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

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

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Abstract

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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Abbreviations Used

CBI	Content-based Instruction (of language)
CFER	Common European Framework of Reference for Language
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
ELT	English-language Teaching
EMI	English-Medium Instruction
ETP	English-Taught (degree) Program
FD	Faculty Development
G30	Global 30 Project – Establishing University Network for Internationalization
ICLHE	Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IT	Information Technology
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and, Technology (of Japan)
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs (of Japan)
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
TOEIC	Test of English for International Communication

Glossary of Japanese Terms

Dejima	An island in Nagasaki harbor where Dutch traders were isolated during the Edo era. Now implies isolation or boundedness.
Eigo niyoru jugyou	Lesson(s) conducted in English, English-medium instruction
Gakka	A university administrative unit; a department
Gakkagun	A university administrative unit; a school, college, or faculty
Gakubu	A university administrative unit; a school, college, or faculty
Gakui	A university administrative unit; a school, college, or faculty
Global *jinzai*	Global human resources; internationally-competent human resources
Global 30	A grant program for the internationalization of higher education
Hensachi	A measurement of the difficulty of university entrance procedures and the quality of applicants accepted
Shokutaku	Contract employee; term-limited employee
Teninware	Failure of a university (or a given department) to admit its full allotted quota of students
Top Global	A grant program for the internationalization of higher education

Chapter 1 Introduction

English-medium instruction (EMI), the use of English as a teaching language in specialist content classes, is a growing trend in the higher education sector all over the world. As the British Council recently reported, higher education is experiencing a "world-wide shift from English being taught as a foreign language to English being the medium of instruction" (Dearden, 2015, p. 2). In Europe for example, with impetus from the Bologna Process, the number of full-degree programs taught in English exploded in the first decade of the 21st century, growing by 1000% between 2000 and 2008 (Wachter & Maiworm, 2008). In East Asia as well, EMI has been growing rapidly with both government policy and market forces driving the internationalization of higher education (Ghazarian, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2011). In Japan, the number of universities offering EMI has doubled in the past 20 years (MEXT, 2015a, 2017) and this rapid growth is pressuring universities to develop EMI programs quickly to avoid falling behind (Brown, 2014a). Many EMI programs have been implemented without due forethought and planning; the majority of university EMI offerings are ad hoc (Brown, 2016a; Kudo & Hashimoto, 2011) and many programs are developed without consideration of how the EMI courses fit with each other or are positioned within the wider curriculum (Takagi, 2013; Bradford, 2015).

The current investigation is the third and final part of an ongoing research project examining the sometimes rushed and problematic implementation of EMI in Japan. The first part (Brown, 2014b) was a pilot study of eight universities with established EMI programs, which uncovered many of the challenges faced by EMI stakeholders and some factors that facilitate implementation. The second study (Brown, 2015) was a nation-wide survey of EMI programs, intended to explore the broader context of EMI in Japan. This study confirmed the marginal position of EMI on many campuses and its role in the education of predominately domestic students. (For a full description of earlier findings, please see Chapter 2.) This third study is an attempt to uncover elements of good practice for planning and curriculum design for EMI programs in Japan by examining how program-level stakeholders at four universities recognize and overcome the challenges facing their programs.

This thesis begins with an overview of the history of EMI in Japan in order to provide context for the current discussion. Next comes an exploration of the range of challenges faced by EMI program stakeholders, drawing both on the literature on EMI around the world and the researcher's own earlier work. Following the discussion of challenges, examples from the literature of good practice and recommendations for EMI program planning are examined. The context and methodology of the study are explained next. Major themes emerging from the data are then discussed. These include the value of well planned and carefully implemented language-proficiency benchmarks, the need for support for students as they develop their language proficiency, concerns about the high workload and isolation of EMI students, the importance of recruiting, incentivizing and supporting EMI faculty, and the vital role of communication and coordination in developing EMI. Finally, the position of these findings in the wider context of higher education in Japan is discussed.

1.1 Defining Terms
In recent decades, there has been an explosion of content classes taught in English in higher education around the world. Along with this very rapid expansion, there have been a number of different terms applied to the phenomenon of teaching content classes in English when that is not

the home language of the university. Where such classes are acknowledged as having language-learning goals in addition to content-learning outcomes, the terms *Content and Language Integrated Learning* (CLIL) and *Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education* (ICLHE) are commonly seen in the literature, with CLIL more often used in discussions of secondary-school programs and ICLHE being reserved for university-level programs. However, where language learning is not an explicit aim, the term English-medium Instruction (EMI) is most often used. There is not yet a universally accepted definition of EMI and researchers and practitioners in different contexts operate under different understandings of what exactly EMI is (Dearden, 2015). In fact, as Paran has said, the whole field of EMI is "afflicted with a high lack of terminological clarity" (2013, p. 319). For the purposes of this study, the definition given by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, 2015a) will be used: EMI refers to courses conducted entirely in English, excluding those whose primary aim is language instruction.

At some universities, a further distinction may be necessary between degree programs taught entirely in English, and those where credits may be earned in EMI classes but only as part of a degree (Bradford, 2013). In cases where students may earn their entire degree in English, without needing to take any courses in the home language of the university, the terms *English-medium Instruction Degree Program* (EMIDP) and *English-taught Program* (ETP) are used. In this study, the more common ETP will be used. Cases where students take some, but not all, of their courses in English and other courses in the home language of the university will be referred to as *EMI*. The term *EMI program* will be used to refer to a collection of EMI courses offered by a given university, along with related activities, including language-learning courses, student support systems, and study abroad plans associated with the EMI courses. However, as will be discussed below, EMI implementation in Japan is often ad hoc and some of the EMI programs discussed here may lack the coordination and cohesion normally associated with the term "program".

This study was conducted in the Japanese context so some clarification of the structure of the higher education sector is called for. Japan has both private and publically-funded universities. Among publically-funded universities, national universities were traditionally attached to the national government; however, in 2004 they were incorporated as independent institutions. The second type of publically-funded universities, public universities, are linked to local, municipal, or prefectural governments. Within universities, academic units are known by several different terms. The terms *gakubu*, *gakui*, and *gakugun* are used in Japanese to refer to the largest units, often with substantial autonomy within the university, and sub-units of these are known as *gakka*. In English, the terms school, college, or faculty may be used for the larger units, and department for the sub-units. However, these terms are not used consistently across the higher education sector, leading to possible confusion when discussing different contexts. For the purposes of this study, the term *department* is used to refer to an administrative and academic unit of a university, be it a *gakka*, *gakubu*, *gakui*, or *gakugun*. The term *faculty* is used to refer to the teaching staff of the university.

1.2 A Brief History of EMI in Japan
In order to provide context for the current study, this section includes a brief overview of the history and current status of EMI in Japan. While it is now growing quickly, the current boom is not Japan's first experience with EMI. In fact, this can be said to be the fourth wave of EMI

developments in Japan, with earlier waves in the Meiji era, following World War II, and in the 1980s and 1990s.

