Getting Started with English-medium Instruction in Japan: Key Factors in Program Planning and Implementation

Volume 1

Module 1 Factors Influencing the Implementation and Development of Undergraduate English-Medium Instruction Programs in Japan: Findings from a Pilot Study

Module 2 Painting a Picture of EMI in Japan: Extent of, Rationales for, and Implementation of Undergraduate English-Medium Instruction Classes at Universities in Japan

Volume 2

Module 3 Developing English-medium Instruction Programs in Higher Education in Japan: Lessons Learned from Program Implementers

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Abstracts

Module 1: Factors Influencing the Implementation and Development of Undergraduate English-Medium Instruction Programs in Japan: Findings from a Pilot Study

English-medium instruction (EMI) of content classes is growing in Japan with nearly 1/3 of all universities currently offering some undergraduate EMI. These programs are developing in response to both national-level drives to internationalize higher education and local contextual factors motivating individual universities. This study identifies local factors in the university community which facilitate or hinder the implementation and development of EMI programs. Results are based on documentary evidence and interview data collected from 15 stakeholders at eight universities. Findings indicate that implementation and development of EMI programs are influenced by a set of overlapping factors. In terms of the initial decision to implement EMI, the overall position of the program in the university and the status of faculty and other stakeholders are important issues, as are issues of territoriality and protection of perceived turf, the overall position and financial health of the institution and the value of external validation. Following initial implementation other factors become important in the successful development of EMI programs including: a slow pace of change and innovation; issues connected to the appropriate qualifications and employment conditions of faculty; the availability of support structures for students; and effective communication.

Module 2: Painting a Picture of EMI in Japan: Extent of, Rationales for, and Implementation of Undergraduate English-Medium Instruction Classes at Universities in Japan

English-medium instruction at universities in Japan is undergoing rapid and uncoordinated expansion. This study paints a picture of the context of EMI in Japan as a whole to provide a foundation for discussions and decision making. Findings from a survey of 258 universities indicate that undergraduate EMI programs are relatively small, though many are expanding. Programs focus on humanities and social sciences and many are unstructured or ad hoc. The number of undergraduate full-degree English-taught programs is small but growing. Most EMI programs are elective components of a mainly Japanese-medium program. Most programs in Japan serve domestic students and their low English proficiency is a major concern for stakeholders; however, little is being done to test or set benchmarks for language proficiency, and coordination with language classes is lacking. EMI faculty members are largely Japanese and their qualifications, teaching skills, and support for EMI are seen as key factors in the success of programs; however, training and professional development

for them are lacking. There is variety in how EMI is being implemented; however, neither the type of university (private, national or public) nor the size of university is a reliable predictor of how a university approaches EMI.

Module 3: Developing English-medium Instruction Programs in Higher Education in Japan: Lessons Learned from Program Implementers

English-medium instruction (EMI) is a growing trend in higher education world-wide. In Japan, EMI has expanded dramatically and 40% of Japanese universities now have EMI programs serving both international and domestic students. Amid this rapid growth, much of EMI development has been ad hoc or characterized by difficult implementation. Program-level EMI stakeholders face critical linguistic, cultural, administrative, and institutional challenges. This study explores these challenges and how they are faced in EMI programs in Japan by presenting program implementers' voices from four newly forming undergraduate EMI programs. Findings indicate that the success of EMI programs depends on how stakeholders deal with issues related to program planning and curriculum development. Effective communication among EMI stakeholders, and between program-level and university leaders, is a key factor in planning, as is the selection, recruiting, and support of faculty members. Stakeholders also need to be aware of the program's position in the university community and how program budgeting may influence its development. The curriculum must be designed based on a realistic understanding of students' incoming language proficiency and has to include effective means to measure and support that proficiency. EMI programs should also strive for internal coherence and meaningful connections to mainstream Japanese-medium programs.

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Volume 1

List of Abbreviations Used

CCE	Classes Conducted in English
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
EMI	English-Medium Instruction
ETP	English-Taught (degree) Program
ICLHE	Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education
G30	Global 30 Project – Establishing University Network for Internationalization
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (of Japan)

List of Tables and Figures

Module 1

Module 2

Contents

Module 1
Factors Influencing the Implementation and Development of Undergraduate English-Medium Instruction Programs in Japan: Findings from a Pilot Study

1. Introduction

Teaching content in English to second-language students at universities with a different traditional instructional language (English-Medium Instruction, EMI) is growing around the world. The trend is driven by both national-level political, economic and social factors and by local contextual factors at individual universities.

Regardless of the forces behind this trend, actual implementation of EMI may be problematic. Along with the generally change-averse nature of universities, a difficulty facing any curriculum innovation (Fullan & Scott, 2009), EMI poses special socio-political and practical questions. Politically, a change of instructional language often raises questions of national identity and fears of domain loss for the home language (Wilkinson, 2013; Phillipson, 2006). Practically, difficulties commonly experienced when initially planning for and implementing EMI include the following: lack of language skills, interest, confidence or willingness among faculty and students; difficulties in finances, logistics and administration; issues of equity and fairness between local and international students; and questions of pedagogy and assessment (Coleman, 2006).

This study explores the issues of implementation and development of undergraduate EMI programs at universities in Japan. Because the Wilkinson (2013), Phillipson (2006) and Coleman (2006) studies cited above were conducted in European EMI contexts, it is not clear to what extent the issues they raise are influencing EMI developments in Japan. As a pilot study, the aim here is to identify for further study factors which facilitate, or hinder, the implementation and development of EMI in Japan.

2. Defining Terms

Several terms are used to refer to content classes taught in English. Chief among these is English-Medium Instruction (EMI); however, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE) are also commonly seen in the literature. Often, these terms are interchangeable but there are some important distinctions, especially between programs which prioritize language learning, such as CLIL and ICLHE, and those where language learning is not an explicit aim, such as EMI (Smit and Dafouz, 2012). A further distinction may be important at universities between degree programs taught entirely in English, English-Taught Programs (ETP), and those where credits may be earned in EMI classes but only as part of a degree (Bradford, 2013).

In the literature on programs in Japan, these terms, and others, are used. Some discuss programs in terms of CLIL (Iyobe & Li, 2013; Pinner , 2013) while others use the term EMI (Harshbarger, Morrell & Riney, 2011; Sekiya, 2005). Another term, Classes Conducted in English (CCE), is also

sometimes used (Oku, 2011). Several different overlapping terms can also be found in Japanese-language publications. However, for the purposes of this study, the definition from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, 2008) will be used; EMI refers to classes conducted entirely in English, excluding those whose primary aim is language instruction.

3. The Position of EMI in Japan

EMI at Japanese universities has been growing in recent years. As of 2011, 222 universities (approximately 30% of the total) offered undergraduate EMI, up from 190 universities in 2007 (MEXT, 2013). Earlier research (Brown & Iyobe, in press) has shown that Japanese EMI programs are structured in various ways. A limited number of campuses, generally smaller universities, run entirely in English and approximately 25 larger universities offer some full-degree ETP programs. Some universities also offer EMI programs to suit the needs of short-term international students on exchange or semester-abroad programs. However, it seems that many undergraduate EMI programs are relatively small, elective components of the domestic students' mainly Japanese-medium degree programs.

4. Motivations for EMI

4.1 National level policy

Universities implement EMI for various reasons. For one, it can be seen as part of the overall drive towards internationalization of higher education in Japan. The Japanese government has been moving towards greater internationalization for decades and pushing universities in particular to attract international students since the early 1980s (Hood, 2001). The government at that time set a goal to increase the number of international students 10-fold, to 100,000 (Umakoshi, 1997). By 2003, the goal was reached and as of 2010, more than 140,000 international students were studying in Japan (JASSO, 2013). Interestingly, as discussed below, EMI does not appear to have been important in this inflow of international students, as the vast majority of them studied in either Japanese language courses or mainstream, Japanese-medium programs (Aspinall, 2013). In recent years, an even more ambitious goal has been set. As part of the drive to make Japan into an "Asian Gateway" (Council for Asian Gateway Initiatives, 2007) to the rest of the world, what Knight (2014) refers to as a hub for international education, the government has set a target of attracting 300,000 international students by 2020 with an aim of having 5% to 10% international student mobility (Ninomiya, Knight & Watanabe, 2009). As discussed below, this second phase of internationalization seems to be more relevant to the current growth of EMI in Japan.

In part, this internationalization can be seen as a response to the demographic crisis facing universities in Japan. With an aging population, Japan's university-aged cohort is declining and higher education is approaching universality (Altbach & Ogawa, 2002); that is, virtually all high school graduates who want to enter university can do so. In addition, much of Japan's higher education capacity is in private institutions, largely funded through student tuition and fees. In this context, the internationalization of higher education can be seen as a survival strategy, perhaps the only viable way to attract new students. Additionally, Amano and Poole (2005) explore a structural and educational crisis facing Japanese universities. They argue that major reforms, including greater internationalization, are necessary considering the structural problems facing universities and the general perception, both internationally and at home, that Japanese higher education is not of world-class quality. Yonezawa (2007) also argues that internationalization is necessary for Japanese universities amid increasing cross-border academic collaboration, changes in how academics work in light of developments in IT, and growing competition from other East Asian universities.

This drive towards internationalization can also be seen as an attempt to open up domestic students to new ideas and possibilities. Recently, there has been a strong government discourse on the need for *global jinzai*, globalized human resources, in Japan. In the past, government language policy called for schools and universities to cultivate Japanese with the ability to use English. However, with the growing emphasis on internationalization and globalization in government discourse, this has changed to a focus on fostering "human resources who can positively meet the challenges and succeed in the global field" (MEXT, n.d.). Beyond language learning, this globalized focus is seen as a way to overcome the inward-looking tendency of Japanese youth and thus improve Japanese competitiveness.

And so, this focus on internationalization of universities and globalization of students has been one dominant theme of official discourse on higher education reform in recent years (Yonezawa, 2010). EMI is seen to have a central position in this strategy. As a recent policy statement says:

> Amid ongoing globalization, in order to develop an educational environment where Japanese people can acquire the necessary English skills and also international students can feel at ease to study in Japan, it is very important for Japanese universities to conduct lessons in English for (*sic*) a certain extent, or to develop courses where students can obtain academic degrees by taking lessons conducted entirely in English (MEXT, 2009b p.17).

This discourse has had a strong effect on recent developments in EMI, both by creating a social and political environment where initiatives can develop and by providing direct support for important programs.

4.1.1 The Global 30 Program

In 2008, the government set a goal to recruit 300,000 international students for Japanese universities and proposed designating 30 universities as centres for internationalization. The program is known officially as the Global 30 Project – Establishing University Network for Internationalization and colloquially as the Global 30 Project, or simply the G30. While the government initially budgeted for 30 Core Universities, only 22 applied for the funding. Of these, 13 large, well-known universities were selected.

The core universities, which received funding and support for curriculum innovation, faculty and administrative hiring, expansion of facilities and student recruitment, were encouraged to develop full degree EMI programs for international students as a step towards meeting the 300,000-student goal. There are currently more than 35 different EMI undergraduate degrees available through the G30 including programs in: Natural Sciences (Physics, Chemistry, Biology and Environmental Sciences); Social Sciences (Governance, Regional Studies, Economics and Politics); Humanities (Liberal Arts and Japanese Studies); and technical fields (Engineering, Medicine and Communication Technology).

4.1.2 The Global Jinzai Program

If the G30 provides EMI programs for international students, the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development, the Global *Jinzai* (Globalized Human Resources) Program can be thought of as a parallel project for domestic students. A total of 42 universities are now receiving funding under this program. While Global *Jinzai* supported projects can be somewhat broad, including improved language classes, study abroad programs and investments in e-learning, EMI classes are seen as a major component of many of them.

4.1.3 Other Programs

The government is also funding and supporting EMI projects through other programs including COE (Center of Excellence)/ GP (Good Practice) grant projects, the Re-inventing Japan Project, and the SEND (Student Exchange Nippon Discovery) Program. While none of these specifically target EMI, many EMI projects are supported, at least initially, by such funding.

4.2 Local Contexts

While it is clear that the government initiatives described above drive many EMI programs now in development, it can be argued that these national-level forces, being relatively recent developments, are not directly

tied to much of the growth of EMI seen up to now. Note that the government's largest to date support for EMI, the G30 program, funds less than 2% of universities and was not announced until 2008, by which time a quarter or more of Japanese universities were already offering EMI. Earlier EMI programs had developed in response to a number of local contextual factors faced by individual universities.

One seemingly obvious factor driving EMI initiatives would be the rapid rise in the number of international students in Japan between 1990 and 2010. In Europe for example, Wachter and Maiworm (2008) found that one motivating factor for developing ETPs was appealing to linguistically-diverse international students when the university's home language is not widely studied abroad. However, the situation in Japan seems to be different.

Firstly, international students in Japan are not actually linguistically diverse. According to the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO, 2013), 92% come from Asia, China alone accounting for more than 60%. These students have a strong background in a writing system similar to Japanese and many have studied Japanese before they arrive. Aspinall (2013) shows that this has led to most international students studying in Japanese language programs or in Japanese-medium content programs which allowed "Japanese universities to accept them without having to introduce any serious internationalization of the curriculum or teaching methods" (p. 162).

Also, 72% of international students study at private universities (JASSO 2013) many of which are considered to be of low academic level (Goodman, 2007). Many of the major universities accepting international undergraduate students are small-to-medium-sized private universities which have limited, or no, EMI offerings. In fact, comparing a list reported by Goodman (2007) of the top 20 universities accepting international undergraduates, calculated as a proportion of total student enrolment, with an unpublished MEXT list of universities known to offer EMI, only 3 universities are on both lists and only at one, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, is EMI a significant part of the curriculum.

Thus, attracting large numbers of international students does not seem to have been a driving force in the growth of EMI in Japan up to now. However, Aspinall (2013) argues that the situation has changed as Japanese universities can no longer rely on their traditional sources of international students. The number of self-funded Chinese students studying abroad seen since 2000 has plateaued and there is a clear preference in China for English-speaking western universities (ACA, 2012). This perhaps implies a greater linguistic diversity among international students in the future and thus less ability for them to study in mainstream Japanese-medium programs, leading to a greater role for EMI. The government seems to see EMI in this light (MEXT, 2009b).

A recent study (Brown, 2014) indicates that the bulk of students in current EMI programs may in fact be domestic Japanese students and that universities are implementing these programs in response to local factors. Firstly, competition and rivalry among universities is important. Universities are reluctant to fall behind, so when a university thought of as a leader develops an EMI program, other institutions follow suit. In addition, EMI programs are assumed to help maintain or improve a university's position on domestic and international rankings. Also, EMI is potentially an important public relations tool, giving the university an international allure or an appearance of academic rigor. Of course, EMI is also seen as a potential benefit to students, preparing them to study abroad or for the increasingly globalized job market. And finally, EMI programs are sometimes seen by faculty members as a potential benefit, giving them an opportunity to explore new modes of teaching and raising their status in the university community.

5. The Current Study

Amid a growing and diverse range of EMI programs implemented for a variety of reasons, many stakeholders are looking for models or roadmaps. The impetus for this study grew out of one such implementation. EMI program stakeholders, seeking to avoid reinventing the wheel and hoping for validation of their intended program design, searched for effective models of EMI in Japan and found only isolated examples. A broad understanding of the situation of EMI in Japan as a whole seemed to be missing from the literature, as was an image of how one might go about implementing an EMI program. This exploratory study aims to partially fill that gap by identifying factors in the local context of universities that facilitate or hinder the implementation and development of EMI.

5.1 Data sources and methods

Data for this study was collected from publicly-available documents and generated through semi-structured interviews with EMI program stakeholders. The study began with a cursory overview of all universities known to offer undergraduate EMI and moved on to a more detailed look at a selected sample.

Initially, a Ministry of Education, Culture, Science and Technology report (MEXT, 2009a) showed that 194 universities in Japan reported offering EMI classes for undergraduate students. In an attempt to elicit more detail, MEXT officials responsible for the report were contacted and they provided a, then current, unpublished list. However, the list simply showed the names of the universities offering EMI programs with no other details. This necessitated a search of publically-available documents, largely university websites, for more information.

Looking at publically-available documents related to universities on the list allowed categorization based on three criteria (See Table 1). These criteria were seen to be important as this is an exploratory study and there was a desire to explore EMI programs in a variety of contexts and to see a range of possible models of implementation. Given the logistical, financial and timing constraints facing the researchers, the decision was made to attempt to visit approximately 10 of the 192 universities on the list.

The first step of selection was elimination of logistically difficult universities. Thus EMI programs with little or no information publically available were eliminated as it would be difficult to determine who relevant stakeholders were and predict in advance whether a research visit would be fruitful. Also, universities that were relatively inaccessible or required financially impractical travel were eliminated. This cut most universities in western and southern Japan.

Table 1. Criteria for Categorizing Universities

Size	Small (< 2500 students) Medium (2500 - 10,000 students) Large (> 10,000 Students)
Status	University / Junior College Public / Private
Position of EMI	Established / Newly-forming Positioned as language / content program or multiple programs

From the remaining universities, some elements of convenience sampling came into play. The goal of the sampling was to find at least one university representing each of the criteria in Table 1. However, priority was given to: universities where the researchers had personal connections which could lead to introductions to EMI stakeholders; universities located near each other so that a single trip would allow researchers to visit more than one campus; and universities with more information on EMI programs publicly available so that the researchers would not be visiting the campus blind. This categorization guided the selection of 12 universities for further study.

For each of the 12 universities, an archive of publicly-available documents related to their EMI program(s) was collected (see Table 2). This included promotional materials, in-house documents available through the university website and academic work published by program stakeholders.

Table 2. Archival Materials Collected from Selected Universities

Archival data type	Typical documents

Promotional materials	Pamphlets, brochures, web pages, welcome letters
In-house documents	Syllabi, class descriptions, faculty-development reports, time tables, grant applications
Publications	Papers, presentation materials from conferences and symposia

Following a review of archival material, stakeholders from the 12 selected universities were contacted. Where possible, EMI program heads were contacted directly and asked to participate in interviews. In other cases contact was made through general contact information listed publicly and participants elected to take part in the study. At three universities (Universities B, G and H) contact was established through personal connections. In the end, 15 stakeholders at eight universities (see Table 3) agreed to participate in the study. The data set includes both a public university and private institutions, large and small universities, four-year universities and a two-year junior college, ETP and non-degree programs, well-established and newly-forming EMI programs, and EMI programs positioned within content and language-learning departments.

Table 3. Profile of Universities and Participants

University		Informant(s)Pseudonyms (Gender) - Position
A	Medium-sized, private (junior college) Single, established EMI program	Carl (M) – Faculty member
B	Small, private Single, established EMI program	Janice (F) – Program head
C	Large, private Multiple EMI programs	Peter (M) – Administrator Takahiro (M) – Program head Naomi (F) – Faculty member, administrator Keiko (F) – Faculty member, administrator
D	Large, public Multiple EMI programs	Paul (M) – Program head
E	Large, private Single, established EMI program	Sarah (F) - Faculty member Jane (F) - Faculty member Eric (M) - Faculty member Alan (M) - Faculty member Tomoyuki (M) -Program head

F	Large, private Multiple EMI programs	Robert (M) - Faculty member
G	Medium-sized, private Single, newly forming EMI program	Albert (M) - Faculty member
H	Medium-sized, private Multiple EMI programs	David (M) - Faculty member

Of the four universities which were selected but did not participate, one did not respond to attempted communications and one directly refused to take part in interviews, citing a "decision made at the top levels of the university". Stakeholders from two other universities were willing to be interviewed, but were not available to meet during the three-month period the interviews took place.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen to generate data at this stage of the study on both practical and epistemological grounds. Practically speaking, as this is an exploratory study, semi-structured interviews allowed flexible data collection. The interviewer could guide the conversation to pre-identified areas of inquiry but also allow unpredicted context-specific issues which the participants deemed important and relevant to arise (Willis, 2008). In addition, as this was the initial meeting with many participants, the casual, conversational nature of semi-structured interviews was seen as an opportunity to build trust and establish open dialogue.

Epistemologically speaking, semi-structured interviews were seen as a way to generate appropriate data. The implementation of a new curriculum, especially one which changes the medium of instruction, is not simply a policy issue. It is a social process and as such, stakeholders' interpretations and understandings of their experiences are valuable, relevant issues to explore. Also, as a social process, much of the discussion surrounding curriculum change may never be formally recorded. Participants' individual accounts may be the only source of data available. In addition, curriculum change can be tied to questions of identity and will inevitably involve workplace micro-politics. These can be emotionally-charged issues so the respondents' actual language use was seen to be important. A final, overriding factor was the desire for what Mason (2002) calls the "depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data" (p.65) available through semi-structured interviews.

The initial interview topics were developed drawing on a review of relevant literature and the archives described above for each participating university. These included issues of motivation, process and outcomes. Personal experiences working at a university implementing an EMI program led to the development of additional questions on positioning and

controversy. And so, an interview schedule with six categories of talking points, as opposed to fully-formed interview questions, was developed (see Appendix 1).

