common discipline areas of foreign faculty (39.4 percent), the natural sciences constituted the second largest group (25.5 percent), followed by the social sciences (18.2 percent) and life sciences (7.3 percent). As for academic rank, in 1979, foreign lecturers who solely taught language teaching programs were the most numerous (34.9 percent), followed by professors (23.7 percent), lecturers (15.8 percent), associate professors (14.7 percent), guest professors (9 percent), and assistant professors (0.8 percent). Because of a rapid decline in the numbers of foreign lecturers, in 2017 the largest proportion of international faculty were professors (35.6 percent), followed by associate professors (29.6 percent), assistant professors (18.1 percent), and lecturers (13.6 percent).

> As early as the late nineteenth century, Japan invited a large number of foreign experts, scholars, and professionals.

MOTIVATIONS AND RECRUITMENT

As for their motivations for coming to Japan, in both surveys the largest numbers of respondents stated that they were attracted to Japanese universities for academic or professional reasons (64.9 percent in 1979 and 78.9 percent in 2017), while a significant and growing proportion expressed having an affinity with Japanese life and culture (31 percent in 1979 and 64.8 percent in 2017). In 2017, the majority stated that they had decided to teach or do research in Japan due to better living conditions there than in their home country (37.7 percent, against only 1.9 percent in 1979), as a result of fortuitous circumstances (29.3 percent, against 14.9 percent in 1979), or because of difficulties finding employment in their home country (21.2 percent against 4.6 percent in 1979).

Significant differences could be identified in terms of how these faculty had been recruited. According to the 1979 survey, the majority were hired through personal contacts (58.7 percent), through an intermediate agency (16.1 percent), or by applying directly to the institution through the public or international advertisement of a position (8.5 percent). In contrast, the 2017 data indicates that as many as 64.7 percent applied directly to the institution, followed by hiring through personal contacts (30.5 percent), and through an intermediate agency (0.8 percent). On the one hand, international faculty have become more successful in applying through public or international advertisements. On the other hand, there is evidence that the Japanese academic market has become increasingly open to international faculty, accepting direct applications from international faculty without relying on personal networking.

This is also supported by the respondents. For example, as many as 71.7 percent of international faculty in 1979 believed that the Japanese academic market was closed to international candidates, while in the 2017 survey only 37.4 percent held such views. Further, they seem to "matter more" in their academic environment. In the 1979 survey, nearly half of the respondents (47.5 percent) answered that in general, Japanese faculty were indifferent to their international colleagues, compared to 36 percent in 2017.

CONCLUSION

The two surveys demonstrate that considerable changes have occurred in the profiles, recruitment pathways, and perceptions of international faculty in Japan. Japanese universities are attracting significantly more international faculty from neighboring countries than 30 years ago, and have become more of a regional hub. In addition, it appears that international faculty are now playing work roles that are similar to local faculty, rather than predominantly engaging in language teaching as the majority did in the late 1970s. However, there are no significant changes in their motivations for coming to Japan.

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.6017/ihe.2019.96.10777

The International Baccalaureate in Japan

Yukiko Ishikura

Yukiko Ishikura is lecturer at the Center for the Study of Higher Education and Global Admissions (CHEGA), Osaka University, Japan. Email: ishikura@chega.osaka-u.ac.jp.

The research work leading to this article was supported by JSPS KAK-ENHI Grant Number JP40762414.

The International Baccalaureate (IB) offers internationally recognized programs that prepare students to think and act critically and independently as internationally competent individuals. In recent years, the IB has undergone a rapid expansion worldwide. According to the IB Organization, the number of IB programs across the globe increased by 39.3 percent between 2012 and 2017, as more educational systems have recognized the value of nurturing globally prepared citizens. This trend is manifest in Japan, which has recently witnessed an expansion of IB schools as a result of a range of government initiatives. This article sheds light on the global trend of IB expansion seen through the lens of the Japanese experience and addresses challenges and opportunities that this shift has brought to Japanese higher education.

In 2011, the Japanese government announced an ambitious initiative called the "IB 200 Schools Project" aimed at increasing the number of IB Diploma Programmes (IBDP) to 200 over the next five years. IB curricula that value inquiry-based learning and critical thinking fit with the government's longstanding goal for secondary and tertiary education: transforming the country's teaching and learning approaches from knowledge-based to inquiry-based learning and fostering internationally competent citizens.

> Although universities may open a special IB admissions track, there is increasing concern as to whether IB students can fit in the Japanese college education context.

The first IB school in Japan was established in 1979. Subsequently, the number of IB schools in the country increased only slowly. Before the announcement of the new government initiative in 2011, there were only 11 IBDP schools; these were mainly international schools (nine were international and two were One Article secondary schools, which follow national curriculum requirements). Because of the limited number of international schools in Japan, there was a significant need to involve more Article One schools to reach the goal of 200 IB schools. However, the IB language of instruction, English, was a major hindering factor.

In order to lessen the language burden, the Dual Language IBDP was introduced via joint initiatives by the Japanese government and the IB Organization, with a slight revision of postponing the project's initial target year to 2018. Although the introduction of the Dual Language IBDP has supported the IB 200 Schools Project, a further revision of the targeted goal was made in 2016; the new goal seeks to establish 200 IB schools, including Primary Year Programme (PYP) and Middle Year Programme (MYP), by 2020. As of 2018, there are a total of 58 IB schools (including PYP, MYP, and DP) in Japan, compared to just 17 IB schools before 2011. Japan needs more time and effort to reach the target goal, but it has demonstrated remarkable progress in dramatically increasing the number of IB schools in a short period.