1.2.1 The Meiji Era

In Japan, the use of a foreign language as a medium of instruction in higher education is almost as old as higher education itself, with Chinese, Dutch, and English being used as academic languages alongside Japanese in some of the earliest higher education institutions. EMI, in particular, briefly flourished in the 19th century with foreign faculty teaching at newly-founded universities. As part of the Meiji government's push to modernize and westernize, as many as 3000 specialists in a wide variety of fields were brought to Japan as advisors and teachers (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006). While many of these were experts in military affairs or applied fields like civil engineering, more than half taught fields which would now be known as the humanities or social sciences (Marshall, 1992). These foreign specialists formed the backbone of higher education in Japan in the 1870s and 1880s teaching classes in law, literature, science, and medicine in English, French and German.

This reliance on foreign specialists was, however, temporary; the government's long-term strategy was to staff the universities with Japanese academics. As the foreign instructors were replaced with domestic graduates or Japanese scholars returning from study abroad, the makeup of the faculty, and the language of instruction, became predominately, and then entirely, Japanese. At the Imperial University, now the University of Tokyo, for example, foreign academics held two-thirds of all teaching posts in 1877 but only a decade later, 67% of posts in the sciences and 85% in the humanities were held by Japanese faculty, and by the turn of the 20th century, the faculty was entirely Japanese (Marshall, 1992). At the same time, foreign academic texts were being more commonly translated into Japanese and new texts were being written by the growing number of Japanese scholars. As Japanese became the dominant language of teaching materials and classroom instruction, the position of English changed to become an object of study (Fujimoto-Adamson, 2006; Mulvey, 2017) and English would not reemerge as a medium of instruction for more than half a century.

1.2.2 Post World War II

A second, albeit very limited, wave of EMI in Japan started in the period after World War II. Amid the dramatic reorganization of life in Japan after the war, Japanese continued to be the dominant language of instruction in higher education, but a very limited number of programs taught in English were established, mainly to serve the needs of the new western expatriate community. One such program was the Sophia University International Division, now the Faculty of Liberal Arts, founded in 1949 which offered classes at night to English-speaking students (History of Sophia University, n.d.). The International Christian University also offered EMI classes from its founding in 1953 (History of ICU, n.d). In the 1960's the number of EMI programs expanded slightly with some private universities starting short-term programs for incoming international students, essentially semester-abroad programs for students from their partner universities overseas, focusing on Japanese language, art, culture and society (Horie, 2002).

1.2.3 The 1980s and 1990s

The early 1980s saw Japan seeking to internationalize its higher education sector in order to

develop human resources commensurate with its growing position as a world economic leader (Umakoshi, 1997; Yonezawa, 2014). The government pushed universities to internationalize at this time; however, most universities in Japan concentrated their efforts on the numerical target of increasing the number of incoming international students without internationalizing the curriculum or teaching methods (Aspinall, 2013; Paige, 2005). In the early stages of these efforts, EMI played only a minor role; the focus was on Japanese-language training and Japanese-medium programs for the almost entirely Asian incoming international students (Horie, 2002; Kamibeppu, 2012; Ota, 2003).

This period also saw what Mulvey (2017) characterizes as a failed attempt to introduce EMI for domestic students, beginning with changes in the laws governing higher education in 1982. These changes allowed for the creation of new full-time, tenured positions for international faculty members. The government's intent was for these professors to be, not simply language teachers, but content-specialists teaching classes in English for the domestic student body. They were part of a strategy to foster a new generation of bilinguals to meet the needs of the rapidly internationalizing Japanese economy (Mulvey, 2017; Yonezawa, 2014). However, due to resistance from Japanese faculty members and universities themselves, this intent was never fully realized (Hall, 1998) and by the beginning of the 1990s these newly created positions and the foreign faculty hired to fill them were relegated to language teaching.

While the introduction of EMI for domestic students failed at this time, EMI for international students was expanding. Graduate-school programs in English were introduced at 14 universities in the 1980s, and the number more than doubled in the 1990s (Horie, 2002; Umakoshi, 1997). While the number of programs was growing, the scale was still very small, with many of the graduate ETPs accepting fewer than 10 students per year (Hashimoto, 2017).

At the undergraduate level, in the mid-1990s, national universities began developing short-term EMI programs, similar to those already in place at some private universities, for incoming exchange or visiting students (Kamibeppu, 2012; Ota, 2003). These programs were developed in response to government pressure to increase the number and diversity of international students on campus, but also as a response to the growing number of Japanese students studying abroad, which increased by more than 500% in the 1990s (MEXT, 2015b). As more Japanese students went overseas for semester or year-long programs, the issue of parity became important. Partner schools were not willing to accept exchange students if the Japanese universities could not reciprocate by offering suitable programs for their students, meaning programs taught in English.

1.2.4 The 21st Century
At the end of the 1990s and beginning of the 21st century, EMI began to take on a new role as images of internationalization of higher education changed in Japan (Brown, 2017c). Previously, internationalization, specifically attracting international students, was part of Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) plan (Ninomiya, Knight & Watanabe, 2009). This was largely a foreign-policy effort aimed at supporting and maintaining good relationships with Japan's Asian neighbors (Ishikawa, 2011). However, at the dawn of the 21st century, internationalization took on a new role as a tool for recovering Japan's lost economic competitiveness. Rather than universities offering the benefits of Japanese education to students from developing countries as they had done in the past, universities started to actively recruit top-quality candidates who would help to improve their competitiveness (Hashimoto, 2017). This was especially important at

graduate schools where the incoming international students could help drive the research agenda of the universities.

This desire to attract more and better qualified students led to an expanded role for EMI. The number of graduate-level ETPs grew rapidly and English-medium undergraduate programs were also created at a number of universities. Much of this growth was supported by the government's 2009 Project for Establishing University Network for Internationalization, commonly known as the Global 30 project, which funded EMI programs at 13 universities. Together, these 13 universities established 33 undergraduate and 153 graduate programs taught entirely in English, mostly for international students. The efforts of the Global 30 universities also inspired implementation or expansion of EMI programs at many universities not directly supported by the government funding. In all, the number of universities offering EMI programs grew by 50% in the decade between 2003 and 2013, with most of the growth seen in private universities (MEXT, 2015a).

At the same time the Global 30 universities were establishing their ETPs for international students, EMI also began to take on a more important role for domestic students. Under the New Growth Strategy announced in 2010, the government's priority for internationalization shifted from increasing the number of incoming international students to developing international programs for domestic students, and the idea of fostering globally capable human resources, or global *jinzai*, became central to the discourse on higher education reform in Japan (Yonezawa, 2010). The definition of global *jinzai* is multifaceted and somewhat vague, but it is associated with improved language proficiency, especially in English, international competencies, and cultural understanding. EMI for domestic students is strongly tied to global *jinzai* initiatives, with EMI stakeholders often reporting this as the driving force behind their programs (Bradford, 2015; Brown, 2015) despite a lack of clear evidence that EMI programs actually result in increased global outlook among students or improved employability among graduates. These benefits of EMI are, in many cases, simply assumed.