Interviews, conducted face-to-face in English, ranged from 1 to 2.5 hours. While interviews were based on the interview schedule, questions were not asked in any given order. Rather, interviews began with an invitation to "tell me about your university." Some care was taken to ensure that all relevant areas were explored, but the participants' own experiences and interpretations were given priority following Seidman's (2006) advice to "avoid imposing [one's] own interests on the experience of the participants" (p.92).

All interviews were recorded, with the participants' permission, and transcribed. Following the interviews, transcripts were summarized and information from these summaries was added to the archive of publicly-available documents to create an overall profile of how and why the programs developed - a kind of narrativization of the program. As a final step, in what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as "member-checking" (p. 246), interview participants were given a written copy of the narrativized summary so they could both fact check the contents and correct any possible misinterpretations. This member-checking continued into the analysis and write-up phases of the project with participants being given access to drafts of papers in which their data was used before they were submitted for publication. Two participants took advantage of the member checking process to ask for changes to how their comments were characterized at the summary stage and one asked for minor revisions in a draft paper. One participant also asked for minor changes to how certain statements were characterized in this paper.

Data analysis was based on what Kvale (2007) describes as meaning condensation. From the interview transcripts, natural meaning units were identified. These were chunks of speech often containing an important insight or a particular point the participant was trying to make. But also, these were sometimes pieces of information or ideas that the participants themselves, as an insider, may have not found important or surprising. From these natural meaning units, central themes were identified by the researcher. Then, the transcripts were reviewed again looking for meaning units that at first glance seemed insignificant, but in light of newly-identified central themes took on new importance. Through several iterations of this process relevant themes emerged from the data.

Since the interviews were very fairly wide-ranging and exploratory in nature, a large number of themes emerged. Themes connected to motivations for developing EMI programs have been dealt with in Brown (2014) and themes related to structure and organization of programs are covered in Brown and Iyobe (in press). For this paper, eight themes relating to the implementation and development of EMI programs were identified (see Table 4). Transcripts were then examined, to, in Kvale's (2007) terms

"[interrogate] the meaning units in terms of the specific purpose of the study" (p. 107), in this case looking for factors which facilitate or hinder implementing and developing EMI programs and determining how these factors played a role at each participating university.

Table 4. Themes Emerging from Interview Transcripts

Status and position
Territoriality
Financial health of the institution
Pace of change
External validation
Staffing
Support structures
Communication

It should be noted that the document archive prepared for each participating university was often helpful in both the actual interviews and the interpretation of results. In some cases, analysis of this archive provided valuable insights into the scale of EMI programs, entry requirements and courses of study. It was also possible, in some cases, to learn about motivations of key stakeholders and internal debates on program development. Understanding the background and current structure of programs allowed for targeted questioning during interviews, especially in follow-up questions and probes. Perhaps more importantly, this information also provided helpful context for understanding and interpreting participants' responses. However, in other cases, the publically-available information was unhelpful, limited in scope or consisted only of vague promotional documents and general policy statements.

Results are presented and discussed below categorized by theme. Not all themes emerged at all participating universities, but where possible, each theme is described in terms of how it was relevant at each university and how it was seen to facilitate or hinder EMI program implementation and development. These descriptions will be supported with extracts from participants' interview responses in order to better present their actual voices and their understanding of the program in which they work.

5.1.1 A Note on Data Collection

The data used in this study was collected as part of a collaborative research project (see Brown, 2014; Brown & Iyobe, in press). Two researchers visited the eight selected universities to meet with stakeholders and conduct interviews. At Universities F and G, both researchers participated in the interviews. The interview conducted with Janice at University B was conducted by the co-researcher alone. All other interviews were conducted by the lead researcher alone.

6. Findings and Discussion

6.1 Factors influencing the implementation of EMI programs

Amid all the pressure to implement EMI in Japan, some programs are developing smoothly with little controversy and few logistical problems while others face larger challenges. Examining the growth of EMI at eight universities, it became apparent to the researcher that the development of curriculum innovations is strongly influenced by several overlapping factors. These factors include the following: questions of status and position; issues of territoriality; the overall financial health of the institution; the pace of change; external validation; issues connected to staffing; available support structures; and communication issues. Each of these factors will be discussed in turn in the following sections.

6.2 Symbolic Capital and Questions of Status and Position

According to Kennedy, Doyle and Coh (1999), educational innovation is as much driven by emotional and political factors as it is by rational, pedagogical concerns. As such, understanding social and political contexts is key for successful implementation of EMI programs. At Japanese universities, questions of politics and status are inseparable. There is a rigid formal hierarchy of decision making power with decisions passing through certain committees, often more than one, and being approved by both faculty and administration stakeholders. In addition, as is common to many Japanese organizations, there is a rather strong respect for age, leading to an unofficial hierarchy of seniority. However, it can be argued that these hierarchical structures exist on the surface while the real power is determined by the symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989) earned and brought to bear by the various stakeholders.

Poole (2010) argues that in order to understand how symbolic capital comes into play at a Japanese university, one must understand the distinction between what he calls *uchimuki* (inward looking) and *sotomuki* (outward looking) faculty perspectives. An *uchimuki* point of view sees the university faculty as a community, largely cut off from the wider social world and based on internal cooperative collegiality. There is a family-like atmosphere and a sense of egalitarianism and decision making is based on consensus building, implying that even a single dissenting voice, if vocal enough, can derail plans. Change and reform are taken on, somewhat reluctantly, as a bottom-up reaction to changing realities. Status is gained through cooperative administrative work (i.e. committee duties) and through visibility on campus and the appearance of being a busy and popular teacher (i.e. the number and size of classes). Research output or the actual quality of one's teaching practice is of less value. University administrators are seen as having significant symbolic capital due to their intimate knowledge of university regulations, visibility on campus and

control over resources and the flow of information.

From a *sotomuki* perspective on the other hand, the university is a workplace like many others, interacting competitively with other institutions. Faculty members exist to provide services to students so teaching is highly valued. Research output is also valuable but administrative committee work does not significantly contribute to one's status. Accountability is valued, so objective measures of performance, such as promotions (i.e. a position as full professor), student evaluations, prestigious publications and successful grant applications, garner status. One's relationships outside the university, including activities with academic associations, government appointments and appearances in the mass media are highly valued. Change and reform can be rapid and are often proactive top-down measures. University administrators have little effective symbolic capital.

It could be argued that the *uchimuki* perspective is the traditional way of operating a university in Japan and the *sotomuki* view is a new way of seeing things. In fact *sotomuki* perspectives are gaining ground, especially amid recent government mandates for greater transparency and accountability. However, it should be noted that, as Poole (2010) argues, both views are represented on campuses. In fact, individual professors are not limited to a strict black-or-white dichotomy. The inward vs. outward looking distinction is better conceived of as two ends of a continuum, with a great deal of grey between them. As Poole says, “Though certain professors may epitomize one or the other models, there is considerable 'straddling'. Depending on the situation, individual actors may strategically embrace one or the other ideology." (p.85).

In terms of on-campus innovation, it should also be noted that the tension between inward and outward looking perspectives may lead to unaligned incentives among faculty. Things which motivate some may be irrelevant or even demotivating for others. For instance, Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011) report that, from a faculty perspective, benefits of an EMI program may include personal gains in language proficiency, academic gains in access to teaching materials and classroom gains in the motivation and commitment of students along with lower class sizes. While these are likely to motivate a Japanese faculty member with a largely *sotomuki* orientation, an *uchimuki* oriented faculty member may be less likely to value them.

So, to understand how questions of symbolic capital influence the development of EMI programs, one must look at the status and position of relevant stakeholders as well as understand their view of the university. Establishing EMI can both require support of high-status people with a great deal of symbolic capital in the community and it can also be a path to obtaining such capital and higher-status positions.

At University D, the idea of status was an important consideration on several fronts. The relative status of the stakeholders determined the eventual positioning of the university’s ETP program while at the same time,

association with the program influenced the status of some stakeholders.

Initially, the task of developing the ETP was assigned to the language/communication department by university leadership. This department did not have a degree program of its own, but rather acted as a service department, providing language programs for other departments and faculties. This meant that, as a whole, the department had little status within the university community. Paul reported that at University D, "As in many Japanese universities, only teaching English [language classes] is seen as being lower status than having [content classes]."[1] This is consistent with findings from a wide variety of settings which show that language teachers, particularly English teachers are often relegated to lower positions (see for example, Arkoudis, 2006). For a minority of professors in the department, the assignment to develop an ETP was seen as an opportunity. Starting a new program could associate the department with the university leadership's plans for internationalization and bring the department into the mainstream of the university community. However, such a plan would necessitate increased workload and represent a risk of failure. In addition, the potential benefits of the new program, greater external recognition and improvements in educational offerings, may have appealed to *sotomuki*-oriented faculty members, but they held little value to the traditionally-minded *uchimuki* faculty, the majority of the department.

And so, the plan to establish an ETP in the languages department was rejected by the faculty. Following this, the university leadership shifted focus to the international center, which was not even a department of the faculty, simply an administrative unit within the university. There was a sense that since an ETP would serve international students, positioning it within the international center made sense. Also, with even less status than the language department, the international center was seen as lacking sufficient power to refuse the university leadership's directives. It could be, in Paul's words, "burdened with the ETP" without the ability to oppose top-down decisions. And so, at present both the non-degree EMI program and the full-degree ETP program are administrated by the international center.

On a personal level, Paul was able to parley developments in University D's EMI programs into personal advancement. As part of taking the lead on developing the new ETP, he negotiated a position as program head and a promotion to full professor, both high status accomplishments from a *sotomuki* perspective. However, he found that his actual power as program head was somewhat limited. As a relatively young, foreign faculty member, he found himself outside the normal *uchimuki* power structures. He lacked detailed knowledge of how decisions were actually made outside the official hierarchy and was thus unable to implement some decisions he considered appropriate to his position.

[1] In the description of findings, all direct quotes are taken from interview transcripts with the speaker identified by pseudonym in text.

University E also had several issues connected to status and symbolic capital when it established its EMI program. The program has a relatively long history, nearly 20 years, and has developed under the direction of a committed course coordinator, Tomoyuki, for that entire time. However, the program has only recently developed sufficient status to be officially recognized in the university curriculum. Initially, the EMI program was envisioned by foreign language teachers as a Content Based Instruction (CBI) model of language teaching. Tomoyuki was, at the time, a young, inexperienced faculty member newly hired and having just returned from his own graduate studies abroad. His experiences as a student in the west made him open to the idea of using a CBI paradigm. However, he found that his colleagues in the faculty had a much more traditional idea of language learning and CBI was simply "beyond their paradigm". Facing resistance and lacking sufficient symbolic capital to push his ideas forward, Takahiro was unable to officially implement the program.

However, the EMI program stakeholders were able to establish a "stealth EMI" program by taking advantage of the strong tradition of faculty autonomy at University E. As at many universities in Japan, there is very little oversight of class contents. As Tomoyuki said, "The outside of the curriculum was the same as before but the inside? Nobody cares, nobody checks." So, taking advantage of this autonomy, the EMI teachers taught classes in American Studies and Intercultural Communication even though the classes had labels such as English Communication I or English Writing II. This continued for a long part of the history of the program with periodic unsuccessful attempts to bring the program into the open. Only as the program coordinator, and others, whom Jane referred to as "friends of the program", aged into higher status and developed sufficient symbolic capital, was the stealth EMI program officially recognized as part of the curriculum.

Participants also reported issues of status arising from the fact that the EMI faculty at University E are exclusively foreign teachers. Eric is a content specialist in American Studies but the others are primarily language teachers who also have responsibility for some EMI classes in Cultural Studies. In the past, Japanese faculty, including the course coordinator, have occasionally conducted EMI classes but this has not been a long-term feature of the program. Tomoyuki sees this focus on foreign faculty as a strength, as it makes the program popular among students and creates an authentic need for English use. However, it has also, unfortunately, lowered the status of the EMI program in the university community and weakened its position since foreign teachers are not considered full faculty members by virtue of their qualifications, position or ethnicity. As Jane said of foreign faculty at University E, "We are not qualified enough, not involved enough and not Japanese enough".

Firstly, as Jane explains about University E, foreign teachers are often not considered qualified to be full-fledged faculty members. This is interesting because foreign teacher posts have as a minimum qualification,

a Master's degree in Applied Linguistics or a related field and a Master's level degree is generally sufficient for a faculty position at a Japanese university. The distinction may be in what constitutes a valid degree in the minds of many faculty members. Language teaching is often thought of as having a "curriculum as practice" (Reid, 1992, p.7) orientation, focusing on the process of learning or skills development. However, other teachers often see "curriculum as institution" (p.7), focusing on disciplinary norms and codified content knowledge. This leaves language teachers, without a "clearly defined propositional knowledge base" (Creese, 2002 p. 612), in a less authoritative position.

Japanese teachers of English often do not self-identify as language teachers. Rather, they are first and foremost specialists in their own disciplines, often Literature, Linguistics or American or British Studies. Their role as language teachers is incidental (Hawley-Nagatomo, 2012). However, foreign language teachers are often required by the terms of their employment to be language education specialists. This forces them into the curriculum as practice mold and potentially lower-status positions.

Secondly, as is common at many Japanese universities, foreign teachers are generally hired on term-limited contracts, often 4 years at University E. As short-term teachers, they are not considered full-fledged faculty members, which is reflected in their working conditions. Foreign teachers are not given private offices but have shared work rooms. In addition, it is common at University E for foreign teachers to be assigned classes in both the first period of the morning and late evening sessions, creating a work day of more than 12 hours, something not required of Japanese faculty. Also, as short term employees, their salaries are capped and they have no opportunities for advancement and limited research funding.

University E does have a few full time, permanent foreign faculty members. However, they are hired in a special category which excludes them from administrative duties. The faculty members themselves may be happy to avoid seemingly onerous committee duties and administrative responsibilities. As Eric said:

> I don't have to go to regular committee meetings. And I don't have to go to the faculty meetings also, which is nice. I do get paid less for that. But for me, time is worth more than money in a lot of cases.

So, Eric sees his special designation as an advantage. However, this leaves him cut off from the only real route to developing status and acquiring symbolic capital in an *uchimuki* environment.

There are also clear indications that at University E, foreign teachers are of lower status due to their ethnicity. Hall (1994) spoke of the problems of foreign faculty at Japanese universities as a kind of "academic

apartheid". While much has improved since Hall wrote in the early 1990's, participants at University E feel that some of the separateness continues on their campus. Jane related the story of a colleague who got a full-time, permanent position at the university and was one of the very few to become a regular faculty member with administrative duties and a seat in the faculty meeting. After speaking his mind about an issue under discussion he was chastised by an older, Japanese colleague and told that it did not matter what title he got, he was not ever going to be a real faculty member and so should simply shut up during meetings. As Jane said, he was simply "not Japanese enough".

These three factors, the qualifications, position, and ethnicity of the teachers, combine to mean that the EMI program at University E is staffed by people who tend to have very low status in the institution. And thus, the EMI program itself is of low status. If the teachers in the program are not considered to be real faculty then the program itself cannot have any real validity. And thus, the program has been open to repeated attacks and has had a very difficult time developing. Tomoyuki described the relationship with a rival department by saying "They tried to crush us."

On the other hand, when program stakeholders have status and sufficient symbolic capital, EMI implementation may be conducted smoothly. At University G for instance, Albert reported that the plan to institute an EMI program was met with some initial grumbling but eventually passed without incident. The teachers in the program are a mix of Japanese and foreign faculty, many with qualifications as content specialists rather than language teachers. In addition the program received very strong public support from the president of the university. University G is a private institution, wholly owned by a single family and a close family member of the president works as part of the administrative team for the EMI program. She lends her status to the program and acts as a very visible symbol of the importance of the program to the overall strategy of the university leadership. So, according to Albert, when the program received this strong and visible top-down support from the owners, the faculty had little choice but to "fall into line".

Similarly, at University F, the current EMI classes in the general education program began as an experimental program in a single department led by two Japanese faculty members. They developed the program and are now overseeing its expansion into a more central role in the curriculum. It is interesting to note that, despite some doubt and resistance among peripheral stakeholders, this implementation and expansion has largely been smooth. The two key stakeholders straddle *uchimuki* and *sotomuki* perspectives and have considerable symbolic capital within and outside their institution. From the *uchimuki* perspective, both have seniority and stable positions in the university community. Both are well-respected and popular teachers. From the *sotomuki* perspective, both are considered leaders in their field and are active in academic associations.

In addition, both have sat or currently sit on government advisory panels on education and are involved in national-level innovations in language testing.

Another factor to note at University F is that while both faculty leaders are involved in language education, neither is a language teacher. Rather, both are specialists in Education, a fully codified discipline. In addition, the program is staffed by a balance of foreign and Japanese teachers, many of whom are primarily content specialists rather than language teachers. This creates a more solid base for building the status of the program than the all-foreign teaching staff in the EMI program at University E.

6.3 Territoriality and Defense of Turf

The success of EMI initiatives is very closely tied to questions of territoriality and turf. These issues often work to block innovations, including EMI programs. Becher and Trowler (1989, 2001) describe disciplinary groups in a university in terms of tribes and territories. Once an academic is socialized into the norms of their discipline, those norms color their perceptions and influence their reactions. The borders between academic disciplines can be as real as physical borders and crossing them to work amid what Klein (1996) calls the shadow structures that exist between disciplines can be daunting. In such a context, change which is seen as threatening to the integrity of one's discipline can be seen as an attack and will be met with strong resistance. In fact, any change can be met with skepticism or suspicion, leading to conflict which can block development. As Trowler (2010) says of academics' resistance to change, "Turf wars and other squabbles result in stalled initiatives" (p.1).

However, in other work, Trowler (Trowler, 1998; Trowler, Saunders & Bamber, 2012) argues that these disciplinary norms, while still important, are not the overriding factors in how one responds to change. He argues that disciplinary characteristics do influence academics' response to change, but other factors also contribute to the academic culture in which they work. These include the institution they work in, their employment conditions, their relative power in their community, their age, gender, personal identity, social background, political views, and so on. All of these things are often seen through the frame of a discipline, but Trowler argues that the discipline colors the view rather than controlling it. This is especially true in what Rogers (1995) calls homophilious systems, in which colleagues have shared norms and values, similar social, cultural and political backgrounds, which lead to cultural convergence. This description seems to have a great deal of resonance with Poole's notion of an *uchimuki* faculty perspective.

The idea of turf and territoriality was a key feature in developments at University E. When the EMI program was first introduced, it was positioned within a Liberal Arts department which was later split into two smaller more specialized departments. The EMI program was positioned within the Cultural Studies Department and ran parallel to English

Language programs in the Language Education Department. Following the split, conflicts quickly arose between the two new departments. In particular, the Language Education Department felt a sense of ownership over all language-related programs which, at that time, included the EMI program since it was running as a "stealth program" with EMI classes being taught under the cover of what Tomoyuki called "traditional, conservative-sounding course names". In addition, Tomoyuki characterized the Language Education Department as extremely conservative, with traditional views on language pedagogy. They fundamentally disagreed with the very existence of the EMI program on pedagogical grounds. These conflicts, described independently by 3 program stakeholders as a "turf war", continue even now, more than 20 years after the split between the two departments.

Notions of turf were not, however, entirely negative at University E. Within the Cultural Studies department, where the EMI program is positioned, other faculty were initially indifferent to the program. Jane, who was present when the program began, says that the use of English as a medium of instruction, rather than an object of study, was simply "beyond the paradigm" of most of the faculty members and "they really did not understand it". This indifference continued until attacks from the Language Education Department began. At that point, the situation changed and, though they still did not understand or value EMI, in the us-against-them "turf war" Jane reports that her colleagues "circled the wagons" to defend the EMI program.

University H also had issues of turf and territoriality associated with EMI although the issues were not discipline or department specific. David described the faculty as being highly factionalized between Kyoto and Tokyo factions. These divisions are based on the professors' own alma mater universities. In Japan, the University of Tokyo and Kyoto University are the two leading universities and the rivalry between them is strong. At University H, faculty members, regardless of their own discipline, have formed cliques based on which of the two universities they graduated from. The current president of the university, a strong supporter of EMI developments, is a member of the Tokyo faction. And thus, the Kyoto faction almost universally opposes EMI and questions its value.

University A had a different experience with territoriality and turf. Though the EMI program is positioned in a low-status department, vulnerable to opposition, there does not seem to have been any significant controversy about it. This may have a connection to the history of the relationship between A's college and university branches. The EMI program is positioned within the junior college curriculum. Though the college is now based on the same campus as the university, when the program started, the two were separated. The university expanded and moved to a new campus several years before the junior college did so. At that time, the isolation gave college stakeholders freedom to implement ideas without university-level turf wars. As Carl said "we were far away and not very important". This

may have allowed the EMI program to develop without scrutiny or interference despite its lack of high-status stakeholders. Carl believes that if a similar program were proposed now, there would be more controversy and resistance.

Other universities were able to avoid, or at least temper, territoriality by creating links between the EMI program and other departments or programs. This strategy has helped ensure buy-in from a variety of faculty. At University F, Robert reported that when the EMI program moved from an experimental phase to wider implementation within the curriculum, the program leaders were careful to create links to a newly-constructed Self Access Learning Centre and the Language Education Centre. This was seen as lending the EMI program more credibility and legitimacy. However, interestingly, the EMI program was not linked to a long-established ETP offered in a different department.

