 2014–2015, the tuition fees were at about US$210 annually for undergraduate students—domestic or foreign. Indeed, according to OECD, the French government was funding 80.8 percent of public higher education expenditures in 2011. It was estimated that the government funding of tertiary education exceeded US$12,500 per student per year, up from US$7,700 in the 1980s. This trend parallels a continuous increase in the number of students. It is in this context, unsurprisingly, that the question of who should be subsidized arose.

In 2015, a report entitled Investing in the Internationalization of Higher Education was published by the French Prime Minister's think tank. It suggested the introduction of tuition fees covering the full cost of higher education for international students. The fund thus saved would be used to foster the internationalization of universities. But the French context includes specificities that make this debate particularly compelling.

Attractive to Whom?

France is a unique country because of the position it holds as a host country for mobile students. It was ranked the third most attractive country by UNESCO in 2012, drawing as much as 7 percent of the 4 million international students.