1.2.5 The Current Situation

According to the most recent available figures, as of 2015, at least 305 universities, just over 40% of the total number of universities in Japan, were offering some kind of EMI (MEXT, 2017). Currently EMI has a dual role in Japan, serving both international and domestic students. For international students, the short-term programs for exchange and visiting students continue to be important, and the number of ETPs for full-time students is growing. This current growth is thanks in part to MEXT's Top Global University funding scheme, which supports EMI at 37 universities. Despite this growth however, EMI still serves a minority of international students in Japan; most are studying in Japanese-language or Japanese-medium programs. EMI programs for domestic students are also growing. In fact, in a recent survey (Brown, 2015) a majority of EMI programs reported their student body was predominantly or entirely domestic. For domestic students, EMI normally makes up only part of their degree program, a complement or supplement to their mainstream Japanese-medium classes.

There are a wide variety of models of implementation for EMI programs in Japan. Brown (2014b) characterized EMI programs into one of six types depending on how the programs were organized and implemented. The most common program types were ad hoc or semi-structured, with several uncoordinated EMI courses offered. Integrated programs, with EMI courses forming an important part of students' studies in a given department were somewhat less common.

Another less common EMI strategy was the plus-alpha-type program. Here, EMI courses are offered across the university and serve the needs of students from all departments, rather than those studying a given major. The EMI courses are considered an add-on to the students' core studies rather than an integrated part of a departmental program. The fifth program type was a full-degree English-taught program (ETP) where students can earn an entire four-year degree in EMI, without needing to take any Japanese-medium classes. Undergraduate ETPs are still quite rare in Japan, available at only approximately 30 universities as of 2015 (Brown, 2015). The final, and least common, program type, seen in only a handful of cases, was the full-campus model, where the entire university uses EMI.

Kudo & Hashimoto (2011) on the other hand, categorized EMI programs based on the university's approach to internationalization. First, similar to Brown, they found that ad hoc programs with a peripheral place in the curriculum was the most common pattern of EMI implementation in Japan. Among coordinated programs, they noted that smaller universities approach internationalization through EMI programs in the undergraduate curriculum. These programs, largely designed for domestic students, may be integrated into a single department or spread across the entire university. The final group of universities is large-scale elite universities where EMI and ETPs are seen as a way to attract high-quality international students, especially at the graduate level.

Shimauchi (2012, 2016) categorizes EMI implementation somewhat differently, looking at the students served by the programs. The majority of ETPs established at large comprehensive universities and funded by MEXT grants belong to what Shimauchi calls the *dejima* model. *Dejima* is the name of an island in Nagasaki harbor where Dutch traders were isolated during the Edo period from the 17th to 19th centuries. The term now implies isolation, boundedness, and peripheral positioning. In these programs, international students, along with domestic students in international programs, are served by EMI classes, but they are isolated from the mainstream of campus life and have little interaction with the wider student body. Another program type in Shimauchi's framework is the crossroad model in which universities develop joint or parallel EMI programs to serve both international and domestic students. For domestic students, EMI makes up a small part of their degree program, with most of their courses delivered in Japanese, and they often study in EMI courses together with short-term international visiting students. Shimauchi's final category, currently the most common type of EMI program in Japan, is called the global citizen model. This kind of program serves only, or predominately, domestic students and aims to use EMI as a tool to cultivate Japanese students as global human resources with international awareness. In this type of program, EMI acts as a kind of virtual study-abroad for domestic students.

The growth of EMI is continuing; more universities are implementing programs and current initiatives are expanding. However, it is important to view this growth realistically. With nearly 40% of universities already offering EMI, the current rapid growth among private universities, many in the second or third tier of the higher education sector, raises concerns that they lack the human resources and expertise to plan and implement EMI effectively (Chapple, 2014; Toh, 2013, 2016). These universities are, in many cases, implementing EMI to appeal to domestic students as a survival strategy amid falling enrollments (Brown 2014a, 2017b) and often do not have realistic expectations about the level of resources and commitment needed to effectively implement EMI (Chapple, 2014; Ng, 2016; Toh, 2013, 2016), and as less prestigious universities, they may not attract students with high enough language proficiency to fully take

advantage of EMI.

1.2.6 The Future of EMI in Japan
The three previous waves of EMI may have been temporary, as in the Meiji era, extremely limited, as in the post-war period, or failed, as in the attempt to introduce foreign content specialists in the 1980s. However, Mulvey (2017) argues that the current, ongoing EMI boom is more widespread and more permanent than previous waves. One factor is the 2004 incorporation of national universities. This put more decision-making power in the hands of university presidents and reduced the influence of faculty senates, which had been the main objectors to the 1980s foreign-faculty plan (Mulvey, 2017). The relationship between universities and the government has also changed. MEXT now has powerful new incentives, both a stick and a carrot, with which to influence universities, and both have been brought to bear to encourage internationalization and EMI. New procedures make it possible to deny accreditation to universities that are not following MEXT guidelines (Mulvey, 2017), and while overall government funding for universities has fallen, MEXT has shifted more of its budget into selective, competitive grant projects (Yonezawa, 2011), many of which support internationalization efforts. At private universities, market forces are also driving changes. Amid falling enrollments, internationalization and EMI have become powerful recruiting tools for both international and domestic students (Brown, 2014a). All of these factors combine to give EMI a more integrated position in higher education. Rose and McKinley (2017), for example, find that, at least at the 37 Top Global universities, EMI is less peripheral and is not marginalized in the way previous internationalization initiatives were. In addition, unlike previous waves, EMI is no longer a local issue. Japan's initiatives are now part of a widespread, global trend towards EMI. However, despite more widespread implementation and more integrated positioning, EMI programs still face significant challenges, as will be discussed in Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 The Challenge of Implementing EMI Programs

Drawing on recent literature on EMI, and two earlier studies associated with this thesis, this chapter outlines the challenges faced by EMI stakeholders as they implement programs, and reviews some possible elements of good practice in EMI.

2.1 Challenges Facing EMI Implementation in Japan
Establishing and maintaining an EMI program can be a significant challenge. Tsuneyoshi (2005) outlined the challenges EMI stakeholders face in three categories: linguistic, cultural and structural. Drawing on Tsuneyoshi's three-part framework and based on a comprehensive study of Japanese ETPs, Bradford (2015, 2016) developed a four-part model of the linguistic, cultural, administrative, and institutional challenges likely facing EMI programs in Japan, each of which will be discussed in the following subsections (see Table 1).

Table 1
Challenges facing EMI programs in Japan (adapted from Bradford, 2015, 2016)

Linguistic Challenges	English proficiency of domestic faculty
	English proficiency of domestic students
	English proficiency of international students
	Japanese proficiency of international students
	Japanese proficiency of international faculty
Cultural Challenges	Poor teaching skills of faculty
	Lack of willingness of faculty to attend professional development sessions
	International faculty failing to adapt to non-native English-speaking students
	International students failing to adapt to the local academic culture
	International students failing to integrate into the local culture
	Domestic students failing to adapt to EMI classroom culture and workload
Administrative Challenges	Local faculty unwilling to teach in English
	Increased workload for EMI teachers
	Lack of qualified and willing faculty
	Low numbers of international students
	Ghettoization of international students
Institutional Challenges	Problems with administrative infrastructure
	Issues of institutional identity
	Communication barriers
	Cliquishness

2.1.1 Linguistic Challenges

The first group of challenges Bradford (2015, 2016) addresses is also the most readily apparent: linguistic challenges. Several studies have shown that EMI students' language proficiency is an issue. For example, studies of European programs have shown that students tend to have more trouble dealing with technical vocabulary (Hellekjær, 2010) and need more time to complete tasks (Wilkinson, 2005) in EMI classes than in classes conducted in their first language. Jimenez-Munoz (2015) has found that the time students need to successfully complete work in EMI classes depends directly on their language proficiency.