At Universities C and D, the EMI programs are structurally similar and both have developed ties to faculty in a variety of departments due to that structure. Neither EMI program is situated within a specific department; rather they are tied to an international centre and have no faculty of their own. EMI classes are offered by faculty, mainly Japanese, from departments throughout the university, or by adjunct faculty recruited specifically to teach EMI classes. According to Peter, University C made a conscious effort to recruit EMI teachers from various specialties to create a wide, though shallow, EMI program which allows students from various disciplines to feel that their needs are being met. University D follows a similar pattern. While the intention of this curriculum design is connected to meeting students' needs, it has the side benefit of creating an interdisciplinary and inter-departmental community of EMI stakeholders, thus lessening problems related to territoriality.

6.4 The overall health of the university

One additional factor connected to the development of EMI is the overall position and stability of the university. EMI programs may be readily accepted when there is a greater urgency for change. This can be seen in a contrast of the experiences of Universities D and G. Both EMI innovations began as top-down directives from university leadership but the faculty reactions differed considerably.

University D developed its ETP and expanded its non-degree EMI programs in response to developments at other universities. The decision came as a result of a top-down directive growing out of a sense of competition with rivals. In a short period of time, the university was rejected for a prestigious grant, saw rival universities moving ahead in the drive to internationalize, and experienced a dramatic drop in its position on international ranking tables. Paul reported that these events were seen as "a wound" and "a shock to the system" which prompted the development of an ETP.

However, as a large, well-established publicly-funded institution, University D was never in any real danger. Seeing other schools move ahead in EMI programs may have been "a wound", but it was largely a wound to their pride, not their bottom line. As such, the level of urgency felt by the university leadership may not have passed down to individual faculty members. And so, as discussed above, when the university tried to establish an ETP in the language teaching department, the plan was rejected by the faculty and ultimately, the ETP was established elsewhere. It can be argued that, feeling secure in their positions, the faculty felt free to reject the university leadership's plan.

In contrast, University G, a medium-sized private university, is not generally considered academically rigorous. Though the university is relatively well-established, founded nearly 100 years ago, it is vulnerable to the demographic crisis facing many Japanese universities. Albert described implementing EMI as a necessary reinvention. Discussions among faculty were framed in terms of survival.

> So if we can say we are a center for English education, it might attract students who want to work for foreign companies or want to study aboard. It's a sense of survival. It provides an exciting alternative to the mainstay of Japanese education.

Thus, the EMI innovation may have been greeted with some resistance. The English department "may not be too keen on it because it steps on their territory." There were also "nay-sayers" from other faculties and departments who question whether the students who typically attend University G will be capable of studying in EMI. However, with the innovation positioned as a survival strategy, resistance never rose above the level of "minor grumbling" amongst the faculty.

6.5 Pace of Change

Rogers (1995) advises that innovation should not be implemented too quickly. Success depends on the innovation being small enough to be easily tried, modified, and if necessary, abandoned. Among the EMI program stakeholders interviewed for this project, there is a consensus that a slow development from a small start, evolutionary rather than revolutionary change, is key. At University D for instance, Paul reports that innovations have to fit into an existing framework first and then develop..

> "At least at large, public universities like [University D], people don't like revolutions. You can't knock something down and start again. You have to plop a little new thing in the middle of the mass of bureaucracy and then take the resources from somewhere else bit by bit until you have enough critical mass to

make it work".

He also argued that some larger EMI projects at other universities, particularly those associated with the G30, “are too big with too many strings attached” and cannot run smoothly over the long term.

Robert from University F also says that a slow start and gradual development are important. The EMI classes in the general education program started as an innovative elective program in a single department and slowly developed. Robert argued that this was important to allow the program to evolve to suit the existing framework of the university. He said that given the current popularity of EMI in Japan, some universities (especially high-level administrators) are looking for a quick start up. However, flexibility to experiment at the early stages is important so a small-scale project is a better option initially.

At University C, Peter and Takahiro both reported that their EMI program developed slowly. They began their EMI program more than 10 years ago as an independent “bubble” but they had an “implicit strategy” to become more integrated over time. The EMI program is now well linked to most other parts of the university but Peter felt it was unlikely that a plan involving such integration at the outset would have been approved. Along with questions of approval, systems needed time to develop. It took time to establish a smooth, well-organized system that actually meets students’ needs. The system currently runs two overlapping EMI programs: one for international students, and one for domestic, Japanese students. Takahiro reported that he feels confident that their systems now work well for international students but classes for domestic students are still “a bit rough”. He says that the University C EMI program needs five more years to develop their systems.

Therefore, a slow pace of development is seen as being key to the success of EMI. However, a slow pace of change can also hinder program development. Institutional inertia may make it difficult to implement innovations and necessary changes if decision makers do not understand the different needs of the EMI program and/or cannot change bureaucratic systems to account for new realities. At University D for example, the decision to implement a full-degree ETP was made and the schedule was set by university leaders. However, the mid-level bureaucracy was unable to change quickly enough to meet the schedule. For example, important documents, including the admissions policy, application procedures and scholarship details, could not be publically released until they had been approved by several committees, some of which only meet a few times per year. It proved impossible to speed up the pace of the approval process and so, key information was not available to potential students in a timely fashion. In addition, it proved impossible to change the application deadline for international students. The university bureaucracy could not readily approve an earlier application deadline and so international students and

domestic students now have the same application and acceptance schedule even though international students need several months lead time to complete visa applications and other necessary preparations.

6.6 External validation / legitimacy

External validation and legitimacy were also seen to be important in successful implementation of EMI. As seen above, EMI initiatives often face resistance based on territoriality or questions of status. In addition, as in any innovation, there is inherent uncertainty about the risks and rewards of implementing a new program. This is consistent with the context of innovation seen in business and other large organizations where innovations often face resistance from "people who do not understand the potential benefits or feel they will lose out as a result of the innovation" (Birkinsaw & Moll, 2006, p. 86). However, innovations can be validated by external stakeholders, whose status as outsiders gives their input more perceived value. To some degree, this external recognition of innovations can mitigate resistance.

In business, the role of external validator is often an active one with innovation stakeholders calling in academics, consultants, and others to provide an objective analysis of the innovation. Peripheral stakeholders can be swayed, if not to support an innovation, at least to neutrality by such external validation. In this study, external validation is seen to be more passive. It arose in relationships between participant's institutions and their competitors, and in funding structures.

As seen in previous research (Brown, 2014), a desire to keep up with rivals is a major motivator in the development of EMI programs. If a prestigious rival implements EMI, it is seen as a challenge or threat and other universities follow suit. Participants from Universities C, D, G and H all described a similar feeling among peripheral stakeholders. EMI itself was not necessarily well-understood or valued but there was a clear sense that not having an EMI program of some kind would leave the university falling behind.

Apart from direct competition with rivals, university ranking lists were also seen to provide external validation of EMI innovations. Japanese universities are very concerned with their position on international and domestic ranking lists (Yonezawa, 2010). Such rankings are linked to a university's sense of identity and are seen to influence relationships with partners, both at home and abroad, as well as student recruitment.

Decision makers at some universities are proceeding on the assumption that EMI can contribute positively to their ranking. At University D, for example, rankings were a major factor in the decision to implement an ETP and expand current EMI offerings. As discussed above, Paul reported that a poor showing on a major international university ranking list was seen as a "massive jolt to the system" and led to the university bringing in an external consultant on internationalization in

higher education. One of the consultant's main recommendations was the expansion of EMI offerings. In this case, the review bodies publishing university ranking tables are seen as passive external validators of EMI programs and the consultant is a more active form of external validation.

Not just individual universities, but Japan as a whole is also sometimes seen to be falling behind educationally and so external validation from other countries can also be a factor. EMI programs for domestic students are growing in China and are mandatory at universities in Korea, two neighbors which are seen as rivals. In addition, Japan has long looked to Europe for innovations in education and EMI is now a common part of school and university curricula there. As Robert, from University F, said, "There's a lot of media focus on Finland and other Scandinavian countries that do CLIL so I think now there will be more institutional pressure [to increase EMI]".

In terms of funding, at University A, EMI was the cornerstone of a successful application for a prestigious external grant for curriculum innovation. Beyond the funding itself, the mere existence of the grant was seen to give the program legitimacy both within the department and the wider university community. According to Carl, even though the actual funding term has expired, the relationship between the EMI program and the grant is often mentioned.

At University C as well, the EMI program received external grant funding. However, in this case, the funds were for expansion of an existing program. When the EMI program was established there was a feeling among faculty, according to Takahiro, that "we won't make much of it". This lack of confidence contributed to initial problems with faculty and administration buy-in. However, there is currently more acceptance of the program and recognition of its value. The exact role of the external funding in this change is unclear but it is seen by both Takahiro and Peter as being a factor.

Of course, it is not always necessary for a program to actually receive grants in order for such funding to provide legitimacy. At University G for example, the fact that other universities are receiving such grants is seen as a justification for moving forward with an EMI program. Also, University D applied for a major grant to support development of a full-degree ETP and was rejected. Paul refers to this rejection as "a wound" which, along with the poor rankings results discussed above, motivated the university to develop its EMI programs.

6.7 Staffing

Staffing is seen as an important issue in the development of EMI. Along with the issues of status and position discussed above, the qualifications of EMI faculty seem to be important. Paul from University D says that good academics in the field, not just people who can teach in English, are necessary and that "that is ultimately where the strength of the

program will be". Speaking of his current colleagues in the full-degree ETP, he says "I think we've got a team together that can really do something special despite all the bureaucratic nonsense." He contrasts this with another prominent university he is familiar with where the ETP appears to be staffed by language teachers taking on additional content classes, which he feels illegitimates the program. They "basically used their English teachers to teach their BA programs. I think there is something pretty unethical about that, actually."

At University A, Carl is also concerned about staffing and qualifications. Many EMI programs in Japan are taught by EFL specialists and Carl worries that from the outside, those may not be seen as real classes. "If people outside are thinking 'is this person really qualified to teach that class?' then prospective students may also be hearing this from maybe their high school teacher." That kind of impression among external observers would be very damaging for the program. Similar sentiments about the necessity of qualified faculty, and the dangers of un- or under-qualified faculty, were heard from all of the universities studied here.

Thus, staffing EMI programs is seen to be key; however, it tends to be difficult, as teachers require a mix of specialist knowledge of content, language skills and teaching experience as well as a willingness to take on a greater workload than either an L1 content class or a language class would normally require. Also, at many of the schools studied here, EMI classes are assigned beyond the regular faculty teaching load. Finding a teacher with the right balance of attributes who is willing to take on the extra work can be very challenging.

Structural issues can also make staffing difficult. Japanese universities often offer limited-term contracts for new faculty members, which can make it difficult to attract quality candidates. Paul and Jane both reported that this was a staffing challenge for their universities. This issue also arises when the EMI program is funded through a short-term external grant. Naomi and Keiko at university C are both employed under such terms and are uncertain of their long-term positions. This uncertainty can also lead to long-term instability for the program as a whole. Institutional memory can be compromised as faculty members come and go regularly. Jane thinks of this in terms of the death and rebirth of the program:

> Every time the faculty turns over, the program dies. Everything [they] bring to the program they take away with them. There is nothing left behind; it's completely undone. There is nothing to guide the incoming staff, so the program dies. It's very tenuous.

6.8 Support Structures

EMI can be a challenge for students, and programs which provide student support are more likely to develop smoothly. In this study, several

universities are seen to provide such support structures and at those which do not, stakeholders notice the lack of support.

Entry requirements can be an important support structure. For the ETP at University D, there is a clearly defined admission policy including strict language-testing benchmarks. Students must provide proof of language proficiency through internationally recognized tests such as the TOEFL iBt (minimum score 79) or IELTS (minimum Score 6.0). And at Universities C, D and G, the non-degree EMI programs have a series of benchmarks which allows relatively low English-proficiency students to enter and improve as they move through the program. At University D for example, Students may enter the EMI program as first year students with a TOEFL iBT score of 61 but must improve that score to 70 by the end of the second year and are expected to have a score of 80 or higher upon graduation.

These benchmarks, apart from serving a gate-keeping function, are seen as a value to students and the program. They provide clear information about the demands of the program and help students make an informed choice about joining. However, not all EMI programs have such benchmarks. At Universities A, B and E, the EMI classes are open to all students and are required for students in some departments. Sarah from University E said that this leads to students who are "unprepared for the challenges" joining EMI classes and not getting full educational value from them. This is also, of course, more difficult for the teachers and problematic for the program. A high dropout rate or a large number of failing students may be seen as evidence of the failure of the program as a whole.

Prerequisite classes and language preparation are another support structure which EMI stakeholders seem to feel would be important. However, these are generally not in place. Domestic Japanese students have English-language classes as part of their general education requirements; however, for most students, these classes are general English rather than EAP and they have little or no connection to EMI classes students may join later. Participants at Universities A, E, C and H noted that this makes it difficult to know whether a given student is prepared for EMI. Sarah from University E explained that students' preparedness for second year EMI classes "depends on who taught them in first year". All participants at University E mentioned the possible value of required EAP classes and regretted that they were unable to make them part of the program.

At University C, one EMI program serves both domestic and short-term international students. Domestic students have required English classes but, as at other universities, these are not linked to the EMI program. The preparation of international students is unclear since they come from a variety of home institutions but Peter and Takahiro report that there is a general sense among EMI stakeholders that the international students are better able to handle EMI. They both feel that required EAP preparation classes would be a good, though politically and logistically

difficult, addition to their current program.

6.9 Communication and Coordination

A final factor seen to be important in the success of EMI is communication, which can be a strength of a program. However, where it is lacking, stakeholders regret that lack. At University G for example, there does not appear to be a clear sense of development or curriculum planning across the 4 years of the program. As Albert said:

> It will be thrown together in the sense that there will be individual classes which are taught in English but they will be fragmented. What the students get out of it is what the students get out of it.

The success of the program is seen to depend on the quality of individual teachers, though there will be little coordination or monitoring of quality. There does not seem to be a sense that the faculty involved in the program are a team, though Albert believes that this would be a good step towards success. At University H as well, there is little communication or coordination among teachers involved in the EMI program. David reported,

> The effort that goes into designing courses is very secretive. I can't remember a single time where one of the [faculty] shared. They seem very secretive and hesitant to talk in detail. Basically nobody talks, or if they do, they don't develop [programs] together. There's no collaborative effort going on.

On the other hand, at both University C and D, EMI faculty do communicate and there is some coordination of classes. In both cases, the EMI program does not have dedicated teachers. Rather, a central administrative office recruits faculty members from different departments to teach individual EMI classes. This opens up communication channels, which allows for some coordination. However, among the EMI programs studied here, only University F actively promotes communication and collaboration. There are formal teachers' meetings twice per semester as well as regular social occasions for program stakeholders. In addition, there is a detailed EMI program manual. This has created an inclusive, collaborative and supportive environment. Also, the program leaders communicate well with the teachers. Robert reported good two-way communication, noting that it is always clear to whom questions or suggestions should be directed.

Perhaps due to the overall lack of communication, there is some confusion about the point of EMI programs for many universities studied here. In particular the relationship between language and content learning is sometimes unclear. Interestingly, all of the participants in this study

mentioned this clarity of goals as a key factor for success while acknowledging that such clarity is hard to achieve.

At University E, different stakeholders gave completely different descriptions of the purpose of the program. For example, Jane and Sarah both reported that a main goal of the program was language learning, while Eric said that the students' language skills were at best "periphenomenal" - a hoped for, but not planned for, side benefit. Takahiro acknowledged that language learning was previously a goal but said that in the current program, language was not a priority at all.

At University G, Albert sees the program as being positioned as a "holistic English experience for students", the point being their English education. In this view, the classes are referred to as CLIL and are positioned primarily as language learning. However, it is not clear that all faculty involved in the program necessarily agree with this. For some, content may take priority. The EMI program is still in the early stages of development and this issue is not yet resolved.

One extreme example of unclear goals can be seen at University H. David reports that in his department, the initial impetus for EMI has disappeared, leaving the program somewhat rudderless. The program was initially developed to prepare students before a mandatory semester-abroad program in their third year. As such, the EMI classes were positioned in the students' second year. However, the study abroad program shifted to the students' first year while the EMI classes remained as they were. It is unclear what role EMI is now meant to play.

Even at University F, with good communication among participating faculty, the purpose of the EMI program is muddled, leading to unclear assessment criteria. Some EMI classes are graded as if they were Content-Based Instruction of language while others are graded solely on content, leading to confusion among both faculty and students.

6.10 Limitations

Because this is an exploratory pilot study, it should be noted that the findings presented here are preliminary and may lack depth. More detailed examination of the factors highlighted here will be necessary. In addition, the findings may be limited by the fact that six of the eight universities studied were represented by a single interview participant who shared their own personal experiences and perspectives. Thus, the findings do not necessarily represent the range of experiences surrounding the implementation of EMI and may lack the multiple perspectives needed to "create a portrait of complicated processes" (Rubin & Rubin, 2012, p.5). Also, all of the participants in this study were EMI stakeholders who were invested in the success of the program. The perspectives of those opposed to or questioning EMI were presented only indirectly. One final limitation is connected to the ethnicity of the participants, the bulk of whom are not Japanese. As discussed above, foreign teachers may have issues of status

and full participation in the faculty which may limit, or at least colour, their understanding of the issues raised in this study.

7. Conclusions and Directions for Future Study

This study explored factors influencing the development of undergraduate EMI programs in Japan. It was initially assumed that some factors would facilitate and others would hinder development. However, from the findings described above, it seems that the same factor may facilitate EMI in some contexts but hinder in others. In some contexts for instance, stakeholders' status in the university community is the main stumbling block, in others it is the key to a successful program. The same can be said of many of the factors identified here.

The factors identified above can be categorized in two broad groups, with admittedly a great deal of overlap. Questions of status and position, issues of territoriality, the overall position and financial health of the institution and the value of external validation seem to be related to the decision to implement an EMI program. The initial stages of implementation may be easier and smoother in a university where: EMI stakeholders occupy higher status positions in the university community; the implementation of EMI does not threaten the turf of an established group or powerful individual; there is a genuine need for innovation recognized by administrators and faculty; and the EMI program is compared positively to innovations outside the university.

Once an EMI program is in place however, other factors, including the pace of change, issues connected to staffing, available support structures and communication issues, may become more dominant in the development of EMI programs. EMI programs may develop more smoothly and effectively if program stakeholders start small and slowly expand the program, recruit qualified faculty of sufficient status, provide support and benchmarks to students entering the EMI program and encourage communication among EMI stakeholders.

Looking to the future, these factors will be explored in a follow up case study of EMI programs in Japan. Looking at universities with newly-implemented and well-established EMI programs will provide insight into how these, and potentially other, as yet unidentified, factors play out across the implementation and development of undergraduate EMI programs in Japan.

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Module 2
Painting a Picture of EMI in Japan: Extent of, Rationales for, and Implementation of Undergraduate English-Medium Instruction Classes at Universities in Japan

1. Introduction

Japanese higher education is now experiencing a rapid, but largely uncoordinated growth in the use of English as a medium of instruction. While this trend is, in some respects, paralleling the patterns seen in Europe and elsewhere, Japan seems to be following its own path towards the use of English. Full-degree programs taught entirely in English are much rarer than in European higher education and the mandated use of English seen in some other parts of Asia is not a factor in the Japanese context. However, there seems to be wide variety in the scale and patterns of implementation of English-medium instruction. There is also a lack of clear information about how and why such programs are being implemented by universities. This paper is part of an ongoing study seeking to clarify the situation. Results reported here are based on the first ever nation-wide survey of all universities known to offer at least some of their classes in English. The survey examines the rationales for, challenges with, and implementation of English-medium instruction. It is hoped that the results of this study will provide university stakeholders with a firm basis for discussion and decision making as they move forward with implementation and development of programs.

2. Defining Terms

As this study focuses on English-medium instruction in Japanese higher education, several key terms need to be clarified at the outset.

2.1 English-Medium Instruction

Specialist content classes taught in English are becoming more common around the world, though a universally acknowledged framework of terminology has not yet developed (Dearden, 2014). The most commonly used term seems to be *English-Medium Instruction*, sometimes also known as *English-mediated Instruction*. Other terms such as *Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education* (ICLHE) and *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL) are also commonly seen in the literature. Some use these terms interchangeably, or use CLIL as an umbrella term for a wide array of program types. However, it is important to note the distinctions, especially between models which prioritize language learning, such as CLIL and ICLHE, and those where language learning is not an explicit aim, such as EMI (Smit & Dafouz, 2012). At universities, it may also be important to recognize the distinction between degree programs taught entirely in English, English-Taught Programs (ETP), and those where credits may be earned in EMI classes but only as part of a degree (Bradford, 2013). For the purposes of this study, the definition from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT,

2009a) will be used; here English-medium Instruction (EMI) refers to classes conducted entirely in English, excluding those whose primary aim is language instruction.

2.2 The Japanese Higher Education System

The Japanese higher education system is quite extensive and consists of 781 four-year universities, 409 two-year colleges and a large number of tertiary-level vocational and professional training schools (MEXT, 2013). While many countries have both public and private higher education institutions, in Japan, the distinction between three types of universities is important. National universities, known in Japanese as *kokuritsu daigaku*, are, as the term implies, tied to the national government. These universities were established and run by the government and in general, are the largest and most prestigious universities in Japan. In 2004, all national universities were incorporated, becoming national university corporations. This was done in order to allow greater autonomy in financial, personnel and academic management (Oba, 2006). However, these universities are still funded by, and accountable to, the national government.