While the current initiatives are undoubtedly pushing Japan toward change, challenges have arisen regarding the transition from IB to Japanese colleges. IBDP has been formally recognized by the Japanese government as a college qualification since 1979, yet many in the educational system do not embrace it fully. A key problem in Japan was that IBDP credentials were recognized differently depending on students' backgrounds. However, this situation has recently changed due to the impact of the spread of IB in Japan.

Alignment Between IB and Japanese Colleges

Private universities have led the trend toward recognizing the IB Diploma for college admission in Japan, while national and public universities have lagged behind. As a result, there is a significant flow of local IB students applying to and entering local private universities or even overseas universities. National and public universities have offered local IB students limited admission pathways: admissions for returnee students and regular admissions. The former pathway is for Japanese expatriates who are educated outside Japan and then return. The latter is for those who are Japanese nationals without any overseas experience. This regular admission pathway requires all students to take a national examination. Thus, IB students need to take both the IB final examination and the Japanese national examination. This dual testing has been a major reason why local IB students choose either local private universities or overseas universities.

For IB students to succeed at the national examination, they need to prepare completely differently than for the IB final examination. There is a gap between ways of teaching and learning favored in Japanese general schools and those preferred in the IB curriculum. The general Japanese curriculum accentuates knowledge-based learning, whereas IB emphasizes inquiry-based learning and critical thinking.

In order to solve the issue, national universities are beginning to offer IB graduates special admissions pathways that do not require dual testing. The IB special admission pathway is usually reserved for those who complete the IBDP with a high level of Japanese proficiency—students are required to complete Japanese A or B in order to study in a Japanese-medium university program. Moreover, most universities set a quota on the IB admissions track, specified as *Jyakkan mei* in Japanese, which means "a few" or "a small number." This expression does not indicate a specific number but includes a signal that only limited numbers of students shall be admitted. Universities are usually very careful when launching new admission pathways that may attract a student population they never previously accepted. College admissions play an important role in Japan, as the culture dictates that colleges have the responsibility to take good care of students and ensure that they complete their studies in four years. Indeed, the college attrition rate is low in Japan—just 2.65% according to a 2012 government survey. To ensure that they are able to fulfill this social compact, universities select students with great sensitivity and care.

Although universities may open a special IB admissions track, there is increasing concern as to whether IB students can fit in the Japanese college education context. This has become a major motivation in the government's push to reexamine teaching and learning approaches in secondary and tertiary education, using IB as a tool to promote change.

MOVING FORWARD

The government has been a key driver for educational reform in Japan, attempting to bring about a variety of changes in Japanese secondary and tertiary education via various projects. The IB 200 Schools Project has brought many challenges to the current Japanese educational culture. However, depending on how those challenges are dealt with, they could turn into opportunities for Japan to transform.

IBDP is known as a program for college readiness. There have been many discussions on how students can be prepared for college education, but only rarely have educators discussed how colleges could be made ready for students. The student population is becoming more diverse; as they enter college, these students bring with them different expectations of teaching and learning. It is time for colleges to consider how their educational patterns should be changed in response to the changing student population.

Though this article has focused on IB students in particular, the argument could easily be applied to the overall college student population. By attempting to better meet the needs of IBDP students, universities could enhance the satisfaction of not only international students but also Japanese students, improving the educational experience and outcomes of all.

DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.6017/ihe.2019.96.10778

Japan: World-Class Universities for Social Innovation Ask Not What Your Country Can Do for You...

Akiyoshi Yonezawa

Akiyoshi Yonezawa is professor and vice-director of the International Strategy Office at Tohoku University, Japan. E-mail: akiyoshi.yoneza-wa.a4@tohoku.ac.jp.

new world-class university policy was introduced in A Japan in 2017. The government selected six out of 86 national universities to be Designated National Universities, all with long research traditions-this list includes the University of Tokyo, Kyoto University, Tohoku University, the Tokyo Institute of Technology, Nagoya University, and Osaka University. These chosen institutions have been given a "distinguished" legal status, different from all other national universities that already experience significant advantages in national government funding-they are quite distinct from the 90 local public universities and 604 private universities in Japan. Designated National Universities are expected to be competitive with leading universities worldwide. What then can the national government do for them and what are these selected universities expected to do?

NOT THE FIRST ATTEMPT

This is not the first attempt at creating world-class universities in Japan. In fact, Japan is recognized for having been actively engaged in world-class university policy through a series of governmental projects and excellence initiatives: for example, 21st Century Centers of Excellence (2002– 2009), Global Centers of Excellence (2007–2014), Global 30 (2009–2015), and Top Global Universities (2014 onward).

In contrast with emerging institutions in neighboring China, Singapore, and South Korea, Japan's flagship universities have gradually slipped down in the rankings over the last two decades. Two reasons are always highlighted: the slow pace of internationalization of universities and society as a whole and the shortage of financial investment. While the two first Centers of Excellence projects mentioned above were funded by direct investment to research clusters, impact was not significant, partly because the basic infrastructure of science and technology at Japanese universities had already been established before the launch of these projects, namely, in the 1990s after the economic