Though these linguistic challenges are significant, studies that examine the relationship between language proficiency issues and actual academic outcomes are somewhat inconclusive. Among studies showing an academic deficit for EMI students, Yip, Tsang, and Cheung (2003) found that EMI students in Hong Kong had considerably worse results on tests of science, particularly their ability to deal with abstract concepts, than their peers in Chinese-medium classes. They do, however, acknowledge that the EMI students studied were of low language proficiency. Other studies have shown that mathematics performance is similarly impeded by EMI (Gerber, Engelbrech, Harding, & Rogan, 2005; Nevil-Barton & Barton, 2005). In addition, Lau and Yuen (2011) found that computer science students in EMI programs performed worse on tests of programming than those who studied in their first language, though the effect was most notably seen among students who were already known to have lower proficiency in programming. And in the Turkish context, Sert (2008) argues that EMI students fail to effectively assimilate the academic content of their classes because of language proficiency issues.

However, other studies have shown that students in EMI programs do not exhibit significantly lower academic achievement. In Korea, for example, Joe and Lee (2013) found that medical students' lecture comprehension was not significantly different in English or Korean-medium classes. In Italy as well, the academic outcomes of EMI and Italian-medium programs in Economics and International Relations were not found to be significantly different (Costa & Mariotti, 2017). In Spain, undergraduate EMI students have been shown to have comparable, or even slightly better results than students in Spanish-medium programs in history, accounting and finance (Dafouz, Camacho-Miñano & Urquia, 2014; Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano, 2016), as well as business administration (del Campo, Cancer, Pascual-Ezama & Uriquia-Grande, 2015). Hernandez-Nanclaresa and Jimenez-Munoz (2015) find a similar pattern in EMI economics programs, noting that:

> In our results, we could not find that the language of instruction seemed to compromise students' learning of academic content. In fact, what is hinted by these results is the contrary, that those students taught through a foreign language generally learn and perform better (p. 11).

Other studies indicate that language proficiency is only a minor factor in academic success in EMI beyond a certain threshold level. In Denmark, Klaassen and Biemond (2015) have shown that variations in the language proficiency of EMI masters' students have only a minor influence on their overall academic performance. However, in this study, all of the students had already cleared a required benchmark so the variation in language proficiency was limited to the upper end of the scale. Breeze and Miller (2008, 2012), Breeze (2014), and Schoepp and Garinger (2016) showed that for undergraduates, the relationship between academic performance

and language proficiency was a minor factor, assuming students had cleared a language benchmark in the B2 range of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR).

These contradictory findings show that the connection between students' language proficiency and academic performance in EMI may be context-dependent and is in need of more study. In a meta-analysis of the literature on academic performance of EMI students, Zarobe (2015) indicates that the overall trend shows that EMI students do not have significant academic deficits when compared to first-language-medium peers, but she acknowledges that the volume of research is not yet sufficient to make strong claims in this area. Wilkinson (2013), citing Vinke (2010) and de Bot (2011), comes to a similar conclusion, noting an initial lag in academic performance among undergraduate EMI students in Europe, but no long-term hindrance. This initial lag, perhaps associated with the significant mental shift necessary as students transition from studying a second language (L2) to studying *in* L2, and a tendency towards concrete thinking in L2, is also seen in studies of secondary immersion students in Canada and other bilingual education programs (Baker, 2011; Genesee & Lindholm-Leary, 2008; Johnson & Swain, 1994).

In the Japanese context, concerns about domestic students' language proficiency are common among both EMI faculty and administrators (Brown, 2014b, 2015) and those working outside EMI programs. Narita (2013), Saito (2013), and Terashima (2009) are among the many Japanese commentators who question whether or not typical Japanese undergraduates have the English proficiency and preparation they need to take advantage of EMI. They point to the limited vocabulary and poor reading and listening skills of typical undergraduates in Japan and worry that EMI programs may be inaccessible to all but an elite stream of domestic students. As discussed above CEFR B2 is acknowledged as an appropriate starting point for students in EMI and there are indications that with effective language-learning support, B1 students may also have success (Breeze and Miller, 2008, 2012). Even taking this less ambitious B1 benchmark as a starting point, the number of students able to join an EMI program directly from high school will be very limited in Japan. The English language-proficiency test most commonly taken by Japanese high school graduates is known as the STEP-*Eiken* test. The MEXT benchmark for high-school students calls for 50% of graduates to pass the Pre-2 level of the test, corresponding roughly to CEFR A2, a full level below B1. However, a recent review of educational attainment (MEXT, 2016) showed that as of 2015, only 11.5% of high-school graduates had cleared that benchmark. Even adding in students who did not take the test, but were informally assessed as having equivalent or better proficiency by their teachers, the rate only reaches 34.3%. So, if far less than half of potential incoming undergraduates have passed a CEFR A2 benchmark, far fewer will be ready for the much more ambitious B1 required for EMI. More than 40% of universities in Japan now offer undergraduate EMI (MEXT, 2017) and as that number grows, the competition to draw from the very limited number of qualified students will only intensify.

Research on the connection between language proficiency and EMI success is still limited in Japan but several studies identify a range of possible issues. Selzer and Gibson (2009) found that many domestic students in EMI programs have a great deal of trouble with the linguistic challenge of EMI class work and this leads to a high dropout rate in EMI programs. Taguchi and Naguma (2006) report that domestic students feel unprepared for the linguistic demands of EMI, with only high-school language classes as preparation. The students in their study reported particular problems with the lengthy listening and the volume of reading required in EMI classes.

Igawa and Forrester (2016) link the low participation rate of domestic students in university EMI programs to low confidence levels in speaking among graduating high school students. Similarly, Suzuki, Harada, Eguchi, Kudo and Moriya (2017) report that the primary difficulty facing domestic EMI students in Japan is the demand for spontaneous speech production.

However, despite the prevalence of concerns about language proficiency, it seems that little is being done to address these issues; in many EMI programs in Japan, students are, in a sense, left to sink or swim. Language-testing benchmarks are not in place for domestic students in the majority of EMI programs, English for Academic Purposes classes are required in very few EMI programs, and a majority of EMI programs report little or no coordination with English-language teachers on campus (Brown, 2015, 2016a). The lack of benchmarks for domestic students is especially troubling considering the findings of Klaassen and Biemond (2015), Breeze and Miller (2008, 2012), and others who show the importance of a minimum entry level of proficiency for success in EMI. There seems to be an assumption, not only in Japan, but in many other EMI contexts as well, that students' language proficiency will automatically develop through EMI classes, even without dedicated language support (Hamid, Nguyen, & Baldauf, 2013; Wilkinson & Zegers, 2007).