While national universities are supported by public funds, the term public university, *koritsu daigaku*, actually refers to a different kind of institution. Public universities are established, and mainly funded, by local municipal or prefectural governments. These universities are generally smaller and less prestigious than their national counterparts. Following the 2004 incorporation of national universities, local private universities have also been incorporated and now operate under the legal designation of independent local administrative institutions. However, as in the case of national universities, incorporated local public universities are still mainly funded by and accountable to their municipal or prefectural government. For the purposes of this study, national and public universities will sometimes be referred to collectively as publically-funded universities.

Private universities, *shiritsu daigaku*, are privately established and funded. Many are run by foundations, though some are connected to a religious organization or tied to members of the institution's founding family. Private universities receive some minimal funding from the national government but are mainly funded through grants, donations and student tuition and fees. Nearly 80% of all universities in Japan are private. These universities range from very large, prestigious institutions with highly competitive entrance examinations for students, to small campuses of questionable academic standards struggling to reach full enrolment. Recent figures from The Promotion and Mutual Aid Corporation for Private Schools of Japan (2013) show that 46% of private universities are operating below capacity; that is, they are unable to recruit students to fill all available seats. A surprisingly high number, 18 universities, are operating at less than 50% of their intake capacity. This has led to a widely-held belief that a great deal of consolidation in the private university sector is required and unavoidable.

3. The Extent and Position of EMI in Japan

Amid the rapid growth of EMI in Japan, the range of challenges it faces, and the diverse contexts it is developing in, there seems to be a need for a solid understanding of the current situation upon which to base discussions and plans for the future. However, currently available information is somewhat scant in this regard. Official government figures are based on MEXT's (2009a; 2011) tracking of curriculum developments and show that nearly 30% of universities in Japan offer EMI classes (see Table 1).

Table 1. Number of Universities Offering Some Undergraduate EMI Classes

Universities	2005	2007	2009	2011
National (86)	42	44	47	47
Public (95)	16	24	24	21
Private (597)	118	122	123	154
Total (778)	176	190	194	222

The definition of EMI used in compiling these figures is worth noting. Universities are counted in these figures if they offer one or more classes conducted entirely in English, excluding those whose primary aim is language education (MEXT, 2009a; 2011). The definition is clear in that classes must be entirely English-medium; however, the phrase 'primary aim' allows for some variation in interpretation. Depending on how this phrase is understood by universities, some classes positioned in language learning departments or operated in a CLIL or sheltered immersion program may or may not be counted in these figures. It should also be noted that reliable figures do not appear to be available before 2005. MEXT did track earlier programs but a different, much wider definition was used so direct comparison is not possible. The most recent results show that nearly 30% of all universities, and more than half of national universities, offer EMI at the undergraduate level and that it is a growing trend, especially among private universities. However no other details can be gleaned from these official figures.

Another possible source of data on the extent of EMI comes from a 2008 survey of Japanese university internationalization plans conducted by Tohoku University. Findings from that survey indicate that more than 70% of universities offer at least some classes taught in English. However, the definition used in the relevant survey item is vague and may have included English-language classes taught in English, so the figures may be somewhat inflated. Huang and Daizen (2014) also surveyed Japanese universities on their internationalization plans in an examination of how the term "global human resources" is being interpreted. One of their findings showed that only 9% of university departments were implementing EMI. However, this figure may be underreporting the extent of EMI as the survey item asked if

universities oblige students to take EMI classes, so elective classes or programs would likely not be reported. Also, since the authors counted university departments rather than universities, it is difficult to compare this finding directly to the official MEXT figures.

In all three of the above sources, the extent of EMI is described only in terms of how many universities or departments offer it. There appears to be little information available on how widespread EMI is on any given campus. Brown and Iyobe (2014) investigated this question and found tentative indications that EMI programs have been growing in both size and number since approximately 2000. Not only did more universities begin to offer EMI, but also universities with existing EMI programs expanded those programs and began developing new ones. This is consistent with findings from the Tohoku University (2008) survey that shows a sharp increase in the number of universities publishing formal internationalization strategies in 2004. This is also consistent with Dearden's (2014) finding that there has been an upswing in interest in EMI around the world over the past ten years.

The timing of the growth of EMI in Japan appears to have been influenced by several factors. One of these factors, highlighted by Ishikawa (2011), is that in the early 2000's there was a dramatic change in how universities in Japan viewed internationalization. There has been a shift in perception from aid to trade. Internationalization of higher education, especially by recruiting foreign students, began in earnest in the 1980s. The first goal, established by Yasuhiro Nakasone, Prime Minister from 1982 to 1987, was to recruit 100,000 international students to study on Japanese campuses (Umakoshi, 1997). However, Ishikawa (2011) explains that the internationalization of Japanese universities was not necessarily the intended aim of this strategy. Rather, it was connected to national security, relationships with neighboring countries, correcting trade imbalances, a desire for political influence regionally, and a demonstration of Japan's position on the world stage. In short, recruiting international students and sending them home with a Japanese education and, presumably, positive memories of Japan, was an application of Japan's soft power. It was seen as part of Japan's Official Development Aid (ODA) and was directed almost entirely at Japan's regional neighbors. This view of the internationalization of higher education continued throughout the 1980's and 1990's.

However, the current view of internationalization is more connected to Japan's competitive position in the world economy. Goals are related to recruiting top quality talent who can push the research agenda ahead and increase the overall competitiveness of Japanese universities. This is connected to Japan's acknowledgement of the role that international students can play as potential recruits in the knowledge-based economy. This fundamental shift seems to have occurred in the early 2000's according to Ishikawa (2011) and may be a contributing factor in the growth of EMI as universities began to try to appeal to international students in new ways.

It was also around this time that education leaders in Japan became more aware of and interested in European models of schooling. Japan's results on the 2003 Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) test (OECD, 2004) were somewhat lower than the previous test conducted in 2000. Japan ranked second in science performance, but the results in math and reading showed a significant decrease. This was one factor in turning Japan's attention to Europe which was later intensified when the 2006 PISA results established Finland as a world leader in education (see for example Otake, 2008). EMI program stakeholders interviewed by Brown (2014) refer to the possible influence that European models have had on university decision makers. By the early 2000's EMI in universities and Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) in schools were already becoming commonplace in the European context (Wachter & Maiworm, 2008) and these may have inspired some of the growth in EMI in Japan.

Other important factors are administrative. In 2004, national universities in Japan were incorporated and became semi-autonomous. However, at the same time requirements for transparency and accountability became more important. This included the requirement to publish, and then meet, mid-term goals for curriculum development, student services and overall performance. As seen above, this lead to a large increase in the number of formal internationalization strategies and was perhaps related to the growth of EMI programs as universities sought tangible programs that could be implemented in the name of internationalization. In addition, Ogawa (2002) reports that in the period around the turn of the century, many Japanese universities became more flexible and open to reforms, possibly including EMI, due to changes in administrative organization.

A final factor in the timing of the increase in EMI may be related to the development of university rankings. Universities in Japan have long existed in a clear hierarchy with higher status universities being well known for their selectivity, essentially the difficulty of the entrance standards. However, this was a de facto hierarchy of universities, not a measured ranking (Ishikawa, 2009) . In the 1990s domestic rankings of Japanese universities by media outlets became common. While initially resistant to the idea of external rankings, universities in Japan quickly adopted them and they became a key element in the marketing strategies of many universities (Yonezawa, Nakatsui & Kobayashi, 2002). By the early 2000s, international rankings of universities were becoming common and the notion of world-class universities was gaining ground in East Asia (Gharzarian, 2011). Many of the major international rankings of universities began at this time. The Academic Ranking of World Universities was established in 2003 and both the Times Higher Education World University Rankings and the QS World University rankings were first published in 2004. Japanese universities have not fared particularly

well in these and other rankings and it has become a goal of both the government and the universities themselves to have more Japanese universities positioned higher on these lists. Though EMI is not measured directly by the rankings agencies, having classes offered in English may be seen by university leaders as a way for some institutions to climb the rankings (Brown, 2014).

Despite the growth in the number of EMI programs, it appears that EMI is still somewhat marginal on most campuses. At the universities studied by Brown and Iyobe (2014), EMI programs were seen to serve less than 5% of the undergraduate student population.

3.1 Rationales for EMI

EMI is developing in Japan alongside several major shifts in university structure and the contexts in which universities find themselves. The development of EMI in Japan is probably best seen as part of the overall trend towards internationalization of higher education and the massification of higher education.

3.1.1 EMI and internationalization / globalization

The internationalization of higher education is a leading driver of change at universities all around the world. In light of globalization and the new knowledge economy, universities find themselves in an increasingly competitive higher education market which is no longer limited by national borders. As a response, universities have been focusing on international activities steadily increasing the both the number and scope of such programs (Altbach & Knight, 2007).

According to the Institute for Higher Education Policy (IHEP, 2009) many university stakeholders in Japan, especially those in leadership positions, see EMI as a positive step towards internationalization. At some universities EMI is the cornerstone of the internationalization strategy while at others, it is at least an element of the strategy. However internationalization does not always necessarily imply EMI. A study conducted by Tohoku University in 2008 showed that 60% of Japanese universities identified internationalization as a top priority and more that 70% of universities had formal internationalization goals and strategies in place and were actively pursuing internationalization. However, at that time, EMI was being implemented by only approximately 25% of universities (MEXT, 2011). This seems to indicate that nearly half of universities in Japan were pursuing internationalization without EMI. Common internationalization activities include a greater focus on language proficiency, support of study aboard programs and the development of cooperation agreements with universities overseas.

Along with universities' aims to internationalize, other commonly-cited rationales for EMI in Asia include the development of domestic human resources through improvements in students' global outlook and through

overall improvements in education (Hamid, Nguyen & Baldauf, 2013). This development of human resources is, of course, tied to improving national competitiveness on the global stage. As such, globalization is seen as a major driving force behind internationalization of higher education in general and the development of EMI in particular. There is also a clear belief that EMI automatically leads to language proficiency, which again leads to greater human resource potential. However, Hamid, Nguyen and Baldauf (2013) call this assumption into question: "It is clear that the various contexts of EMI have paid little attention to the development of language competence by making adequate allocations of financial, personnel and material resources" (p.8).

In addition to universities' individual actions, the government is actively encouraging the use of EMI to internationalize Japanese higher education as a response to globalization. Internationalization and the development of global human resources have dominated official discourse on education for some time (Yonezawa, 2010) and government funding has also been directed towards these aims (Yonezawa, 2011). In recent years, the government has implemented three high-profile funding schemes aimed, in part, at encouraging EMI. First, in 2008, the Global 30 project provided funds for 13 top-tier universities to establish new full-degree English-taught programs in order to attract international students. Then, in 2012 the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development, also known as the *Global Jinzai* project, funded projects, including EMI programs, at 42 universities. These projects were designed to promote an international outlook and intercultural skills among domestic Japanese students. Finally, most recently, in 2014, 37 universities were designated Top Global Universities in a funding program aimed at establishing Japanese universities as world-class educational institutions.

While these sound like positive steps, Yonezawa (2011) notes that government commitment to the internationalization of higher education should not necessarily be counted on over the long term. First, actual government spending on higher education in Japan is among the lowest in the OECD and it is dropping. The effort to create a limited number of world-class institutions has allowed the government to concentrate funding at a few universities while reducing funding rates overall. Also, since the current government enthusiasm for internationalization is tied to ongoing economic and political issues, both at domestic and regional levels, the government's priorities may shift and commitments may end. In short, universities and academics cannot afford to rely on the current government-led initiatives.

It is interesting to note that there are indications that the trend towards implementing EMI in the name of internationalization may now be fueling itself. An earlier study on this topic (Brown, 2014) indicated that some university leaders are calling for EMI programs without fully understanding or even valuing EMI in and of itself. As more and more local, national, and international rivals establish and develop EMI programs,

university leaders may see EMI as a necessary part of maintaining the university's reputation and position. In describing elite universities adopting English as a medium of instruction, Ishikawa (2011) refers to this as "the manufacturing of prestige" (p. 164).

3.1.2 EMI and the Massification of Higher Education

Along with the pressures of globalization, Yamada (2012) argues that universities in Japan may be implementing EMI programs, at least in part, as a reaction to the massification of higher education. Traditionally, Japanese universities had little incentive to improve the quality of undergraduate education or even monitor its outcomes. Professors, and by extension universities, were almost entirely focused on research. In addition, students' post-graduation employment placement depended more on which university they had graduated from than on anything they actually studied there (Rtischev & Cole, 2003). This situation provided very few incentives for universities to change or improve. In fact, Goodman (2010, citing the work of McVeigh, 2002; Kinmonth, 2005) has said that Japanese universities "have served the interests of the owners and staff more than their students" (p.69). However, since 2000, universities are under more pressure to ensure higher quality education at the undergraduate level and the majority of universities have become more learning and teaching oriented.

Yamada (2012) argues that this pressure has come about due to the massification of higher education. Tertiary education in Japan has essentially become a mass commodity. Due to demographic changes, a falling birth rate and an aging population, the cohort of university-aged students has shrunk considerably. At the same time, the capacity of the higher education system in Japan has expanded with many new universities, largely private, opening in the 1990's. In fact, by 2000, 40% of high school graduates were enrolled in a university and including all tertiary education institutions, the enrollment rate was more than 70%. As of 2011, the university enrollment rate was even higher at 47% and the rate for the whole tertiary education sector was 76% (Huang, 2012). Japan has entered the era of universal access to higher education.

This universal access has forced Japanese universities to adapt to a new, more diverse student body. A large number of students, who would previously have been rejected from universities, are now finding acceptance. Entrance to the elite universities is still highly competitive but a student who simply wants to go to a university can be virtually guaranteed to find admission somewhere. This has led to a large number of students who are perhaps less prepared for the demands of university life than students were a generation ago. According to Aspinall (2005), these demographic pressures are forcing some universities to lower barriers for entrance as they "try to meet the criteria of new students rather than vice versa" (p. 215). This is seen by some as a decline in standards and has led to concerns about the

declining value of university degrees.
Despite these concerns, it can be argued that this has not been an entirely negative development. As Yamada (2012) argues, this need for remedial courses has contributed to the shift towards a focus on teaching and learning. It has also opened the door to an overall diversification of university programs, including academic enrichment programs and EMI.

3.2 Other Possible Rationales

Along with rationales tied to internationalization and massification of higher education, other possible rationales for implementing EMI are sometimes seen in the media or literature. However, as will be discussed below, these may not be as directly tied to EMI as some would say.

3.2.1 EMI and Inward-Looking Youth

One often-cited rationale for EMI and internationalization of higher education has been that it combats the growing inward-looking tendencies of Japanese youth. In fact MEXT's (2012) own description of the Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development, a funding scheme which supported the development of internationalization and EMI programs at 42 universities, says that it "aims to overcome the Japanese younger generation's inward tendency" (para. 1). This is an argument often heard in Japan from both government and industry. Japan is in need of globally-minded young people, but the current generation of youth refuses to engage with the world, preferring an insular, inward-facing life in Japan. Thus the youth are said to be to blame for Japan's economic stagnation.

However, the youth of Japan may not be as inward looking as government and media discourse would have one believe. While the number of Japanese students studying abroad has fallen over the last decade, interest in overseas study is still very high. Recent findings from a British Council (2014) survey of Japanese university students show that 45% of students are interested in studying abroad, a rate actually higher than among British or American university students.

Imoto (2013) argues that the government and media discourse of "problematizing youth and dubbing them insular" (p.146) is masking deeper issues. For example, the rates of inward-looking youth, young people with no interest in studying or working abroad, are in fact higher at elite national universities where the supposed leaders of Japan are educated. Small, local universities send a much higher proportion of their students abroad. Also the rate of students studying abroad is not falling uniformly. Rather, the number of Japanese students studying full-time at American universities is falling, while the number of students studying in Japan's regional neighbors, Korea and China in particular, or in short-term language programs, is actually rising. In fact, Imoto shows that the current media focus on inward-looking youth is actually more rightly thought of as youth looking away from the west. The debate was actually sparked by

comments made by the president of Harvard University and the American Ambassador to Japan about the drop in the number of Japanese students at elite American universities. In addition, concerns about inward-looking youth focus on mainstream Japanese youth while ignoring a growing, and increasingly outward-looking, multicultural and mixed-ethnicity community in Japan.

Burgess (2014) also argues that the youth themselves may not be to blame for the falling numbers of Japanese students studying abroad, reduced participation in international volunteer organizations, and lower willingness to work overseas. In fact, despite government and industry statements to the contrary, the education and employment systems of Japan do not support an international outlook. University students returning from long-term overseas experiences often find it difficult to find a job due to the rigid job hunting schedule which requires students to begin the application and interview process a full two years before graduation. Even worse, a student with too much international experience runs the risk of being seen as unpredictable or unreadable, thus becoming an unsuitable candidate in many job-hunting situations. Murphey (2011) reports on the "real voices" of his students who argue that Japanese universities themselves discourage study abroad with policies that require students to pay tuition at both the home and host university and make it very difficult for students to transfer credits earned abroad. In fact, at some universities, a semester spent studying abroad may mean that a student cannot graduate on time with their cohort. This also marks them as unsuitable in many job hunting situations.

Many young people, faced with these obstacles, simply choose to follow the path of least resistance - a wholly domestic study and work experience. So, a reluctance to study abroad among youth may in fact be a completely rational reaction to the disincentives with which they have been presented, rather than an actual inward-looking tendency.

Another telling argument made by Burgess (2014) draws on survey data of students and parents. Interestingly, parents were twice as likely as university students to object to the idea of young people becoming globally oriented. Costs, presumably costs for education, and risk were the two main reasons cited for parents wanting their children to remain inward looking.

Thus, EMI programs and the internationalization of higher education in general may be framed in terms of helping the youth turn their view outward. But in fact, they may not be the remedy that the government and industry are looking for as they do not address root causes.

3.2.2 EMI and Financial Issues

One other possible rationale for implementing EMI that should be considered is a potential financial benefit. Universities may see EMI as a way to attract fee-paying international students in order to improve their bottom line. However, for the most part, this is not seen in the Japanese

case. In fact, in Japan, internationalization programs in general are often seen as a burden both financially (Yonezawa , Akiba & Hirouchi, 2009) and in terms of human resources (Breaden, 2012).

Some universities at the lower end of the higher education hierarchy may be internationalizing in the name of financial gain; however, this is a limited kind of internationalization that does not actually lead to an international university. As discussed above, a great number of private universities in Japan are operating below capacity. For these universities, international students represent a way to fill seats: a route to institutional survival. Many of the Japanese universities accepting a high proportion of international undergraduate students, relative to the whole student body, are small-to-medium-sized private universities which are considered to be of low academic level (Goodman, 2007). Most have limited, or no, EMI offerings and integrate international students, largely from China (JASSO, 2013), into Japanese language programs or in Japanese-medium content programs. This has allowed "Japanese universities to accept them without having to introduce any serious internationalization of the curriculum or teaching methods" (Aspinall, 2013, p. 162).

For other universities, EMI is more likely seen as a long-term investment rather than a short term financial solution. It can be a way to attract higher quality students, both domestically and from abroad (Brown, 2014) but since these students will pay the same fees as domestic students, or be supported by scholarships, there is no direct financial gain.

4. Challenges for EMI

A successful EMI program relies on more than simply switching the language of instruction. Teakens (2003), for example, argues that an internationalized curriculum would allow students to develop, not only content knowledge and skills, but also an internationalized outlook. In a similar vein, Leask (2009) defines internationalization of the curriculum as "the incorporation of an intercultural and international dimension into the content of the curriculum as well as the teaching and learning processes and support services of a program of study" (p. 209).

Kudo and Hashimoto (2011) point to the rapid rise in the use of EMI in internationalization strategies in Japan as being somewhat problematic in this regard. They see the growth of EMI outpacing the actual internationalization of the curriculum. The classes may be conducted in English but there is little research, and apparently little serious thought, on, how to internationalize the whole curriculum: "The improvement of the curricula from global / international perspectives seems far behind the ideal" (p. 348). This echoes worries from Le Ha (2013) who argues that the government of Japan seems to see EMI rather simplistically. The assumption seems to be that implementing EMI will automatically internationalize the campus, attract international students, and give

domestic students an international experience. The fact that the program is in English is the selling point. The actual quality of the program itself or the expertise, preparedness, and experience of the university are not considered. Hamid, Nguyen and Baldauf (2013) explain that this is a common theme in Asia. Many governments see EMI as "a relatively simple and cheap solution to both the problems of internationalization and upgraded local language proficiency" (p. 10). In addition, it appears that not much thought has been given to the long-term socio-cultural impacts of the growing position of EMI in higher education in Japan (IHEP, 2009).