In terms of international students in Japanese EMI programs, there seems to be much less concern over their language proficiency (Brown, 2014b, 2015). These students, even when they are not native speakers of English, are perceived to be, or perhaps assumed to be, more proficient in English and better able to deal with the linguistic demands of EMI than domestic students are. It seems that the use of English creates a wider gap between domestic and international students. Tsuneyoshi (2005) reports that Japanese students feel less able to keep up in EMI classes if there is a mixed domestic and international student body.

Not only students', but also professors' language proficiency may be an issue. Several studies in European contexts have shown that EMI students report dissatisfaction with their domestic professors' English language proficiency (see for example Ammon & McConnell, 2002; Tatzl, 2011). Pronunciation is often cited as a particular issue (Bozdogan & Karlidag, 2013). Professors themselves report that language proficiency issues sometimes interfere with the quality of their teaching (Sullivan & Enever, 2009) and their engagement with students (Tange, 2010), and students comments about teachers reflect the same issues (Heigham, 2017). Faculty language proficiency is also seen to reduce the quantity and quality of material covered in class, when compared with classes conducted in the faculty member's first language (Wilkinson, 2005). Vinke (1995, 2010), and Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems (1998) noted that EMI faculty struggling with English show changes in their classroom practice, compared to when teaching in their first language (L1), including the following: less elaborate presentation and definition of concepts; fewer examples given in class; difficulty explaining the distinction between theory and example; and less interaction with students.

There are however, currently no widely-accepted standards for what level of language proficiency is needed for EMI faculty. Some universities have decided, on simple pragmatic grounds, to require EMI faculty to have at least one CEFR level above the minimum entry requirement for students (see for example Klassen & Bos, 2010). And in some contexts this is directly tested, for example with the Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff developed in Europe (Kling & Stæhr, 2013). However, in Japan, testing of academic staff is difficult due to the strong tradition of academic autonomy in Japanese higher education (Kuwamura, 2017).

For international faculty members, proficiency in English is often assumed, though certainly not all international faculty members involved in EMI are of native English-speaking origins (Brown, 2016b). Even assuming that international faculty members have the required language proficiency to teach in EMI, there is no guarantee that they have the pedagogical and intercultural skills needed to work effectively with students who may lack the same level of proficiency (Horie, 2017). Japanese-language proficiency is also an issue for international faculty members. While not necessary as a classroom language in EMI programs, Japanese-language proficiency plays a large role in how faculty members are positioned in the university community, their level of acceptance, and the degree to which they have a voice in university affairs (Poole, 2010; Rivers, 2010, Brown, 2017b).

2.1.2 Cultural Challenges
The second set of challenges addressed by Bradford (2015, 2016) relates to culture. In earlier iterations of the internationalization of higher education in Japan, predominately East Asian students were recruited into Japanese language programs or Japanese-medium programs and universities were able to "accept them without having to introduce any serious internationalization of the curriculum or teaching methods" (Aspinall, 2013, p. 162). However, the more diverse student body of EMI programs serving international students, and the rapid growth of programs serving domestic students, has led to more challenges. EMI programs are now evolving and adapting to new program identities and classroom cultures. In some cases, these new classroom cultures are being shaped by the interplay of international and domestic students and faculty. In other cases, the demands of EMI itself are driving the changes.

In their discussions of cultural challenges Bradford (2015, 2016) and Tsuneyoshi (2005) take the view that EMI is leading to a more culturally diverse faculty and student body. This diversity in turn means that program stakeholders lack a shared academic culture, that is, they have different norms, practices, and expectations based on the predominate academic culture of their home countries. This can lead to challenges in all areas of the program, both in and outside the classroom. One significant challenge in culturally diverse EMI programs is the challenge of developing faculty members' teaching skills and cultural understanding of the student body. Faculty members may not have the skills necessary to work with students coming from a variety of academic traditions (Whitsed & Volet, 2010) and may not have the resources they need to acquire those skills. While professional development, known as faculty development (FD) in Japan, is now mandatory (Suzuki, 2013), it is not yet widely seen as effective (Fink, 2013) and FD specifically tied to EMI programs is still fairly unusual. In Brown's (2015) survey of EMI programs, 58% reported no FD for EMI faculty, with the rate among private universities reaching 67%.

Along with the need for greater cultural adaptation among faculty, there is a need for students to adapt as well. Students, both international and domestic, may have difficulty adapting to the norms and practices of an EMI program. Yamamoto and her colleagues (Yamamoto & Bysouth, 2015; Yamamoto & Ishikura, 2017) argue that the culture of an EMI program can be especially difficult for students to adjust to when the program is taught by a mix of domestic Japanese and international faculty members, who have different priorities and different expectations for student performance. Many international faculty members may be accustomed to a university system where the students take relatively few courses each semester, but have more class time and more homework or independent study for each. However, many Japanese faculty

members may be accustomed to students having many different courses each semester, with relatively little time dedicated to each. For domestic students in such a program, it can be very difficult to adjust to EMI classes taught by international faculty. The teachers' expectations will be very different and the workload in EMI classes may be much higher than they are accustomed to for a single class. Therefore, the difficulty of domestic students keeping up (Tsuneyoshi, 2005) and the high dropout rate among domestic students (Selzer & Gibson, 2009) in EMI, discussed above, may not simply be language proficiency issues; they may also be cultural issues. Adjusting to the academic culture of an EMI program may also be a problem for international students. It is a challenge for them to adapt to the breadth of coverage typical of a Japanese university and the sheer number of different courses they are required to take (Yamamoto & Ishikura, 2017).

However, for the international students, adjusting to culture outside the classroom may be an even bigger challenge. It should be noted that, unlike the majority of international students, some EMI students, especially those coming to enroll in ETPs, arrive in Japan with little or no Japanese language proficiency. While Japanese-language classes are often included in, or offered parallel to EMI programs for international students in Japan, they are not a central facet of the students' academic program and so may be somewhat perfunctory (Heigham, 2014, 2017). These students are able to communicate with their professors and classmates on academic issues in English, but administrative issues are mainly handled in Japanese. English is a medium of instruction, but most definitely not an administrative language at Japanese universities. There are even greater challenges in on-campus social interactions or off campus when international students in an EMI program try to navigate Japanese culture. Heigham (2014, 2017) reports that such students can feel isolated and unsupported by their universities.

These cultural challenges arising out of diversity are serious issues that need to be addressed in EMI programs which recruit significant numbers of international students or international faculty. However, many EMI programs in Japan are primarily serving the needs of a domestic student body and are staffed by domestic faculty (Brown, 2015). Are these programs then immune from cultural challenges? The situation is not quite that simple. While all stakeholders in such programs may have a shared foundation of Japanese academic culture, a new and different program culture may evolve in EMI contexts. This will be influenced by changes now taking place in the wider higher education landscape in Japan and the demands of EMI itself.

Traditionally, Japanese universities did not place a high priority on students' learning outcomes. In fact, Goodman (2010) has said that Japanese universities "served the interests of the owners and staff more than their students" (p. 69). Faculty members focused on research and administrative duties at the expense of teaching (Arimoto & Ehara, 1996) and classes tended to be teacher-centered with a focus on the retention rather than creation of knowledge, at least at the undergraduate level. Takagi (2017) links this to a Confucian conception of education which "values acquisition of knowledge as a process of transmission from teachers to learners" (p. 64). However, this was not an entirely cultural issue. Considering the low value traditionally placed on student outcomes, this may have been a reasonable response to the incentives present in the higher education sector (Ritschev & Cole, 2003). Nakane (1988) explored the notion of *frames* in Japanese society, noting that the organization one belongs to, one's frame, is often more significant than one's own abilities or accomplishments. In higher education, the university traditionally acted as a frame for students. The university a student graduated from was more important than their actual academic accomplishments. Students were employed on the basis of

which university they graduated from, not what they had studied (Colemen, 1999) so there were very few incentives for universities to focus on learning outcomes, at least for undergraduates.

However, in recent years, universities have been forced to turn their attention to teaching and learning outcomes in response to the massification of higher education. Yamada (2012) argues that increased capacity in the higher education sector has pushed universities to improve their support for learning as a way of competing with their rivals. In the past, the name value of the university and the selectivity of the entrance exam were the main selling points. However, low teacher-student ratios, personal attention and guidance, specialized programs, and targeted education are now increasingly important. In addition, the student body has become more diverse as falling numbers of applicants have pushed many universities to accept students who would not have been admitted in the past. This has created the need for remedial courses and contributed to increasing flexibility in higher education.

Along with these wider-scale shifts in academic culture, EMI programs are also developing new norms and practices with notions of pedagogy and expectations for student performance influenced by both Japanese and western images of what higher education should be (Brown, 2017a; Brown & Adamson, 2012), *western* here often being taken as *American* in Japanese higher education contexts (Dujjaric, 2014). Notions of western pedagogy are layered on a base of Japanese academic norms, creating a blended academic culture. As Korenev (2012) says in discussing EMI programs in both Japan and Russia, the "implemented learning and teaching culture lies upon the original cultural patterns and creates a local variety of western pedagogy with . . . important differences in the substance of teaching" (p. 3). Implementing EMI westernizes the medium of instruction, but does not necessarily fully westernize the classroom culture (Bradford, 2015).

2.1.3 Administrative Challenges

Bradford's third set of challenges is related to administration (2015, 2016). One issue is recruiting and incentivizing faculty. In an earlier study (Brown, 2015), EMI program stakeholders clearly identified the teaching skills, language proficiency, and understanding of EMI of their faculty as key factors in the success in their programs. However, the faculty themselves may not necessarily be up to the challenge. As Yonezawa, Akiba and Hirouchi (2009) say, "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). Finding qualified faculty willing to take on the burden of teaching in English is a difficult and potentially expensive challenge for universities (Ishikawa, 2011).

Currently, EMI programs are taught by a mix of domestic and international faculty (Brown, 2015). In full-degree ETP programs, faculty are predominantly Japanese while in the more common non-degree EMI programs, they are somewhat more diverse, but still largely Japanese. The Japanese faculty teaching in EMI programs are mainly those with international experience, often with graduate degrees earned abroad (Hashimoto, 2005; Manakul, 2007a). However, this is a very small talent pool to draw from. In contrast to Korea and some of Japan's other neighbors, where internationally trained domestic academics are sometimes preferred, 96% of Japanese university faculty have a fully domestic education (Daizen & Yamamoi, 2008).

EMI programs may also recruit foreign faculty members, on the assumption that their language proficiency will not be a problem (Tsuneyoshi, 2005). However, this also leads to some

structural issues. While the faculty may be proficient in English, there is no guarantee that they will have the skills or sensitivity needed to work with students who are not. In addition, foreign faculty are often hired on short-term contracts or placed in special positions without an administrative voice due to a reluctance in the higher education sector to "welcome large numbers of international staff. . .as anything more than visitors" (Rivers 2010, p. 449). This can lead to a lack of institutional memory in the program (Burrows, 2007) and questions about its status on campus (Brown, 2014b, 2017b). English-language teaching faculty are also sometimes recruited for EMI programs, apparently more so at lower-tier universities than at more prestigious institutions (Susser, 2017b). They may convert existing content-based instruction (CBI) or content and language integrated learning (CLIL) classes into EMI classes (Carty & Susser, 2015; Susser, 2017a) or develop entirely new EMI classes (Fujimoto-Adamson & Adamson, 2018). While they have the language proficiency and, presumably, the sensitivity to work with L2 students, questions of their qualifications and the legitimacy of their classes arise due to their lack of specialist content knowledge (Brown, 2014b, 2017b) or their tendency to treat EMI students as language learners (Carty & Susser, 2015; Susser, 2017a).

In addition to the difficulty of finding faculty, there is the question of incentivizing and supporting them. Hashimoto (2005) reports that convincing qualified faculty members to take on EMI classes is a perennial challenge; it has been estimated that teaching a class in EMI requires as much as five times more preparation than a similar class conducted in L1 and EMI teachers may feel overworked (Tsuneyoshi, 2005). In many EMI contexts, this problem is solved through reducing EMI faculty members' workload in other areas. Alternatively, faculty members can be incentivized to take on EMI through increased salary or bonuses (Kurtan, 2004; Paseka, 2000; Tatzl, 2011). However, EMI classes in Japan are often assigned to faculty in addition to their existing workload and Bradford (2016) reports that in most cases in Japan, financial inducements for taking on EMI classes are not in place, and where they are in place, they are often not considered a significant incentive.

For some faculty members however, increased workload and lack of incentives are not the most serious issues. Many object to EMI itself on both the pragmatic grounds of student proficiency and faculty capacity already discussed, and on philosophical grounds – that EMI is not something Japanese universities *should* be doing. Oku (2011) for example questions the implementation of EMI as a possible violation of the linguistic rights of both faculty and students. Also, some critics of EMI (see for example Kubota, 2009; Suzuki, 2008; Terashima, 2009; Tsuda, 2006) consider it a kind of assault on Japanese language, culture and identity. While some might argue that these objections are simply nationalism or cultural isolationism masquerading as philosophical objections (Mulvey, 2017), the fact remains that the expansion of EMI in higher education does not enjoy universal acceptance in Japan.

Along with issues of recruiting and incentivizing EMI faculty members, programs face other serious administrative hurdles. First is the fact that in most EMI programs, English is a classroom language, but not an administrative one. The government has encouraged universities to adopt EMI and has committed significant resources to its development. However, English has not been officially recognized as a medium of instruction (Hashimoto, 2013). Rather, MEXT policies define EMI in terms of *Eigo niyoru jugyou*, lessons conducted in English, so the position of English remains de facto. EMI remains a pedagogical issue, a question of classroom practice at the individual course or program level, not something that implies deep changes in university structures (Bradford & Brown, 2017b). This has implications for both students and teachers. As

discussed above, international students entering EMI programs in Japan, especially full-degree ETPs, often arrive with little or no Japanese-language proficiency. The language barriers between them and the university administration create significant hurdles (Heigham, 2014, 2017). International faculty working in EMI programs face similar language barriers. This, combined with their often short-term or limited employment conditions, denies them a voice in administrative or policy making issues (Brown, 2014b, 2017b).