Chappele (2014) also refers to a simplistic view of EMI, arguing that the current trend towards EMI is a cosmetic change which simply gives Japanese higher education a "fresh façade" (p.2) of internationalization. The Japanese government and universities are overlooking some fundamentally important factors. First, the way EMI is being implemented now encourages international students to form isolated groups, sometimes known in Europe as Erasmus bubbles, with little interaction with the main campus. Breaden (2012) attributes this to the somewhat paternalistic sense that international students must, on the one hand be taken care of and sheltered, and on the other hand, not allowed to overly influence the domestic students. Thus an opportunity for internationalization of the domestic student body is lost. Looking at this from the students' perspective, Heigham (2014) reports that international students in Japanese EMI programs feel under-supported by both faculty and administers and cut off from the mainstream student body.

Other problems pointed to by Chappele (2014) include the possibility that EMI is being implemented without a great deal of concern for the quality of the classes; it seems to be enough that they are in English. Takagi (2013) found that EMI courses at Japanese universities are designed based on what the existing faculty can teach in English, rather than what or how students need to learn. Chappele (2014) also notes that scaffolding and sheltered study are not part of the curriculum for the most part and this makes it difficult for domestic students to keep up. There is a high dropout rate among domestic students in EMI programs leading to an even more pronounced bubble effect. Also, EMI requires more than just translating existing courses into English. Contents need to be chosen and delivered in a way that suits the EMI context. Chappele implies that in current EMI programs, this not being done. Existing programs are simply delivered in English, begging the question of whether those programs were high quality to begin with. Support structures for students are also largely missing from the EMI programs now running. Language centers, writing centers, and dedicated English for Academic Purposes (EAP) support classes are generally not tied to EMI. This lack of support for students is mirrored in the findings of Brown and Iyobe (2014) who show that EMI stakeholders regret not being able to offer such support.

Along with these structural issues, there are also concerns about the

faculty involved in EMI programs. Chappele (2014) is concerned that there is little institutional acknowledgement of the special demands of teaching EMI. Classes seem to be taught by those who are willing to do it, rather than those who have the expertise and sensitivity demanded. There is also no recognition of the fact that English ability itself is not sufficient for EMI teaching. Ishikawa (2011), on the other hand, is concerned with the long term buy-in from faculty. Amid falling budgets and increasing workloads, a switch to EMI represents a burden that faculty may simply not be willing to take on. She also reports an overall lack of desire to internationalize the curriculum and fears among faculty that EMI will lead to lower quality education for domestic Japanese students. Yonezawa, Akiba and Hirouchi (2009) also report concerns about the overall understanding of internationalization among faculty.

> Contrary to the highly ambitious governmental requirements for the internationalization of higher education, students and academics continue to appear less prepared for internationalization in terms of research exchange or even in their basic understanding of international atmospheres (p.140).

Yonezawa (2011) argues that this may in fact be due to Japan's relative success in higher education. He says that in the Asia-pacific region, Japan is unique in having developed an entrenched tradition of serious academic scholarship in its home language. This may work against widespread acceptance of the need to internationalize among academics. As for students, Yonezawa explains that a small subset may be interested in transborder education, but the vast majority is satisfied with domestic experiences. Relatively strong economic and social power at home discourage serious internationalization in the higher education market (c.f. Imoto, 2013; Burgess, 2014).

In addition, it seems that few Japanese faculty members have sufficient language skills for success in EMI (IHEP, 2009). Japanese universities have a long history of filling faculty positions with graduates from top domestic universities. Fewer than 3% of positions are held by foreign faculty members; many of these are language teachers, and only approximately 10% of Japanese faculty members have international graduate-level credentials (Ishikawa, 2011). This does not seem to be a sufficient base on which to build widespread EMI.

There are, however, signs that this is changing. The current Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe (2013), has called on universities to double the number of international faculty positions. In addition, there is a generational change occurring in Japanese universities as the current baby-boom generation of leading academics retires, and a younger cohort is taking over (Iino, 2014). This younger cohort came of age in the early 2000s when the number of Japanese students studying abroad was peaking and was nearly five times

larger than in the 1970's and 1980's when the baby boom generation academics were themselves students (MEXT 2014). This implies that academics now entering faculty positions are more likely to have had experience studying-abroad.

5. EMI in Japan: A Single Picture?

Higher education in Japan has always been diverse with national and local public universities serving very different needs and private universities filling a wide range of niches. The system is also stratified and hierarchical with national universities, and a few elite private universities, at the top and small, rural private campuses at the bottom (Huang, 2014) . Kudo and Hashimoto (2011) report that, with recent moves to internationalization, this stratification has intensified. The government is focusing its energy, and thus its funding, on large-scale internationalization projects and the push to create more world-class institutions. The goal is to increase the number of Japanese universities ranked in the top 100 in the world from the current two to 10 (Chappele, 2014). This is focusing more and more resources at the top end of the higher education hierarchy and creating an even more stratified and diverse higher education climate.

Thus, looking at the forces acting on universities from a glonacal, global-national-local perspective, the global and national forces may be similar but the local contexts and resources available to respond will be different. The global forces acting on Japanese universities are felt similarly throughout the higher education sector. These include growing pressure to compete to attract increasingly mobile students; a growing worldwide trend towards overall internationalization and EMI; and the increasing importance of international skills for post-graduation employment for students.

At the national level, some forces are acting on all universities. Demographic changes mean that the higher education sector as a whole is drawing students from a smaller cohort. In addition, universities are facing increased competition from a higher education sector that includes not only a large number of other universities, but also a diverse and well-developed network of private vocational schools.

Other national level forces, however, are felt differently at different universities. In particular, government policies, and funding schemes, are creating pressure towards greater internationalization and more use of English. As a recent policy statement says:

> Amid ongoing globalization, in order to develop an educational environment where Japanese people can acquire the necessary English skills and also international students can feel at ease to study in Japan, it is very important for Japanese universities to conduct lessons in English for (sic) a certain extent, or to develop courses where students can obtain academic degrees by taking

lessons conducted entirely in English (MEXT, 2009b p.17).

It is worth noting, however, that this statement does not necessarily imply that all Japanese universities should pursue EMI or that all Japanese people should acquire necessary English skills. As was discussed above, there is an ongoing and intensifying stratification of Japanese universities (Kudo and Hashimoto, 2011) and the government has concentrated funding for internationalization in a small number of elite universities while cutting higher education funding overall (Yonezawa, 2011). Nakatsugawa (2014) has found that while policy statements superficially appear to be inclusive of all universities, there is an implicit acknowledgement within the government that EMI and internationalization are not reasonable goals for the wider higher education sector but rather are something that should be pursued by the upper tier of institutions to serve an elite subset of students, perhaps 10% of the whole university cohort.

At the local level, different universities are facing different challenges and operating in different contexts. For one thing, each university has a unique internal political climate and institutional culture. Also, the needs of the local community, a particular concern for local public universities, will influence many universities. In addition, a lack of students is a real concern for small-scale private universities and universities in more rural areas. In fact, as discussed above, nearly half of all private universities are now operating under full capacity.

Thus, a wide variety of internationalization strategies and EMI programs are developing. In this diverse context, Yonezawa, Akiba and Hirouchi (2009) argue that there may not be a single picture of internationalization and EMI in Japan. “It is difficult to comprehend the whole perspectives *[sic]* of internationalization of higher education in such a stratified higher education system as exists in Japan without setting proper categorizations for higher education institutions” (pp. 130-131). The government, through the Council for Asian Gateway Initiative (2007), supports this diverse view of internationalization saying, “internationalization is not something that all universities should pursue in unison, but something that each university should address voluntarily, based on its characteristics" (p. 16). Thus, the aim of painting a picture of EMI use in Japan may in fact be better envisioned as painting a series of pictures of local contexts.

One such series of pictures can be seen in the work of Kudo and Hashimoto (2011) who view EMI as part of the wider trend towards internationalization of higher education in Japan. They see universities moving in different directions and outline several distinct approaches to internationalization and the use of EMI.

First, a group of large-scale elite universities is implementing EMI as part of a move towards internationalization based on research and entrepreneurship. EMI is seen as a way to attract high-quality international

students, especially at the graduate level. English-taught programs, where the entire degree is earned in English, are offered in this approach. This is the approach favored by the large, research-based universities in the government-funded Global 30 program and many of the universities in the new Top Global Universities funding scheme. This group of universities and their approach to EMI and internationalization gets a great deal of attention in the literature and mass media but is in fact, the smallest group of universities implementing EMI.

Smaller universities may approach internationalization differently. For some small universities, EMI is an important element in the internationalization of their undergraduate curriculum. These universities may have a broad EMI curriculum focused on intercultural aims, available to all students, or a narrower, discipline-specific EMI program positioned in a single department. Often these EMI programs are an elective component of the students' degree rather than an entire English-taught degree program.

Another subset of universities, possibly the largest group of universities implementing EMI, uses EMI as part of an ad hoc approach to internationalization which is implemented without university-wide consensus or even discussion. EMI, and the wider internationalization, are promoted in marketing, perhaps somewhat cynically as "mere formulae in a university prospectus" (Kudo & Hashimoto, 2011, p. 354) but they do not have a central place in the curriculum.

Kudo and Hashimoto's (2011) argument that there is no single pattern of EMI implementation is consistent with the findings of Brown and Iyobe (2014) which tentatively categorized EMI programs into six patterns. Interestingly, many of the universities examined in that study implemented EMI in more than one pattern showing that EMI is perhaps not part of a university-wide consensus-based strategy but rather is being implemented at the departmental level.

6. The Current Study

The current study is based on a survey conducted in the spring and fall of 2014, in which the researcher collected data from universities around Japan known to offer EMI classes. The initial aim of the study was to paint a picture of how and why EMI in Japan was being implemented in order to give EMI program stakeholders a firm foundation upon which to base discussions and decisions.

6.1 Motivations for the Study

Starting in 2008, the researcher was part of a team planning and implementing a small scale EMI program in Japan. This included arguing for the adoption of EMI (Iyobe & Brown, 2011), planning and implementing a faculty development scheme for potential EMI teachers (Iyobe, Brown & Coulson, 2011) and adapting an existing English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program to serve the needs of EMI students (Brown & Adamson,

2012), as well as curriculum planning for the EMI program itself. At all stages of preparation and implementation, one aspect was particularly frustrating: a lack of clear models of Japanese EMI in the literature. There were descriptions of individual EMI programs (see for example Aloiau, 2008; Harshbarger, Morrell & Riney, 2011; Honma, 2003; Sekiya, 2005) and arguments for and against a greater role for EMI (Hanami, 2012; Oku, 2011; Utagawa, 2011); however, there did not appear to be an overall picture of how EMI was developing in Japan.

Without such a picture, there was no way to know how, or even if, the program under development would fit into the larger scheme of EMI in Japan. Thus, a great number of decisions about the EMI program were made without a solid basis for comparison: using CLIL as a bridge from EAP to EMI; making EMI an elective rather than required component of students' studies; limiting the program to social sciences; and focusing on domestic students. These seemed to be reasonable choices given the context in which this particular EMI program was evolving. But were they reasonable choices given the national context? There was no way to tell. Since other aspects of curriculum design decision making at the university were strongly evidence-based (see for example Adamson & Brown, 2012) this was an extremely frustrating process.

This lack of information was especially frustrating in light of the apparent wealth of information available on EMI programs in Europe. Wachter and Maiworm (2008), and Coleman (2006), among others, were providing exactly the sort of big-picture context on the situation in Europe that seemed to be lacking in Japan. Thus, this study was inspired, in a large part, by their work.

Thus, this study grew out of a desire for confirmation that the researcher's own program was on the right track so to speak. It was hoped that a clear picture of how and why EMI was being implemented around Japan would provide a solid foundation for discussion and decision making, not only for the researcher's own program, but for others in development as well.

6.2 Data Collection

In order to gather more detailed information about the implementation of EMI in Japan, data collection for this study was based on a written survey. The survey was developed based on trends arising in a pilot study of eight Japanese universities with EMI programs (Brown & Iyobe, 2014). That study identified patterns of EMI implementation, and pointed to a range of models in which EMI classes were being delivered. However, the small-scale pilot study could not give an indication of how widespread any given model of EMI was. Thus, a wider-scale approach was deemed necessary.

6.2.1 Design of the Survey

Survey questions were developed based on the general outline of survey

research described in Newman and MacNeil (1998). First, considering the purpose of the survey, a series of questions was developed. These were based on trends and patterns arising in the pilot study (Brown & Iyobe, 2014), along with inspiration from survey items in Wachter and Maiworm's (2008) overview of English-taught programs in Europe. The researcher's own experiences working in the implementation of an EMI program also contributed to the development of some survey items. These survey items were edited and changed several times in consultation with colleagues.

Then, the survey was piloted, first with stakeholders from the researcher's own EMI program and later with stakeholders from EMI programs at six of the eight universities visited in the pilot study. Several items were rewritten for clarity or deleted on grounds of redundancy based on feedback from these trial participants. The survey items were then translated into Japanese to allow for bilingual distribution. The translation was done by a Japanese-English bilingual translator and checked through back-translation into English. The Japanese version of the survey was also piloted with stakeholders from the researcher's EMI program and participants from the pilot study and revised accordingly.

The final survey (see Appendix A) consisted of 38 items. Eight items were demographic in nature, asking for contact information and a general profile of the university. A total of 29 items asked directly for information on the university's EMI programs. Each item was accompanied by a space for open-ended free comments. One final item, an offer to share a summary of results with all respondents, was added based on feedback from administrators at the researcher's workplace. This kind of offer is common practice when university administrators in Japan consult with or collect data from each other. It is considered common courtesy and is thought to encourage a higher response rate.

One other strategy was used to encourage a higher response rate. This study is funded through the Grants in Aid for Scientific Research program, funded by the Japanese government. These grants are considered fairly prestigious and faculty members are often encouraged by administrators to apply for funding from this program. In fact, annual applications are required at some universities (O'Dowd & Elmes, 2012). On advice from staff at the researcher's own university, care was taken to mention this funding in the cover letter for the survey, as this was thought to make the survey project more legitimate in the eyes of administrators and faculty members.

6.2.2 The Survey Sample

The next step in the survey process was to identify the sample to which the survey would be distributed. Generally, care must be taken to ensure that the sample is representative of the wider population (De Vasus, 2002). However, in this case, it was possible to distribute the survey to the entire relevant population because universities offering EMI in Japan had

previously been identified by MEXT as part of their monitoring of curriculum developments in higher education. After reading MEXT reports on curriculum development (2009a; 2011) the researcher contacted ministry staff to enquire about further details. Following that contact, MEXT provided lists of universities which had self-reported that they offered EMI in 2009 and 2011 and these became the basis of the survey mailing list. Due to questions about the accuracy of the lists, discussed in the limitations section below, the decision was made to send the survey to universities on either list. Combining the 2009 and 2011 lists, a total of 258 universities were identified as potential respondents.

While it was possible to know the entire extent of the sample population at the institutional level, the challenge came in identifying the actual respondents at each university. In their overview of European programs, Wachter and Maiworm (2008) used a two-tiered approach. They first conducted an institutional-level survey which they sent to Erasmus Coordinators at universities across Europe. Then, based on those results, they identified program heads to be approached for the program-level survey. However, in Japanese universities, coordinators and program heads are often not so clearly defined. In fact, one finding of the pilot study for this project (Brown & Iyobe, 2014) was a clear lack of consistency in program naming, positioning, and affiliation. In addition, the European study focused on English-taught programs, where the entire degree is delivered in English. In Japan, very few such programs exist. Only approximately 27 universities in Japan offered undergraduate full-degree English-taught programs as of 2013 and the bulk of universities offer EMI in smaller scale programs or on an ad hoc basis. So, addressing the survey to program heads would limit the amount of possible data to be collected by eliminating EMI offered outside a formalized degree program.

The possibility of addressing the survey to department deans was also explored. Huang and Daizen (2014) conducted a survey of internationalization and global human resources development at universities in Japan based on contacts with deans of departments. However, results of the pilot study for this project (Brown & Iyobe, 2014), showed that deans may not be fully aware of or involved in EMI implementation due to communication or micro-political issues, and thus may not be direct stakeholders in EMI innovations.

In the end, the decision was made to allow for participant self-selection at relevant universities. After consultations with stakeholders in the researcher's own university, it was decided that the general affairs office was likely the most productive addressee for the survey. In Japanese universities, the general affairs office, known in Japanese as the *soumuka*, tends to act as a sort of clearing house for communication from outside the university. Invitations to research seminars, information requests from the public or media and surveys like the one used in this project are among the things covered under the umbrella-term *general affairs*. Part of this office's

function is to distribute such correspondence to the faculty or staff member concerned, even when it is not directly addressed to a given individual. As such, the staff in the general affairs office tend to have a wide, albeit shallow, knowledge of activities and programs throughout the university. And so, the survey was sent to the general affairs desk at 258 universities with a bilingual cover letter (See Appendix B) asking the staff to forward the request for information to the faculty member or administrator most appropriate to answer questions about the university's EMI classes.

However, before the surveys could be sent, there was one more necessary step. The lists of universities offering EMI provided by MEXT gave only the university name; no contact information was given. So email and physical addresses needed to be obtained. This was done by a part-time student research assistant gathering information from the universities' websites.

6.2.3 Survey Implementation

Where possible, the survey was sent via email and participants were asked to fill in responses in an online survey form designed using the commercial survey service Survey Monkey. Later, printed surveys were sent to physical addresses for universities which did not list a general affairs contact email, as well as those who had not responded to the electronic survey. Print responses were collected via a self-addressed stamped envelope included with the survey. The electronic version of the survey was administered in the spring of 2014 and the paper version was distributed in the fall of the same year (see Table 2). In both cases a reminder was sent approximately one month after the survey was first sent, by email in the case of the electronic survey and by post in the case of the paper-based survey.

Table 2. Overview of the Survey Implementation

Type of survey	Recipients	Completed survey responses	Other responses	Response rate
Electronic	166	39	7	27.7%
Paper	197[2]	56	13	35.0%
Total	258	95	20	44.6%

The response rate of 44.6% was calculated based on the sum of completed survey responses, both electronic and paper, and other responses including email or telephone contact (see Table 3). Comparing the distribution of national, local public, and private universities in the

[2] Paper surveys were sent to both universities with no publicly available general affairs contact email and to universities which received but did not respond to the electronic survey. Thus some universities received the survey twice.

population to the distribution in the responses (see Table 4), one can see that national universities are somewhat overrepresented among the responses while private universities are slightly underrepresented. In terms of individual respondents, administrators slightly outnumbered faculty members though the large number of unknown responses makes it difficult to be certain of the actual distribution (see Table 5).

Table 3. Summary of Other Responses

Type of response	Number
University does not offer EMI	10
University offered EMI in the past but does not do so now	6
University cannot answer survey because EMI is too ad hoc	2
University cannot answer survey for other reasons	2

Table 4. Breakdown of Responses by Type and Size of University

	National	Public	Private
Total population	21%	9%	69%
Responses	31%	11%	55%
	Small (under 2500 students)	Medium (2500 to 10,000 students)	Large (over 10,000 students)
Responses	23%	50%	22%

Table 5. Breakdown of Responses by Position of Respondent

Type of respondent	Number of responses
Faculty Member	25
Administrator	31
Unknown	39

The 20 other responses (see Table 3) revealed one pattern worth noting. A total of 16 universities, 6% of the population, 14% of responses, contacted the researcher and reported that they do not, or no longer, offer EMI. This calls into question the accuracy of the original MEXT list of universities offering EMI, on which this study is based. This will be discussed further in the limitations of the study section below.

7. Results

Responses from completed surveys were collected and collated. A summary of responses is described below. It should be noted that the total number of responses (n) was 95; however, not all respondents answered every question in the survey. And so, the number of responses for individual questions varies from a low of n=73 to a high of n=95, the full sample. Results are presented here in the order of the survey items as seen in Appendix A.

For each survey item the results of the entire sample are reported below. However, these results were also compared based on two categorizations of the responding universities. Yonezawa, Akiba and Hirouchi (2009) argue that the difference between publicly-funded and private universities is important in how they approach EMI and internationalization and Kudo and Hashimoto (2011) see the size of the university as an important factor. Therefore, statistical tests were conducted to determine if there were significant differences in the results connected to the source of funding or size of the university (see Table 6). Relevant results of these comparisons are described below.

Table 6. Subgroups Compared for Possible Differences

Category	Subgroups
Type of University	National Public Private
	Publically funded (national and public) Privately funded
Size of University	Small (less than 2,500 students) Medium (between 2,500 and 10,000 students) Large (more than 10,000 students)

7.1. Section C[3] – About Undergraduate EMI Classes

Items in this section were designed to elicit information on the general position of EMI programs at responding universities.

Item 7 – Approximately how many students take EMI classes at your university? (n=92)

Results from item 7 (see Table 7) indicate that EMI programs tend to be relatively small. Nearly half of responding universities report that 5% or fewer of their students study in EMI classes. Comparison of the prevalence of various program sizes between private, national, and public universities does not reveal any significant difference in the distribution. However, the distribution of program sizes does seem to be different depending on the size of the university (See Table 8).

[3] Note that sections A and B (items 1-6) covered demographic information only. The description of results begins with section C, item 7.