Other administrative issues facing EMI programs are connected to scheduling difficulties and overall administrative inflexibility. In Japan, there is a debate going on about the academic calendar (see for example Shimmi, 2013). Traditionally, the new academic year begins in April and students graduate in March. Many universities allow September entry, but it is normally reserved for international students or other special cases. However, recent internationalization efforts and the desire to create world-class universities have led the government to consider changing the university calendar to allow for fall entry and summer graduation for all students. While the widespread change for domestic students has not yet happened, many EMI programs, especially full-degree ETPs, have both April and September entry. This is administratively challenging on many levels (Kunioshi & Nakakoji, 2017). Class schedules are difficult to manage, with same class being offered twice, once in the spring for domestic students and again in the fall for international students. In addition, entrance procedures, a huge workload for both faculty and administrators, were once concentrated in the winter to process April entry, but are now part of university life year-round.

Another administrative hurdle is the low, perhaps unsustainably low, number of students in many EMI programs. Brown's (2015) survey found that the majority of undergraduate EMI programs serve less than 10% of the student body, with nearly half serving under 5% of students. In ETPs, the numbers are even lower. Examining ETPs in the Global 30 project, Ota and Horiuchi (2016, 2017) found that half admitted fewer than 20 students and even the largest served only 9% of the students in its department, less than 0.5% of the student body of the entire university. Ota and Horiuchi explain that due to the way ETPs were structured under the Global 30 Project, every seat available to an ETP student represents one fewer seat available to *normal* Japanese students, creating a disincentive for universities to expand the ETPs.

In a related issue, Bradford (2016) argues that many ETPs in Japan have underdeveloped systems for recruiting students. The elite universities where most ETPs have been established have been able to rely on a strong reputation and name recognition in the domestic market. They have always had a surplus of high-quality applicants and have not had to invest in extensive marketing and recruiting. However, many universities are now finding that their name recognition does not extend to the international market. This recently became newsworthy when it was revealed that 70% of students accepted into undergraduate ETPs in 2015 at Japan's leading university, the University of Tokyo, declined the admission offer (Kyodo, 2015). It seems that in many cases, Japanese universities have not made the required mental shift from selecting and accepting students to actively recruiting them. Even though many universities adopted EMI as a way of contending with international competitors or distinguishing themselves from domestic rivals (Brown, 2014b), a strong tendency towards homogeneity in the marketing of higher education (Birchley, 2015, 2017) limits the appeal of EMI programs. This is confounded by a tendency for EMI programs to rely on generalist, short-term administrators (Bradford & Brown, 2017b). Program implementers are relying on their own expertise, often self-taught and generally limited, to develop marketing strategies, which in other contexts would be handled by higher

education marketing professionals (Bradford, 2016).

However, the low number of students in EMI programs and ETPs may not be perceived as a serious issue by stakeholders, at least at the national level. While MEXT policy statements on EMI may seem to imply nationwide, large-scale implementation, this may not be the government's real intention. Rather, the Council for Asian Gateway Initiative (2007) advised that universities should not try to take a one-size-fits-all approach to internationalization and EMI, 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). In addition, through a critical analysis of MEXT's policy statements, Nagatsugawa (2014) argues that the government only ever intended EMI programs to serve an elite stream of domestic undergraduate students at upper-tier universities, perhaps 10% of the national university cohort.

2.1.4 Institutional Challenges
The fourth type of challenge Bradford (2015, 2016) describes is institutional. These challenges relate to the institutional identity of the university as a whole and how the EMI program is perceived to fit into that identity by both EMI stakeholders and members of the university community not associated with the program. One such challenge arises due to a general inflexibility in university administration. EMI programs can grow holistically in a faculty-led bottom-up initiative or they can be driven by top-down decisions by university leadership (Brown, 2014a). In either model, the decision to pursue EMI does not automatically lead to support among university administrators. In fact, Poole (2016, 2017) argues that the bureaucratic nature of university administrations in Japan leads to an almost automatic resistance to internationalization strategies. The bureaucratic ideology, acting through assumptions about what is common knowledge, tacit rather than explicitly stated understandings, reliance on precedent, and a strong sense of the value of the established university identity, seeks to maintain the status quo and works against change and sustainable reform.

However, it should be noted that this resistance to change is not unique to Japan. Fullan and Scott (2009) argue that any university can be inherently change-averse. As a collection of academics, universities are hyper-rational and prone to focus on discussion and analysis. This leads to lengthy discussions and consultative processes as substitutes for real action or change. And in Japan, this maintenance of the status quo is not seen only at the individual institutional level. Rather, an overall stance of risk aversion can be seen in the entire higher education sector (Newby, Weko, Breneman, Johanneson, & Maassen, 2009). This has been exacerbated by recent funding cuts and demographic changes that threaten the very existence of some universities. Internationalization, and by extension, EMI, is seen somewhat paradoxically as both an opportunity and a challenge. In the risk-averse higher education climate, it is implemented, but not fully embraced, leading to what some say is a superficial implementation of EMI (Chapple, 2014; Le Ha, 2013; Hamid, Nguyen, & Baldauf, 2013) .

Newby, et al. (2009) also note a lack of long-term strategic planning at many, if not most universities in Japan. It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that there is a great deal of ad hoc implementation of EMI programs (Brown, 2015; Kudo & Hashimoto, 2011) and a lack of clarity about program goals. EMI stakeholders in Japan sometimes find themselves unsure of their program's position in the university community or the role they are meant to play in the university's development (Brown, 2014a; Brown & Iyobe, 2014). Ng (2016) notes that there appears to be a general disconnect between university decision-makers and implementers of EMI

programs in Japan, with university leaders basing decisions on unrealistic assumptions about what EMI can accomplish, and the resources necessary to implement it well. It seems that in many cases, EMI is being adopted without a long-term vision of what its place is meant to be, what exactly it is meant to accomplish, and how it is supposed to accomplish those aims.

High levels of micro-political behavior is another issue often seen at universities around the world (Scott, Coates, & Anderson, 2008). Universities tend to be individualistic; faculty are generally rewarded for individual accomplishments and there is a great deal of autonomy in research and teaching. This creates a difficult micro-political climate in which entrenched interests and individual rivalries can derail change initiatives (Fullan & Scott, 2009). In this micro-political climate, cliques, based on disciplinary or other groupings, appear and social boundaries arise. While EMI programs do not necessarily create more micro-political strife than other reform initiatives would, they may be more vulnerable to it. Political opposition to EMI may arise from philosophical objections, pragmatic worries about its impact on students, or simply from concerns about funding and resource allocations. Whatever the source of opposition, EMI programs may be at risk. In Japan, with EMI programs often being implemented in an ad hoc manner and positioned peripherally (Brown, 2016a, 2017b), they are not seen as key to the mission of the university, nor to its identity (Toh, 2013, 2016). In addition, since both administrators and faculty associated with EMI programs are often on short-term contracts and/or are employed under narrowly defined conditions, they are not considered full-fledged stakeholders in planning and policy decision making. Earlier research (Brown, 2014b, 2017b) showed that this leaves EMI programs in Japan open to micro-political attacks from other programs or departments because program stakeholders lack sufficient status or position to give the program a strong sense of identity or validity.