Table 7. Approximate Size of EMI Programs

Size of EMI program	Number of responses (n)	Percentage of responses (%)
All students	3	3%
Most students	3	3%
About 1/2 of students	2	2%
About ¼ of students	12	12%
About 10% of students	20	21%
5% or fewer of students	45	47%

Table 8. Comparison of EMI Program Sizes Based on Size of the University

Program Size	Whole Sample		Small		Medium		Large	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Less than 5% of students	45	48%	7	35%	27	61%	11	57%
Approximately 10% of students	20	21%	4	20%	9	20%	6	32%
Approximately ¼ of students	12	13%	4	20%	8	18%	0	0%
Approximately ½ of students	2	2%	2	10%	0	0%	0	0%
Most students	3	3%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%
All students	3	3%	2	10%	0	0%	1	6%

It seems that large and medium-sized universities more often have relatively small EMI programs. 57% of large universities and 61% of medium-sized universities reported that their EMI program serves fewer than 5% of their students, while only 35% of small universities reported the smallest program size. In general, there seems to be more variety in program size among smaller universities. These differences are considered significant based on a chi square test result showing p=0.0304. These results may indicate that EMI programs tend to be roughly the same size regardless of the size of the university.

Item 8 – When did your university begin offering EMI classes? (n=90)

Results from item 8 (see Figure 1) show that more than one third of

responding universities report that their EMI program began before 2000. This may be somewhat inconsistent with the general view expressed in the literature, which implies that EMI is a new phenomenon in Japan. However, it is important to remember that the development of EMI programs prior to 2000 was during the government's first drive towards internationalization, when many universities were encouraged to develop short-term EMI programs for visiting international students (Tsuneyoshi (2005) .

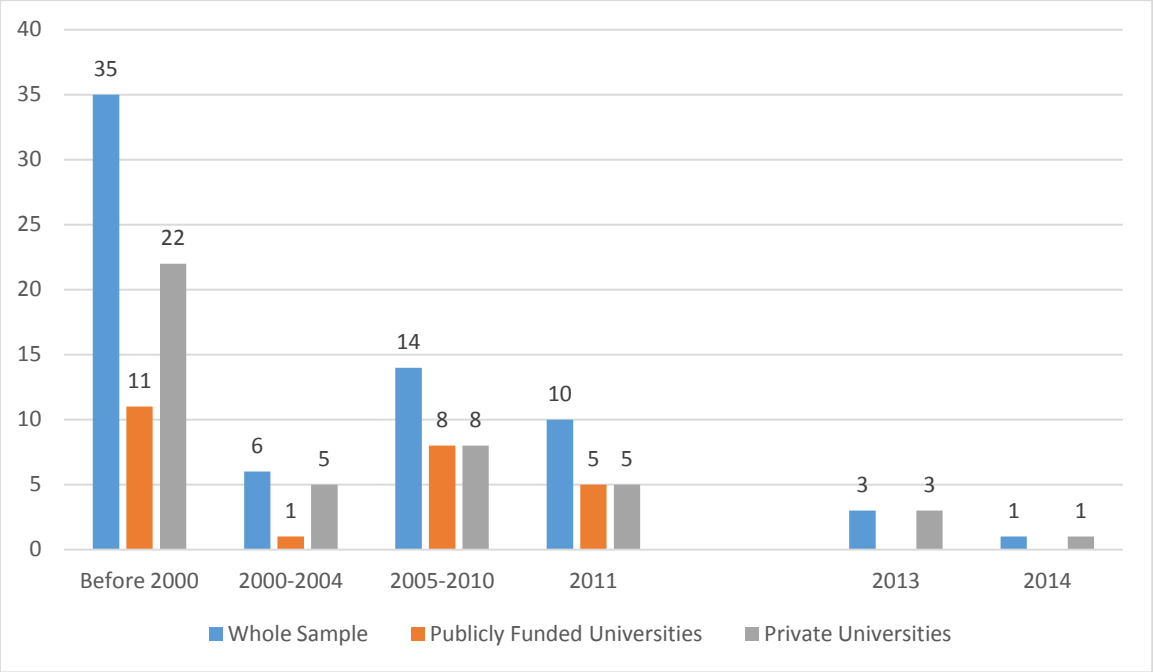

Figure 1. EMI Program Starting Year

These early programs were perhaps even smaller than the current programs and were clearly focused on incoming international students. This group may also represent a few older top-level private universities which have had elite-stream English-taught programs since shortly after World War II. However, it is important to note that the survey questions asked when universities began offering EMI. Their response to this question may not represent when their current EMI programs began. That is, results of this item represent when EMI in some form or another began at the responding universities. As seen above, there is reason to believe that some of the EMI programs begun before 2000 have grown and changed considerably, or in some cases, have been replaced by newer EMI programs with different structures and different aims.

A comparison of subgroups shows no significant differences in term of the year of beginning to offer EMI. This is an interesting finding in light of the MEXT reports (see Table 1) which seem to show a difference in when publicly funded and private universities implemented EMI. According to those government figures, much of the current growth in EMI is seen in private universities while the number of public or national universities

offering EMI is rather stable. However, the results of item 8 do not seem to bear out this trend.

Item 9 – How important are each of the following reasons for offering EMI classes at your university? (n=82)

Item nine explored rationales for implementing EMI programs (see Table 9). Looking at the mean scores given for each possible rationale on a Likert scale, one can note some interesting differences from what is seen in the literature as discussed above. The common image of EMI used for promotion of the university is not seen here. Both the position of the university on ranking lists and competitiveness with rivals are rated below 3, while improving the profile of the university is just above 3. Also, the often-cited view that EMI is being implemented in response to government pressure to attract international students does not seem to be borne out by these results. Rather, EMI appears, in these results at least, to be linked more directly to the needs of the domestic student population. Domestic students' language proficiency and their post-graduation workplace needs were rated at 4.4.

Table 9. Possible Rationales for Implementing EMI (Likert Scale Results)

	Mean	Mode
To attract foreign students	3.1	5
To attract domestic students	3.4	4
To prepare domestic students for the demands of international / global markets	4.4	5
To improve the profile of the university	3.2	3
To improve the English language skills of domestic students	4.4	5
To respond to the government push for internationalization of education	3.2	3
To maintain competitiveness with rival universities	2.9	3
To improve the position of the university on ranking lists	2.6	3
To offer content which is better taught in English	3.4	3

One thing should be noted as a possible explanation for this apparent difference in results. Respondents for this survey were direct stakeholders in EMI programs. They were, perhaps, in a position of implementer rather than decision maker. Top-level university leadership may have given a different set of responses if asked about their rationales for deciding to implement EMI. There were no significant differences seen among subgroups.

Item 10 – Have there been any significant changes in your university's undergraduate EMI classes since their inception? (Please check all that apply) (n=95)

Responses from item 10 (see Table 19) show that nearly half of responding universities have not experienced significant changes in their EMI programs since they were implemented. Although interestingly, eight universities that indicated they had no significant changes also selected other responses, which may indicate an issue with the clarity of this item.

Table 10. Overview of Changes in EMI Programs

Response	Number of responses	% of sample
No significant changes	45	47%
Growth in student numbers	8	8%%
Decrease in student numbers	0	0%
Increase in the number of classes offered	23	24%
Decrease in the number of classes offered	2	2%
Shift from international students to domestic students	0	0%
Shift from domestic students to international students	2	2%
Change from loose coordination to a more formalized program	16	16%
Change from a formal program to more loose coordination	1	1%

Looking at changes that have been reported, the results seem to be positive in terms of EMI program development. Many programs appear to be growing, both in terms of number of classes and, to a lesser extent, number of students. Also, some programs seem to be moving towards more coordination as they grow. Only two universities reported a decrease in program size since the program began, and neither of these reported a drop in student numbers. Both of these were national universities and this was seen to be significantly different based on the results of a chi square test ($p=0.0124$) comparing national to private and public universities. No other significant differences among subgroups were found for this item.

For this item, there were several free comments pointing out changes and developments not anticipated by the researcher at the time of writing the survey item:

- Starting in 2015, at least one EMI class will be required for all students.
- We have moved away from teacher-centered class practice in EMI.
- The program is expanding as we make relationships with more overseas partner universities.
- Since we have implemented EMI, the students' language

proficiency has notably increased.

- The burden on faculty is very heavy.
- The students' English level has improved and their international perspective has widened.

Item 11 – Is your university planning to expand undergraduate EMI offerings? (n= 75)

Results from this item are also positive in terms of EMI program development (see Figure 2). 77% of responding universities are either currently expanding or plan to expand EMI their programs. Interestingly, this expansion is largely seen in publicly funded universities. Comparisons of subgroups using a chi square test shows a significant difference (p=0.00428) between university types. Nearly all (96%) publicly-funded universities in the sample are either currently expanding or planning to expand their EMI programs while more than one third of private universities have no expansion plans.

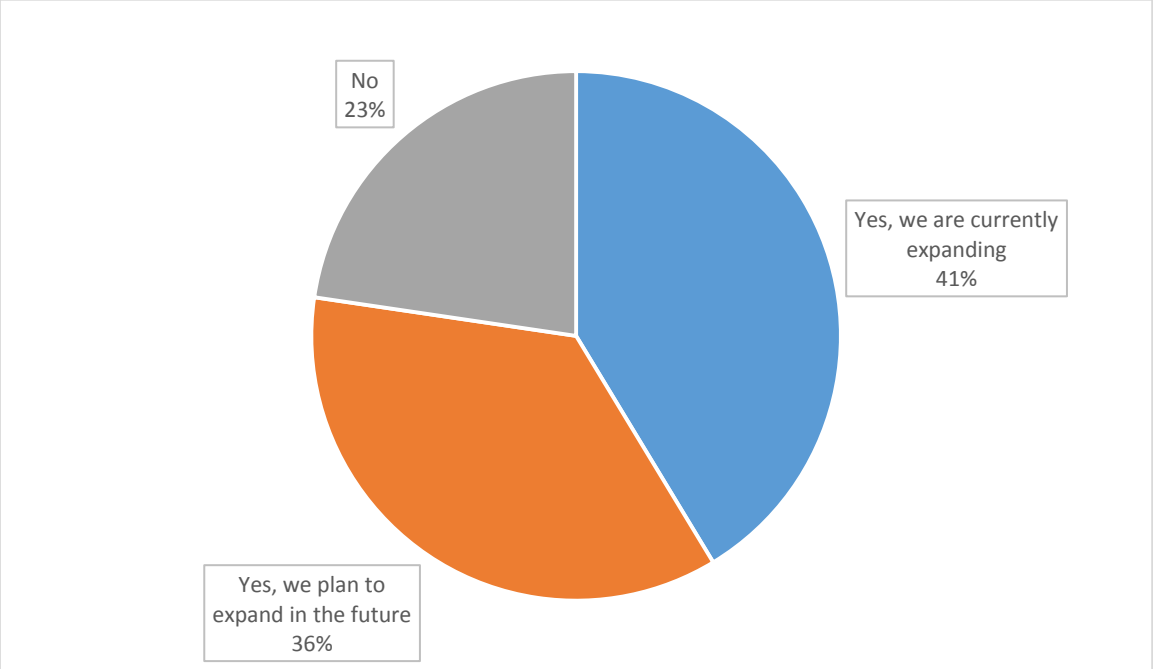

Figure 2. Expansion Plans in EMI Programs

Taken together with the results of item 8 on EMI program starting year, these results seem to contradict the sense, from the MEXT official figures on EMI programs (see Table 1), that much of the current expansion is taking place in private universities. However, it should be noted that the MEXT figures count universities which are beginning to offer EMI for the first time. The results of item 11 on the other hand, show expansion of or additions to existing EMI programs. So, while more private universities seem to be adopting EMI for the first time, more publicly-funded

universities are developing previously-implemented programs.

One free comment for this item highlights one of the factors driving EMI growth in Japan. "Starting now, we will expand EMI programs as a response to globalization and internationalization of higher education." Another comment shows how a successful precedent can be valuable in spreading EMI.

> We have had a successful EMI program in our Economics department for several years. Starting in 2014, this will be expanded to all departments in the university (except nursing).

Item 12 – What role does EMI play in the marketing of your university? (n=89)

Results from item 12 (see Figure 3) seem to indicate that EMI plays a role in marketing for most responding universities and a significant role at some (see Figure 3). EMI appears to be a somewhat more important factor in marketing for domestic than for international students.

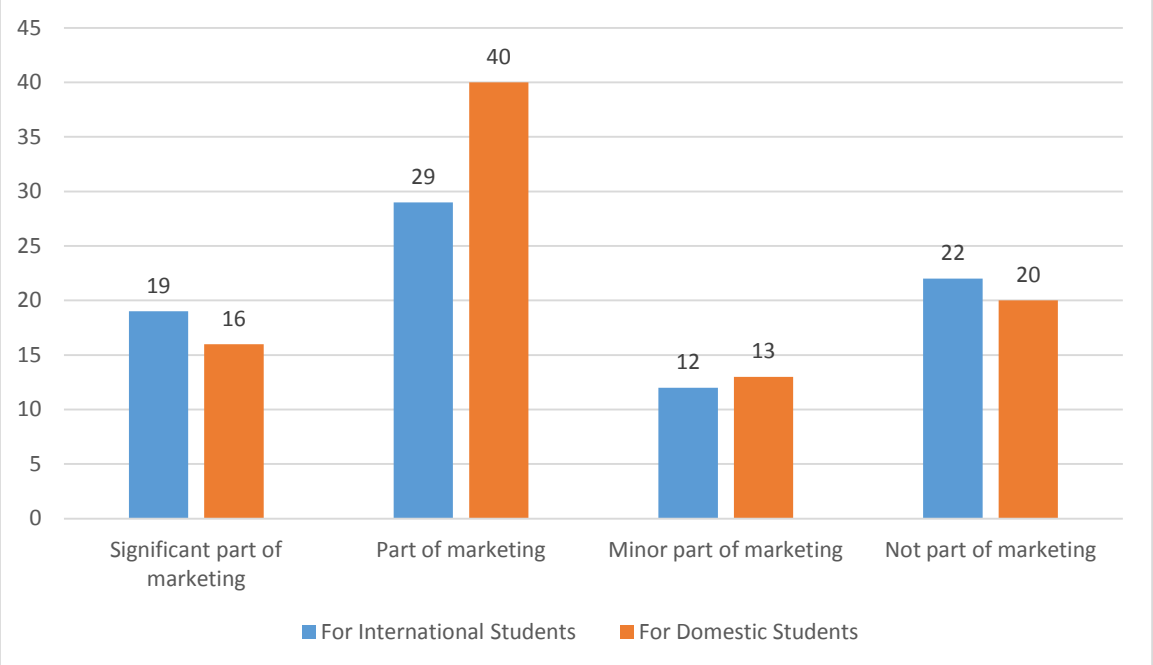

Figure 3. The Role of EMI in Marketing at Universities

However, at a surprisingly large number of universities, EMI is not part of marketing at all. There appear to be no significant differences in the role of marketing among the subgroups studied. One free comment may shed some light on why EMI is not part of marketing at some universities. One public university respondent said,

> The program stakeholders and the recruiting office want to make more use of EMI in marketing but it is difficult because some people in the faculty still oppose EMI.

EMI continues to be controversial at many universities. Findings from the pilot study (Brown, 2014) have shown the EMI programs are sometimes implemented in a fractured and hostile micro-political climate. This may make it difficult for EMI programs to be used to their full advantage in university marketing in some contexts.

Item 13 – Does your university provide Faculty Development (FD) specifically for EMI teachers? (n=91)

Results from item 13 show that, somewhat unsurprisingly, 53 respondents (58%) reported that they have no FD program for EMI faculty members. This trend is somewhat more pronounced among private universities, where 67 % offer no special FD for EMI faculty as opposed to 46% of publicly funded universities (chi square test result p=0.00161).

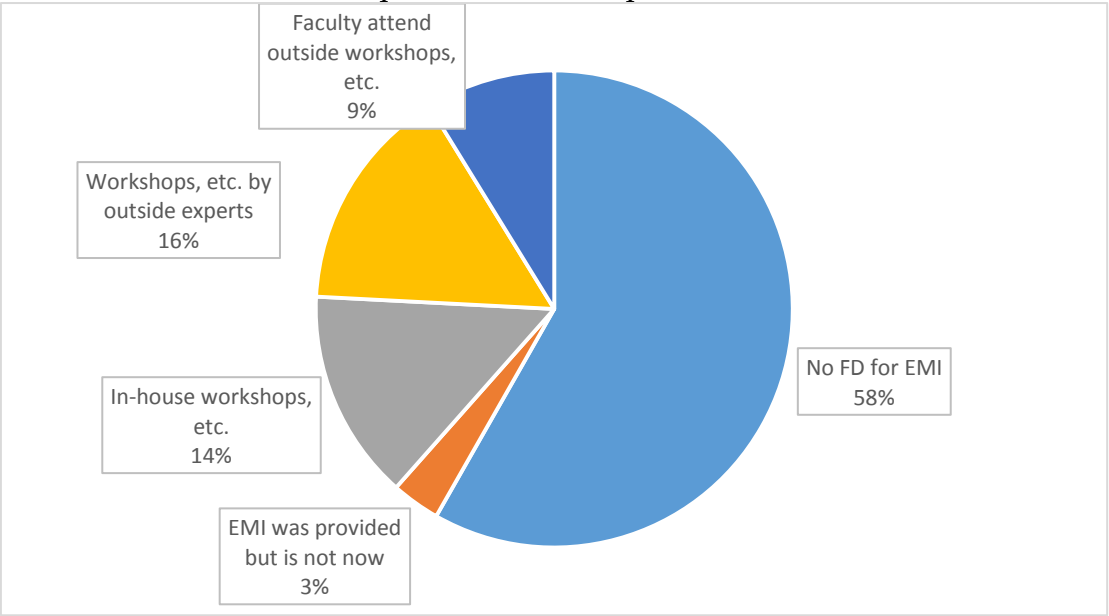

Figure 4. Universities Providing Faculty Development (FD) for EMI

Where FD efforts are in place, workshops and seminars by outside experts are the most popular. Interestingly, the type of FD activities preferred by private and publicly-funded universities seems to differ, with private universities seeming to more often send faculty members to outside workshops and seminars (see Table 11).

Table 11. Distribution of FD Activities Offered by Publicly-Funded and Private Universities (chi square test result p= 0.00143)

Type of FD Activity	Publicly Funded		Private	
	n	%	n	%
In-house workshops,	9	47%	3	23%

seminars, etc.				
Workshops, seminars, etc. by external experts	10	53%	3	23%
Faculty sent to outside EMI training	0	0%	7	54%

Item 14 – How often are the EMI-related FD sessions offered? (n=24)

Item 14 (see Table 12) was only asked of the 35 universities reporting that they did offer EMI related FD activities. Interestingly, among universities that offer FD for their EMI faculty, such training seems to normally be available at least once a year. So, while item 13 shows that FD is not common for EMI programs, where it is offered, a great deal of it is offered.

Table 12. Frequency of EMI Related FD Activities

Frequency of FD sessions	Number of responses
Several times per year	10
Once per year	7
Less than once per year	6

Item 15 – Based on your university's experience, what factors would you say are important in establishing a successful EMI program? (n=82)

It seems clear from the results of item 15 (see Table 13) that faculty members are seen as the key to success in EMI programs. The single highest-rated response was qualified faculty members and the support and understanding of faculty members were also highly rated. Effective faculty development and communication among faculty members were also considered important. Other important factors were a clearly structured program and effective language support for students. There does not appear to be a significant difference between publicly-funded, and private universities or among small, medium-sized and large universities in this item.

Table 13. Factors for Success in EMI Implementation

	Mean	Mode
Qualified faculty members	4.7	5
Support from university administrators	3.9	4
Support of leading faculty members	4.2	5
Faculty-wide understanding of EMI	4.3	5
Effective Faculty Development efforts	4.2	5
Strict entry requirements for students	3.1	3

Demand from students	3.7	4
Effective language support for students	4.1	4
Effective marketing	3.1	3
Strong communication between participating faculty members	4.0	4
Clearly structured program	4.0	4

One free comment for this item identified an important factor which was not anticipated by the researcher. "Incentives for faculty" was identified as a key issue by a respondent from a private university.

Item 16 – At your university, can students earn an entire degree in English-medium classes? (n=94)

This item was included at the end of Section C as it determined whether or not respondents would answer questions in Section D. Eleven universities reported that they offer full-degree English-taught programs (see Figure 5). Interestingly, all universities offering ETPs were national or private universities. None were local public universities.

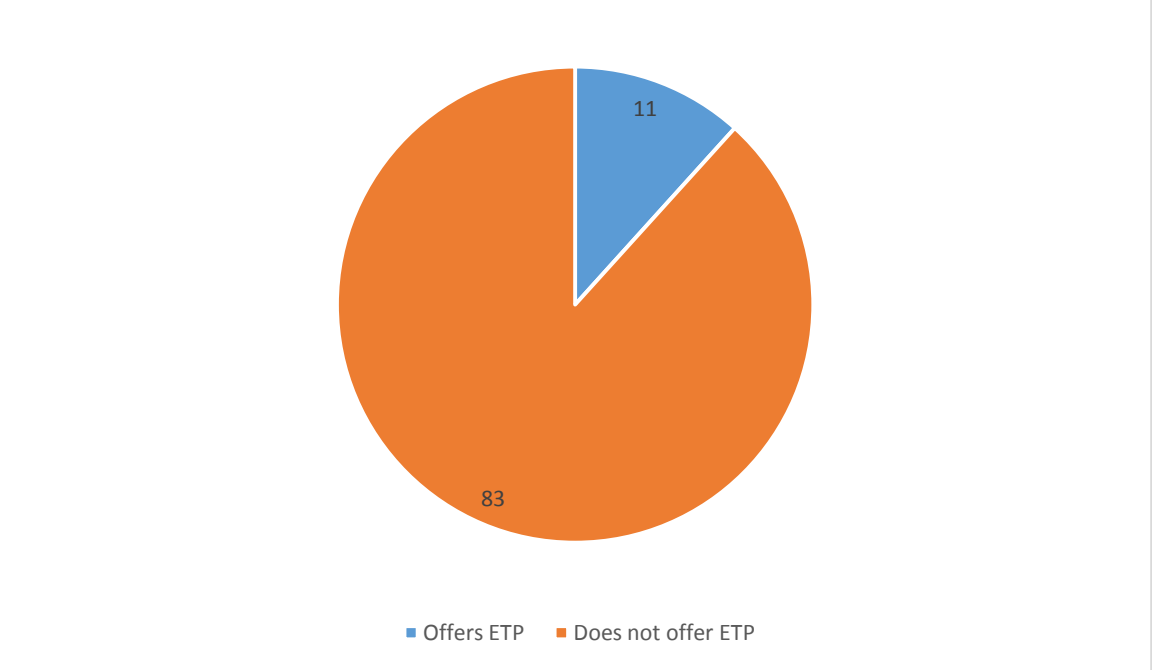

Figure 5. Universities Offering Full-degree English-taught Programs

7.2 Section D – About Full-degree EMI Programs

Items in this section were designed to elicit information specifically about full-degree English-taught programs (ETP). Though in item 16, 11 universities reported that they have ETPs, there were a total of 9 respondents for items in this section. This seems like a very small number of respondents; however, it is consistent with the response rate for the survey as a whole and the overall distribution of undergraduate ETPs in Japan. As of 2013, only approximately[4] 27 universities offered a full-degree taught in English. Due to the small number of responses, differences among subgroups were not explored.

Item 17 – Which of the following best describes the students in your full degree EMI program? (n = 9)

In the results for this item (see Table 14), the focus of ETPs on international students among responding universities is clear. Two thirds of respondents reported that their ETP students were all or predominately international. This is in contrast to the focus on domestic students seen in item 9. This is perhaps not surprising given that fully half of the universities offering ETPs implemented those programs as part of the G30 funding scheme which was designed to attract international students into ETPs at Japanese universities.

Table 14. Breakdown of Students in ETPs

	Number of responses
All international students	4
Predominately international students	2
A balance of international and domestic students	1
Predominately domestic students	2
All domestic students	0

Item 18 – In which fields does your university offer EMI degrees? (n=9)

[4] The number of English-taught programs in Japan is somewhat difficult to quantify. Available government figures are out of date and are based on a count of only ETPs directly supported by government funding schemes. Also, under the strictest definition of ETPs, all classes in the student's degree program must be taught in English. However, in some Japanese ETPs all required classes are taught in English while students may choose elective classes in either English or Japanese. In addition, many ETPs require that international students take a token number of classes in Japanese language and culture which are taught, at least partially, in Japanese. These factors make counting ETPs in Japan somewhat problematic and so the figure of 27 universities offering ETPs in Japan is an approximate figure at best. This number is expected to rise as the universities funded through the Top Global funding scheme add new ETPs starting in the 2015 academic year.

Results from this item show a clear focus on technical and professional fields as well as natural sciences (see Table 15). This is in contrast to Hashimoto's (2013) assertion that EMI in Japan focuses on natural sciences and technical fields at the graduate level but on humanities and social sciences for undergraduate students. However, this is consistent with the ETP programs offered by the G30 funded universities, as described on the Global 30 official website (2015).

Table 15. Fields Offered in ETPs

	Number of responses
Technical / professional fields (engineering, etc)	9
Education	2
Humanities	4
Social Sciences	3
Natural Sciences	5
Medicine, dentistry, nursing, etc.	0

Item 19 – Are there language requirements for entry into your full-degree EMI program? (n=9)

From the results of item 19 (see Figure 6), we can see that external language proficiency tests (TOEFL, IELTS, etc.) are part of the entry requirements for many ETPs in Japan. This is, of course, consistent with the standard notion that incoming students must show proficiency in the program language. However, it is interesting to note that two universities reported having no language proficiency benchmarks for entry into the ETP. It is unclear how these two universities ensure that incoming students are able to follow the program.

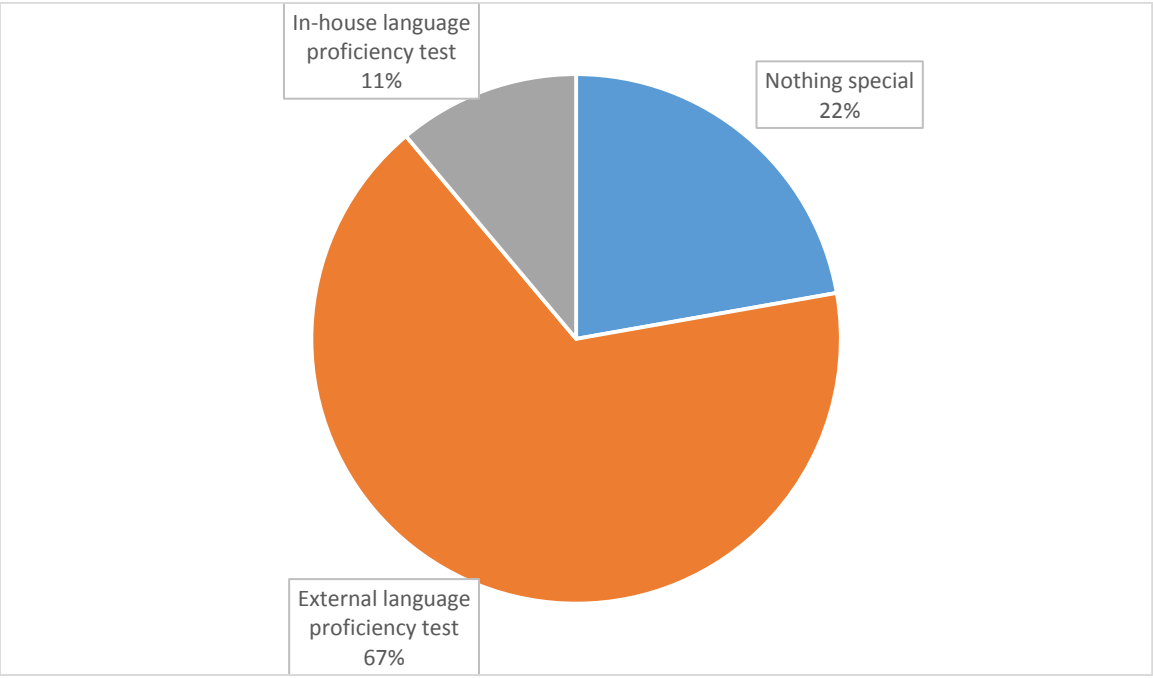

Figure 6. Entry Requirements for ETPs

There were two free comments for this item. One university reported that, in terms of language proficiency entry requirements, "It depends on the department." Another reported that "TOEFL or TOEIC scores are required with the application but there is no clear cut-off benchmark".

Item 20 – Do students participating in the full-degree EMI program receive language training? (n=9)

There are two points of note in the result of item 20 (see table 16). First, the number of universities offering EAP classes for ETP students is relatively small, perhaps indicating an assumption that students who have passed the external proficiency test required for entry (see item 19) do not require further language support. This could also be seen as an indication that, as discussed in the literature review above, some universities in Japan see ETPs rather simplistically and are underestimating the needs of the students (Chappele, 2014; Hamid, Nguyen and Baldauf, 2013).

Table 16. Language Training for Students in ETPs

	Number of responses
Nothing special	4
General English classes	0
English for Academic Purposes (EAP) classes	3
Japanese language classes	6

Also, when combined with the results of item 17, the fact that 2/3 of responding universities offer Japanese language classes to their ETP students indicates a focus on international students in ETPs. It should be noted that Japanese language and culture classes are mandatory in G30-funded ETPs.

Item 21 – Who are the important stakeholders promoting the full-degree EMI program at your university? (n = 9)

Results from item 21 (see Table 17) seem to indicate that support for the full-degree ETP programs at responding universities is fairly evenly spread among faculty, administration, and university leadership. However, there does not seem to be much representation of students' voices.

Table 17. Stakeholders Supporting ETPs

	Number of responses
University administration	5
President, vice president, etc.	6
Department level administration	4
Department level faculty	5
Individual faculty members	6
Deans / Department heads	4
International relations office	4
Student union / Student association	1

Item 22 - Did your university experience any significant challenges related to the full-degree EMI program in the following areas? (n = 9)

Looking at the results of item 222 (see Table 18), the key issues facing ETPs in Japan seem to be connected to recruiting faculty members. Lack of understanding and low language proficiency among faculty were noted by two respondents and five universities reported a lack of interest in teaching in the ETP. This is consistent with Ishikawa's (2011) concerns about the lack of qualified faculty to take on EMI and a lack of enthusiasm among those faculty members who are qualified. It also reflects Yonezawa, Akiba and Hirouchi's (2009) worry that academics appear to be under-prepared for the internationalization of higher education.

Table 18. Issues Facing ETPs

	Number of responses
Insufficient language ability of international students	1

Insufficient language ability of domestic students	1
Active opposition from faculty members	0
Lack of understanding from faculty members	2
Active opposition from administrators	0
Lack of understanding from administrators	1
Insufficient language ability of faculty	2
Lack of interest in teaching EMI among faculty	5
Difficulties with teaching ability of faculty	1
High dropout rate in EMI classes	1

Item 23 - Which of the following best describes the faculty teaching in your full-degree EMI program? (n = 9)

It is clear from these results (see Table 19) that even though the students are primarily international, the faculty involved in full-degree ETPs in Japan are primarily domestic, Japanese faculty members.

Table 19. Breakdown of ETP Faculty by Nationality

	Number of responses
All foreign faculty, native speakers of English	0
All foreign faculty from a variety of language backgrounds	0
Primarily foreign faculty, native speakers of English	1
Primarily foreign faculty from a variety of language backgrounds	0
Balance of foreign and Japanese faculty	2
Primarily Japanese faculty	4
All Japanese faculty	2

Item 24 - Which of the following best describes the academic background of the faculty teaching in your full-degree EMI program? (n = 9)

Taken together, results from item 23 (see Table 19) and item 24 (see Table 20) reveal a fairly clear image of the faculty of a typical ETP in Japan - it is primarily composed of Japanese content specialists.

Table 20. Breakdown of ETP Faculty by Academic Background

	Number of responses

Content specialists	3
Primarily content specialists	3
Mixed content specialists and language teachers	3
Primarily language teachers	0
Language teachers	0

7.3 Section E – About EMI Classes that are not Part of a Full-degree EMI Program

In this section, questions referred to EMI classes that were offered at responding universities outside full-degree programs. In some cases, these classes were a required element of the curriculum, though not a full degree. In other cases, they were elective, part of a program, or sometimes a single class which students chose to join. Students do earn credits towards graduation for these classes, but they form only a part of the student's studies.

Item 26[5] - Which of the following best describes the students in EMI classes that are not part of an EMI program at your university? (n = 77)

Findings from item 26 (see Table 21) indicate a clear focus on domestic students. At nearly half of responding universities, the EMI students predominately come from inside Japan and nine report that their EMI students are entirely domestic. This is consistent with the findings from item 9 which showed that rationales for offering EMI classes seemed to be tied to domestic students' needs. However, this focus on domestic students in non-degree EMI programs can be contrasted with the focus on international students in ETPs seen in item 17.

Table 21. Breakdown of Students in EMI Classes

	Number of responses
All international students in a degree program	3
All short-term international students	4
Predominately international students in a degree program	5
Predominately short-term international students	2
A balance of international and domestic students	12
Predominately domestic students	42
All domestic students	9

Interestingly, when EMI program students come primarily from abroad, they seem to be roughly balanced between two groups. Some are

[5] Item 25 was a housekeeping item intended to move respondents on to the next section. Its results are not discussed here.

international students doing their entire degree at the university, though perhaps not a full English-taught degree. Others are short-term students on exchange from partner universities abroad or visiting on semester-abroad programs.

Item 27 – Who are the EMI classes primarily designed for? (n= 86)

Taken together with findings from item 26 (see Table 21), the results of item 27 (see Table 22) once again emphasize the focus on domestic students in non-degree EMI programs. The question of whom the programs are designed for arose due to an interesting finding from the pilot study (Brown & Iyobe, 2014). Two participants in that study indicated that their universities' EMI programs were initially designed for incoming short-term international students and were opened to domestic students as something of an afterthought. But as time went on, these programs proved to be more popular with domestic students and the programs needed to be redesigned for this new reality. However, findings from this item seem to indicate that current EMI programs were designed with domestic students in mind from the outset.

Table 22. Program Design in EMI

	Number of responses
International students in a degree program	12
Short term international students	24
Domestic students	67

Additional comments from respondents seem to indicate that universities may have multiple EMI programs. Two universities reported that they have separate programs, with separate curriculum designs for short-term international students and for full-time domestic students.

Item 28 - In which fields does your university offer EMI classes? (n=82)

The findings from item 28 (see Table 23) show that more than 60% of undergraduate EMI programs are offered in the humanities and social sciences while natural science programs are the third most common offering. These findings seem to be consistent with Hashimoto's claim that undergraduate EMI programs are largely offered in the humanities and social sciences (2013). This differs, however, from the findings of item 18 (see Table 15) which showed that undergraduate full-degree ETPs are offered mainly in technical fields or natural sciences.

Table 23. Fields Offered in EMI

	Number of Responses

Technical / professional fields	13
Education	16
Humanities	57
Social Sciences	38
Natural Sciences	25
Medicine, dentistry, nursing, etc.	9

Interestingly, the distribution of fields offered in private and publicly funded universities seems to be quite different. Private universities' EMI programs are largely focused on the humanities and social sciences, with more than 75% of programs offered in these two areas. These two fields are dominant at publicly-funded universities as well, but there is much more variety in the fields available with a considerable number of programs in the natural sciences and education also offered (see Table 24). This difference is considered significant based on a chi square test result, p=0.00572.

Table 24. Fields Offered in EMI (Publicly-funded vs. Private Universities)

	Publicly-funded		Private	
	n	%	n	%
Technical / professional fields	8	10%	4	7%
Education	11	14%	3	5%
Humanities	20	25%	30	50%
Social Sciences	17	21%	17	28%
Natural Sciences	17	21%	5	8%
Medicine, dentistry, nursing, etc.	7	9%	1	2%

Item 29 - Are there any language requirements for entry into your EMI classes? (n=81)

The findings from this item (see Figure 7) are striking in that they show that 70% of responding universities have no formal language proficiency benchmarks for incoming students. Only one quarter of respondents said they use external tests which could be considered the international norm (TOEFL, etc.). Looking again at item 26, we can see that the students are primarily domestic, so it seems unlikely that universities can safely assume that they have sufficient proficiency. It is unclear how universities without benchmarks are ensuring that students have sufficient language proficiency. This lack of benchmarks is consistent with the findings of the pilot study (Brown & Iyobe, 2014). Participants in that study reported that direct program stakeholders wanted to establish such benchmarks but found it politically and logistically difficult to do so.

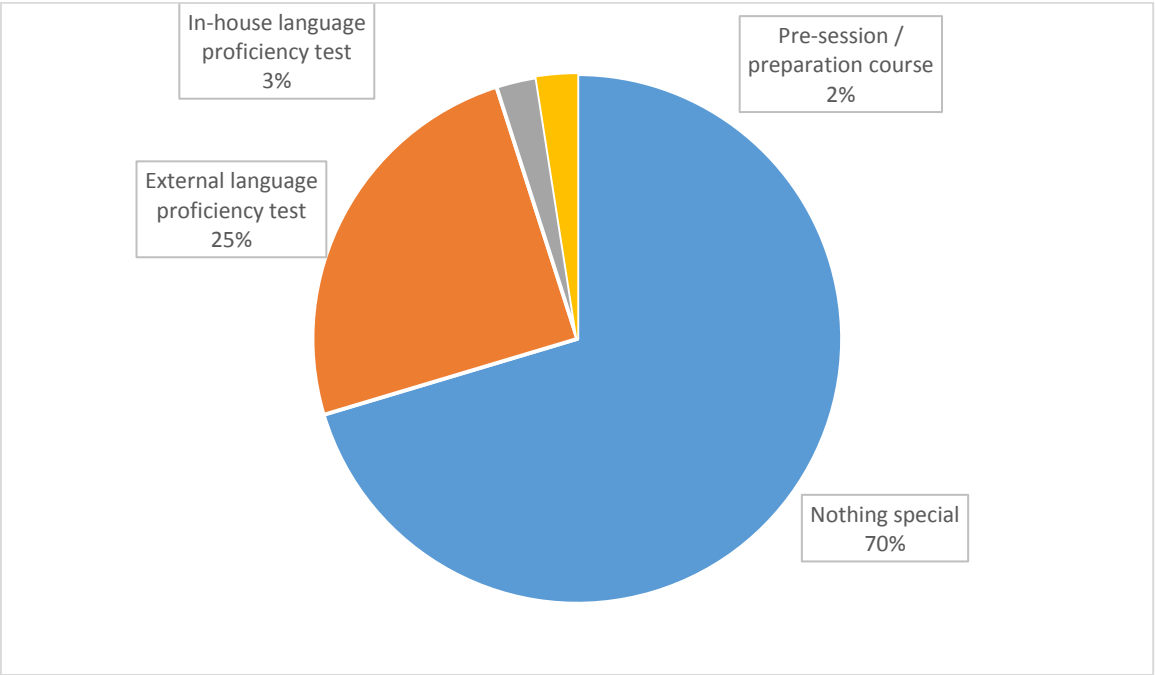

Figure 7. Entry Requirements for EMI Classes

Item 30 - Which of the following best describes the organization and position of EMI classes in your curriculum? If your university has more than one EMI program, please choose all that apply. (n=91)

The category descriptions used in item 30 are based on findings from the pilot study (Brown & Iyobe, 2014), which showed a great deal of variety in how EMI classes are being implemented. According to these results (see Table 25), the most common pattern for EMI implementation is an ad hoc delivery and semi-structured programs are the second most commonly seen. This, combined with the results on program size seen in item 7 reinforce the image that EMI is somewhat peripheral at Japanese universities. While two respondents did add comments saying that their EMI program was a central part of their curriculum, by and large, EMI programs are not integrated into the students' mainstream learning experiences.

Table 25. EMI Program Structure

Programs Type	Description	Number of responses
Ad hoc	A few EMI classes across the curriculum. Not	40

	a significant part of the curriculum.	
Semi-structured	EMI positioned within a given department. Several classes related to students' major are taught in English. May have some structure but not formally recognized as a program.	26
Integrated	EMI positioned within a given department as a formalized program. May have entry / exit benchmarks and completion requirements. May have a certificate of completion / diploma.	14
+α	EMI program serving students from several departments. EMI credits offered in addition to major. Possibly run parallel to program for incoming exchange students. May have a formal program name and a certificate of completion / diploma.	11

Item 31 - Do students receive recognition for completing EMI classes beyond the appropriate credits? (n=84)

For item 31 (see Figure 8), 64 universities, more than 3/4 of the respondents, reported that students who complete EMI classes receive no recognition. This finding seems to be even more apparent at larger universities. More than 65% of small universities offer no special recognition for EMI programs while at medium-sized universities the rate is 92%; 72% of larger universities offer no recognition. This difference is considered marginally significant with p=0.0526.

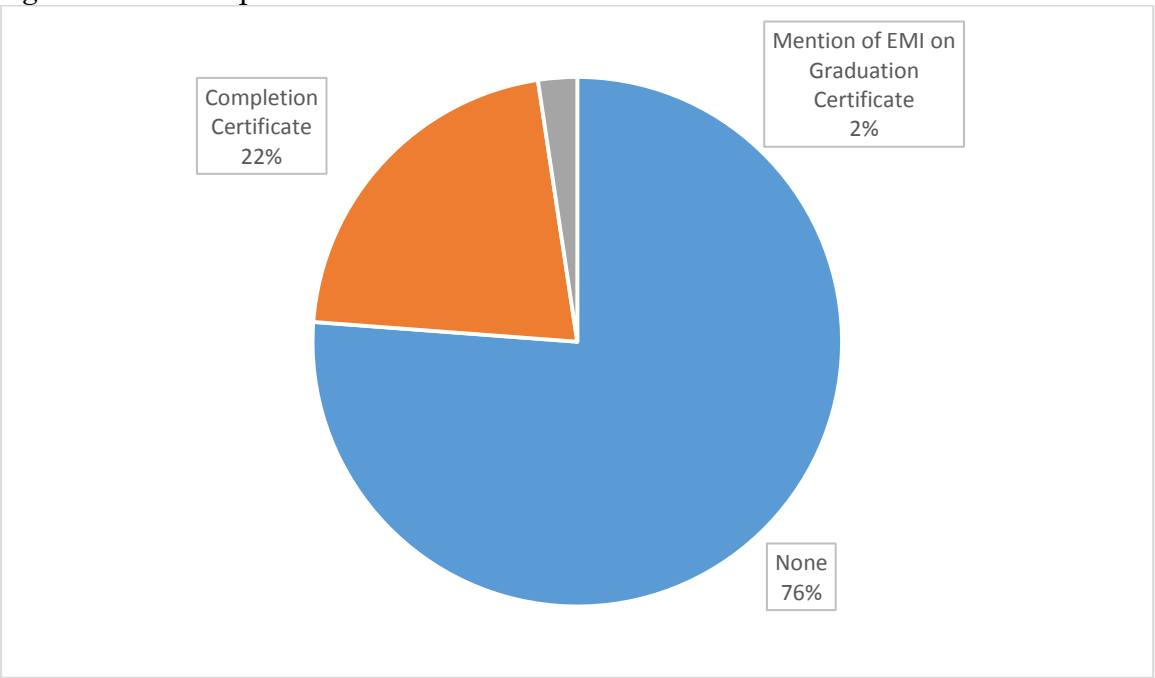

Figure 8. Recognition for Completion of EMI Programs

This finding seems to confirm the peripheral positioning of EMI on many campuses. However, it may also be related to the large number of ad hoc programs, as seen in item 30. It may be only natural that in an ad hoc program, there is no mechanism available for offering recognition to students who have completed it. There may not even be a clear standard for the meaning of completion.

Item 32. Do students participating in EMI classes receive language training? (n=91)

Results from item 29 (see Table 26) clearly show that the majority of EMI programs do not have a clear language-proficiency requirement for entry. This may lead one to assume that the programs need to support the students' language development. However, that seems to not be the case. More than 90% of responding universities offer no language support at all, or only general English classes which are not tied to the EMI program.

Table 26. Language Training for Students in EMI Classes

	Number of responses
Nothing special	45
General English classes	39
English for Academic Purposes (EAP) classes	7

Item 33 - In your non-degree EMI programs, how are EMI content classes and English-language classes coordinated? (n=76)

Results from item 33 (see Table 27) show an overall lack of communication and coordination between content and language faculty members.

Table 27. Coordination between Language and Content Classes

	Number of responses
There is little or no communication between EMI faculty and language teachers	37
EMI faculty and language teachers occasionally communicate	2

EMI faculty and language teachers have regular, informal communication	12
There is regular, coordinated communication between EMI faculty and language teachers	7
Some (or all) of the EMI faculty are language teachers	18

Taken together, items 29, 32 and 33 show a clear lack of consideration for the students' language proficiency. Many university EMI programs tend to lack language proficiency benchmarks, do not provide specialized language training, and are not coordinated with language learning-programs. However, there are some positive signs. Regular, informal communication between EMI and language faculty is seen in more than 15% of responding universities and language and content faculty work together in EMI programs in nearly a quarter of them.

Item 34 - Who are the important stakeholders promoting / supporting the EMI classes at your university? (n=78)

Item 34 (See Table 28) looks at stakeholders supporting EMI programs. Item 21 asked the same question about stakeholders regarding ETPs. Those results showed that support for ETPs was fairly balanced among the faculty, university leadership, and administrators. Here as well, all three groups are represented, however, the voice of the faculty seems to be key in support for EMI classes outside ETPs. Interestingly, in both ETPs and non-degree EMI classes, there appears to be little acknowledgment of the voice of the students.

Table 28. Stakeholders Supporting EMI Classes

	Number of responses
University administration	21
President, vice president, etc.	31
Department level administration	13
Department level faculty	53
Individual faculty members	52
Deans / Department heads	34
International relations office	27
Student union / Student association	3

Item 35 - Did your university experience any significant challenges related to EMI classes in the following areas? (n=77)

Results from this item (see Table 29) show issues related to both students and faculty. Firstly, it is clear that insufficient language ability of domestic

students is the most common problem facing EMI programs, reported by more than half of the respondent who answered this question. In addition, lack of understanding of EMI, insufficient language proficiency, and lack of interest in teaching are issues for a number of EMI programs.

Table 29. Issues Facing EMI Programs

	Number of responses
Insufficient language ability of international students	8
Insufficient language ability of domestic students	39
Active opposition from faculty members	7
Lack of understanding from faculty members	16
Active opposition from administrators	4
Lack of understanding from administrators	7
Insufficient language ability of faculty	10
Lack of interest in teaching EMI among faculty	14
Difficulties with teaching ability of faculty	8
High dropout rate in EMI classes	2

One free comment indicated that budgets may be a concern: "We have issues on the financial side of things." In comparing subgroups of the sample, one interesting difference emerged. A lack of understanding from faculty members was seen as a problem at 16 universities; however, these were predominantly publicly funded. This issue was reported by 28% of publicly-funded universities as opposed to only 4% of private universities.

Item 36 - Which of the following best describes the faculty teaching your EMI classes? (n=75)

The results of item 36 (see Table 30) indicate that the most common make up of EMI faculty seems to be predominately Japanese, though primarily foreign faculty groups and balanced programs are also quite common. This may reflect two different ways in which EMI has developed in Japan. Findings from early studies (Brown, 2014, Brown & Iyobe, 2014) have shown that some EMI programs in Japan have evolved out of, and are positioned within, language learning departments. Content-based language classes evolve over time to become content classes taught by language-teaching faculty, mainly foreign (see Sekiya (2005) or Carty and Susser (2014) for examples of this). Other programs, for example the program described by Honma (2003) and Aloiau (2008), were developed and are taught by content specialists, largely Japanese.

Table 30. Breakdown of EMI Faculty by Nationality

	Number of responses

All foreign faculty, native speakers of English	1
All foreign faculty from a variety of language backgrounds	0
Primarily foreign faculty, native speakers of English	22
Primarily foreign faculty from a variety of language backgrounds	4
Balance of foreign and Japanese faculty	18
Primarily Japanese faculty	28
All Japanese faculty	2

Two interesting findings emerged from a comparison of sub groups for this item. First, small universities appear more likely to have a balance of Japanese and foreign faculty in EMI programs. In fact 64% of small universities reported a balanced EMI faculty, compared with only 18% of medium sized and 12% of large universities ($p=0.0178$). In addition, private universities seem to have more foreign faculty in their EMI programs. 43% of private universities reported that their EMI faculty are predominantly foreign, as opposed to only 19% of private universities. Publicly-funded university EMI faculty members are more likely to be predominately Japanese (56%) than those at private universities (20%) ($p=0.0174$)

8. Discussion and Limitations

8.1 Summary and Discussion of Key Findings

The findings for individual items were described above. However, in combining and comparing results from individual items, some important trends emerge. These key findings are summarized and discussed below.

8.1.1 Limited Scope and Scale of EMI Programs

EMI programs in Japan tend to be small and peripheral. Nearly 2/3 of responding universities reported that their EMI classes serve 10% or fewer of their students (see item 7). This is consistent with findings from the pilot study (Brown & Iyobe, 2014) which showed that many programs served as little as 2%-3% of the student body. This is also consistent with Nakatsugawa's (2014) finding that the government does not intend for English to become a widespread language of instruction in Japan. This small scale belies the attention that EMI, especially English-taught full degree programs, gets in the literature. This may also allay fears of domain loss or worries about the continuing role of Japanese as an academic language sometimes seen in the literature.

In addition, EMI programs tend not to be integrated into the students' mainstream learning experiences. While some universities are offering coordinated programs, either within a given department or serving the needs of several departments, nearly half of responding universities

reported that EMI classes were ad hoc (see item 30). Also, undergraduate full-degree English-taught programs are still rare in Japan, being available at less than 30 universities. The peripheral position of EMI programs is also seen in the results of item 12 which show that while EMI does have a role in marketing for most universities, it is, by and large, not a significant one. Furthermore, results from item 31 indicate that students who complete EMI programs are, generally speaking, not given tangible recognition for the accomplishment.

However, there are also clear indications that EMI is a growing part of higher education in Japan. Government data shows that the number of universities offering EMI is rising (MEXT, 2009a, 2011). Results from this study show that at universities with established EMI programs, there is a general trend towards larger, more organized programs (see item 10) and that more than 75% of responding universities are expanding or planning to expand their EMI offerings (see item 11).

8.1.2 EMI Programs Serving Domestic Students

The focus of EMI in Japan is clearly on domestic students. According to findings from item 9, the rationales for implementing EMI are clearly tied to educational outcomes for Japanese students. Also, while ETPs tend to attract more international students (see item 17) the students in non-degree EMI programs are predominately Japanese (see item 26) and these programs are designed for the domestic student body (see item 27).

The faculty involved in EMI programs are also predominately domestic. In ETP programs, 2/3 of responding universities have predominately, or all, Japanese content specialist faculty (see item 23 & 24). For non-degree EMI programs, the figures are slightly more balanced but Japanese faculty members appear to be in the majority (see item 36).

8.1.3 Issues with the Implementation of EMI Programs

There seems to be a mismatch between what universities report that they prioritize and their actual implementation of EMI. This can be seen in three key areas: faculty, students and program structure. According to the results of item 15, the qualifications of, support and understanding from, and faculty development (FD) for faculty members are among the key factors for success in EMI programs. In addition, lack of understanding of, and interest in EMI were significant challenges at a fairly large number of universities (see item 35).

In spite of this, results from item 13 show that faculty development activities tied to EMI are provided at less than 1/3 of responding universities.

This mismatch is perhaps not surprising given the position of faculty development in general in Japan. FD programs are mandatory at Japanese universities and have been since 2007 for graduate schools and 2008 for undergraduate programs. Suzuki (2013) reports that nearly all universities

now engage in some form of FD and the most common FD activities are student evaluations of classes, workshops and seminars on teaching practice, and class observations by peers. However, Fink (2013) argues that this is not yet a meaningful effort. At many universities in Japan FD efforts are perfunctory and levels of engagement among faculty are low.

There are, however, some early indications that FD activities specifically targeted at EMI faculty are becoming more common. The British Council now offers training for EMI faculty in Japan. The English for Academics program is designed to support non-native faculty in their language proficiency, especially for in-class use, while the Academic Teaching Excellence program aims to improve teaching skills specifically for EMI faculty. However, these programs are not yet widely implemented in Japan. In fact, at the time of writing, the Academic Teaching Excellence program had been delivered only once at one university, for a very limited number of faculty members. Other isolated FD initiatives are also taking place; however, it appears that these activities are, for now, limited to universities that are, in a sense, already doing EMI well. FD is expected to be an element of many of the new Top Global projects beginning in 2015.

Language proficiency of faculty was also seen as an issue of concern at several responding universities (see item 35). In Europe, testing EMI faculty members' English proficiency, while not yet standard practice, is becoming more common (Airey, 2011; Werher, Denver, Jensen & Mees, 2013). However, in Japan, there appears to be no serious discussion of this possibility. The idea of testing a professor's proficiency as a teacher is still somewhat taboo in Japan. Also, since finding and incentivizing sufficient numbers of faculty members willing to teach in EMI classes is an issue in Japan (see items 22 & 35), a testing program which may eliminate potential teachers from consideration seems to be somewhat counterproductive.

In addition to the training needs of the faculty, there is also a mismatch between universities' reported priorities and their actual program implementation with regards to the students in EMI. The single largest issue facing EMI programs seems to be the low language proficiency of domestic students (see item 35). This is consistent with findings from Tsuneyoshi (2005 and Ishikura (2015) who both report issues with domestic students, especially those in non-degree programs, keeping up with EMI classes. Given that domestic students make up the bulk of participants in EMI programs and that these programs are purportedly designed for domestic students (see items 26 and 27), this would seem to be a priority. However, in many programs, little is being done to actually deal with this situation. Clear language proficiency benchmarks are not in place at a majority of universities offering EMI (see item 29), nearly half of universities report that there is little or no communication between content and language teachers (see item 33), and only 7 responding universities require English for Academic Purposes classes before or during the EMI program (see item 32).

A final mismatch may be seen in the structure of programs. According to results from item 15, a clearly structured program is considered a key to a successful program. However, as item 30 shows, ad hoc, unstructured programs are most commonly offered.

Taken together, these issues with implementation seem to confirm Chappele's (2014) worry that EMI, as well as internationalization of higher education in general, is being treated somewhat simplistically and superficially in Japan.

8.1.4 EMI Programs Focused on the Humanities and Social Sciences

Hashimoto (2013) reported that undergraduate EMI programs are focused on humanities and social sciences. This seems to be partially borne out by the results of item 28 which showed that EMI classes in the humanities are the most common, followed by social sciences and natural sciences. This trend is seen to be even stronger at private universities. It should be noted, however, that in ETPs, technical fields were most common, followed by natural sciences (see item 18). Looking at the 35 full-degree undergraduate programs offered by the 13 Global 30 universities (2015), we see a similar pattern. Seven of the programs are in technical fields such as engineering and 15 are in natural the sciences. Humanities and social science account for six programs each.

8.1.5 Multiple Images of EMI

As discussed above, it does not seem that there is a single picture of EMI in Japan. Rather, there appears to be a number of patterns of implementation of EMI depending on the situation and context facing the individual university.

Kudo & Hashimoto (2011) described three patterns of EMI implementation and suggested that the size of the university may be an important factor in determining its approach to EMI. In this study, size was seen to be a factor in some elements of EMI programs. Based on findings from item 7, it seems that at small universities, a relatively larger proportion of students are involved in EMI programs. Also, item 31 showed that smaller universities offer recognition to students who complete EMI programs more often than medium-sized or large universities do. And, according to item 36, small universities are more likely to have a balance of foreign and Japanese faculty. Medium-sized and large universities are more likely to have either predominately foreign or predominately Japanese faculty in EMI programs. It is also clear that full-degree ETP programs are more often found at large universities, but some small or medium-sized universities offer them as well. Overall, a clear picture of EMI implementation at small universities being different than at medium-sized or large universities did not emerge.

A similar lack of pattern was noted in terms of the type of university offering EMI programs. Yonezawa, Akiba & Hirouchi (2009) suggest that we

cannot understand the internationalization of higher education and the expansion of EMI without taking into account differences between private and publicly-funded universities. In this study, a few such differences in EMI implementation did emerge. Responses to item 11 show that publicly-funded universities are more likely to be expanding current EMI programs. Responses to item 13 shows that publicly-funded universities are more likely to offer faculty development opportunities to their EMI teachers and that this FD is more likely to be done in-house. Private universities offer fewer opportunities for FD and it is more often provided by agencies external to the university. From the results of item 28, we can see that publicly-funded universities have more variety in the fields they offer in EMI while private universities are more limited to humanities and social sciences. In terms of faculty, publicly-funded universities are more likely to have Japanese faculty in EMI programs (item 36) and issues with lack of understanding of EMI among faculty are more common at publicly-funded universities.

However, more striking than differences among the subgroups examined in this study, are the differences which did not appear in the data. Private or public funding and number of students seemed to have no effect on the rationales for implementing EMI (item 9), the role of EMI in university marketing (item 12), priorities for program success (item 15), the nationality breakdown of students (item 26), and approaches to students' language proficiency (items 29, 32, 33). Perhaps most tellingly, publicly-funded or private, small or large, all were equally likely to offer EMI in an unstructured, ad hoc program (item 30).

8.2 Limitations of the Study

One major limitation of this survey may be in the quality of the original sample list. As discussed above, the researcher received the lists of universities known to offer EMI classes directly from MEXT following telephone contact. Initially a list based on MEXT (2009a) was received and later, this list was updated based on MEXT (2011). This list of 222 universities known to offer EMI was reported by MEXT as being current as of 2011 and was the most recent available information at the time of writing.

However, working with these two lists, some issues became apparent. One issue was that the researcher's own university was not represented on the lists despite having offered EMI classes since 2009. This led to the suspicion that the lists may not be as complete as previously thought. As work for the pilot project began, four more universities that offered EMI classes but were not on the list were discovered. In addition, comparison of the 2009 and 2011 lists raised some doubts about their accuracy. A simple look at the number of universities offering EMI (see Table 1) shows an overall increasing trend, especially among private universities but with a slight decrease in public universities. In 2009, 24 public universities offered EMI classes but in 2011, the number had dropped to 21. However, looking at

the lists of public universities offering EMI, a much more dramatic change appears to have occurred. A total of twelve universities apparently stopped offering EMI between 2009 and 2011 while nine new universities joined the list in the same period resulting in an overall drop of three. This kind of dramatic shuffling is, of course, possible, but it contradicts the general trend towards increasing EMI provision and raises doubts about the overall accuracy of the lists.

Findings from this study also raise some doubts about the accuracy of the lists provided by MEXT. First, among the responses, 16 universities, nearly 14% of all responses, did not complete the survey form but did contact the researcher directly by phone or email to report that they do not, or no longer, have EMI classes (see Table 3). Also, when asked to report when their EMI program began, three universities reported that they began in 2013 and one seems to have begun in 2014 (see item 8) despite being on the list of universities offering EMI, supposedly current as of 2011. Since this study was predicated on being able to deliver the survey to the entire population of Japanese universities offering EMI, weaknesses in the original MEXT lists could be seen as a major limitation.

Possible sources of the inaccuracy of the MEXT lists are the nature of Japanese university administration and an overall lack of interdepartmental communication. Ogawa (2002) describes the administration of a typical Japanese university as a loosely coupled system which, while allowing for flexibility, can imply a lack of overall awareness on the part of administrators, particularly those in lower level positions. There is also a long history of a lack of interdisciplinary or interdepartmental communication among faculty members in Japanese academia (Adamson, 2010), though this issue is certainly not limited to higher education in Japan. These two factors may lead to a lack of institutional awareness or understanding of the university-wide curriculum. It is possible that the individual administrator or faculty member who filled in the survey on which the MEXT reports (2009a; 2011) were based, simply did not know whether EMI was being offered at their university and thus the lists provided by MEXT may be inaccurate.

The findings of this study may suffer from a similar weakness. It is impossible to be certain that the administrators and faculty members who filled in the survey for this project actually had a big-picture understanding of the EMI classes offered at their university. It was clear from the pilot study for this project that EMI programs are often offered in more than one department are, for the most part, not coordinated. Both the cover letter and survey instructions asked respondents to, as much as possible, answer questions based on the situation in the university as a whole, rather than a given department or program, but there is no guarantee that this actually happened.

A final possible limitation may lie with the clarity of the survey itself. Several university stakeholders contacted the researcher to confirm their

understanding of the meaning of some survey items. In particular, there was a question as to whether a given program could or could not be called EMI. Though the official MEXT definition of EMI was quoted in the cover letter, there was still some confusion stemming from two possible sources. First, the term EMI and its Japanese translation, *eigoniyorukyoiku*, are not yet in standard use throughout Japan. Several other terms are used, somewhat interchangeably, in the literature and many universities have developed their own in-house naming conventions for EMI classes. It should be noted that this issue is not limited to Japan. Dearden (2014) reports similar problems with her recent study of EMI programs around the world noting that "the term English-medium instruction itself is relatively new and no universally accepted definition exists" (p.7).

In addition, the official MEXT definition of EMI, used in this study, leaves some room for interpretation. According to MEXT (2009a, 2011) the term EMI represents classes conducted entirely in English, excluding those whose primary aim is language education. The use of the phrase "primary aim" may cause some confusion as the meaning of "primary" is not clearly established in this context. Thus, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) or Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE) models could possibly be legitimately included in the survey of EMI programs. Other interpretations may, however, exclude these models.

9. Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

This research project began with the researcher's desire to know what a typical EMI program in Japan looks like. While it is important to remember that EMI is implemented in a variety of models depending on the position, size and motivations of the university, it can now be said with some confidence that a typical undergraduate EMI program in Japan is a peripheral, ad hoc program in the humanities or social sciences taught by Japanese faculty who are not specifically trained as EMI teachers for a limited number of domestic students who may lack the necessary language proficiency to take full advantage of the program.

This is not a very positive description of EMI programs. However, based on the findings from this study, it is also possible to say that EMI in Japan is developing towards larger, more structured programs. Some new programs are being implemented, including full-degree English-taught programs which appeal to both domestic and international students. In addition, many existing programs are expanding and becoming a more central part of the university curriculum. There is good reason to be optimistic about future developments in EMI in Japan.

However, there are still some weaknesses in EMI programs which need to be addressed. In particular, it seems that more attention needs to be paid to the students' language proficiency. Clear benchmarks and proficiency testing upon entry are not widely seen. There is also an overall lack of coordination between EMI programs and the students' language classes. In

addition, there seems to be a need for a more effective way to recruit, evaluate, incentivize and train faculty members involved in EMI programs.

Looking to the future, these conclusions imply a need for further study in two main areas. First, as EMI programs are currently developing, is seems necessary to continue tracking them. The current study can act as a baseline against which future developments can be measured. Therefore, similar to Wachter and Maiworm's (2008) ongoing studies of European EMI, this survey project will be repeated, after taking into account the limitations discussed above, in five years.

Also, since there is still room for improvement in EMI programs, an investigation leading to a set of best practices for EMI in Japan seems to be called for. Preparations are now underway for a multi-site case study of university EMI programs to assess their development and to attempt to answer the question of how EMI should best be implemented in undergraduate programs in Japan.

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