An additional factor is a common lack of internal communication at universities (Scott, Coates, & Anderson, 2008). Formal communication channels between departments are underused and informal channels between cliques do not develop; information is isolated and a gap develops between those who have information and those who may be in a position to use it. Innovations are often unknown beyond the circle of direct stakeholders. In EMI programs in Japan, this can manifest itself in a lack of coordination between language-teaching and content specialists (Brown, 2016a) or sometimes even a lack of communication between different EMI programs operating on the same campus (Brown, 2014b, 2017b).

2.2 Findings of Earlier Research
While this study stands as an independent piece of research, it is closely related to two earlier studies, which also address the challenges faced by EMI programs in Japan. To provide context for the current study, summaries of earlier findings are provided below.

2.3.1 A Pilot Study
The first stage of this research project (Brown, 2014b), a pilot project for the current study, was based on semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in undergraduate EMI program at eight universities. Findings emerged in three main areas: drivers of the rapid growth in EMI, the structure and organization of programs, and factors facilitating or hindering implementation of EMI at Japanese universities.

Driving Forces behind the Growth of EMI

EMI has grown dramatically in the past 15 years and more than 40% of Japan's nearly 800 universities now offer some undergraduate courses in EMI. This growth can be explained in terms of large-scale global and national trends including globalization, increasing student mobility, recognition by government and business of higher education as an export product, and growing competition to attract and retain top quality faculty and students. These factors are pushing universities around the world to adopt English, the acknowledged lingua franca of academia, as a medium of instruction and Japan is no exception. The Japanese government has acknowledged these pressures and set clear goals for, and funding structures in support of, the internationalization of higher education. EMI programs are seen as a cornerstone of this plan.

However, the international and national trends are not the only drivers in the development of EMI in Japan. Government support for EMI has mainly been focused on large, elite institutions, but EMI has grown considerably beyond those programs directly funded by the government. In fact, by 2008, when the first large-scale funding project supporting EMI started, more than 25% of universities in Japan were already offering EMI. Local contextual factors are also playing a role at universities implementing EMI programs.

One such local factor is rivalry among universities. This is partly due to competition to attract students and a desire to avoid being left behind. Even when there is no intrinsic desire among university leaders to internationalize, not having an explicit internationalization plan, often including an EMI program, would leave the university apparently falling behind its perceived competitors and rivals. Thus, universities implement EMI in response to rivals doing so, rather than as an actual considered curriculum priority. This desire to keep up is compounded by the assumption that EMI programs can help to maintain or improve a university's position on national and international rankings tables.

Another important local factor, related to competition among universities, is the use of EMI as a promotional tool. Though EMI programs are financial and human resources burdens, they offer promotional and image-building opportunities. EMI for domestic students gives a university a sense of academic rigor and EMI programs which attract foreign students give the university an international image. Both of these factors are seen as having the potential to attract higher quality domestic students. This is an important factor considering that demographic changes and excess higher education capacity mean that nearly half of private universities are currently unable to recruit enough students to fill all available seats.

Where EMI programs developed as bottom-up initiatives pushed by faculty, rather than university leadership, academic and professional benefits for students are also seen as motivating factors. EMI programs are seen as a potential advantage in job hunting or graduate school applications. EMI is also seen as excellent preparation for study abroad programs. Even for students who do not plan to study abroad, EMI is seen as offering them an alternate perspective and access to a wider academic tradition. EMI is also associated with improved language learning outcomes.

EMI also has benefits for faculty members. For some, it can be a route to obtaining social capital in the university community. When EMI is positioned as a flagship program, being associated with it can increase one's status. Or, for language teachers, teaching *real* content classes can change how they are perceived among the faculty. For other faculty members, EMI represents an interesting challenge, a chance for professional development.

Structure and Organization of EMI Programs

EMI programs in Japan fall into one of six broad, overlapping categories (see Table 3). Interestingly, these categories are not necessarily cleanly divided by university. Some universities have a single program with clearly defined boundaries, but most offer EMI in multiple patterns, sometimes coordinated, sometimes not, implying that EMI programs develop on a department-level basis, not as a coordinated university-wide strategy.

Table 2

Six Patterns of Undergraduate EMI in Japan

Category	Description
1. ad hoc	A few classes across the curriculum. Often taught by a foreign language teacher. Generally isolated, not a significant part of the curriculum.
2. Semi-structured	Positioned within a given department. Several classes related to students' major. Often elective, but may be required.
	Taught by content experts (Japanese or foreign) or by language (often foreign). Not formalized as a program.
3. Integrated	Positioned within a given department. Formalized program (often elective) with entry / exit benchmarks and completion requirements. Often has a formal program name and a certificate of completion / diploma.
	EMI forms a significant part of studies related to students' major.
4. +α program	Possibly formalized program serving students from several departments. EMI credits offered in addition to students' major.
	Often run parallel to program for incoming exchange students.
	Often has a formal program name and a certificate of completion / diploma.
5. English-taught Program (ETP)	Entire undergraduate degree offered in EMI.
6. Campus-wide	All, or nearly all, undergraduate classes are taught in English.
	May be paired with a strong EAP program for incoming students.

A great deal of variety was seen in program size; however, most EMI programs seem to serve less than 5% of the student body, indicating they occupy a somewhat peripheral position in the university. Interestingly, both the faculty and students in most EMI programs seem to be domestic. International students and foreign faculty are part of many EMI programs, but they are not the major drivers. A notable exception to this pattern is seen in the limited number of full-degree English-taught programs in Japan. In these programs, the majority of students are international. Some such programs are exclusively for international students; they are formally closed to Japanese students.

Facilitating Factors
Several factors emerged as being important in EMI program development. In initial stages, even before the program is actually established, questions of status and position, issues of territoriality, the overall position and financial health of the institution, and the value of external validation are related to the decision to implement EMI. Implementation may be easier and smoother in a university where EMI stakeholders occupy higher status positions in the university community,

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, become more important in the development of EMI programs. EMI programs 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, and encourage communication among EMI stakeholders.

2.3.2 A Nationwide Survey
The second stage of this research project (Brown, 2015) was based on a nation-wide survey of all universities known to offer undergraduate EMI programs at that time. With a response rate of 46% (n=118), the survey results can paint a clear picture of overall trends in EMI program implementation around Japan, with key findings emerging in five areas.

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. Also, EMI programs tend not to be integrated into students' mainstream learning experiences. While some universities offer 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. Also, undergraduate full-degree English-taught programs are still rare in Japan, available at fewer than 30 universities. However, there are also indications that EMI is growing in Japan. The number of universities offering EMI is rising and at universities with established EMI programs, there is a general trend towards larger, more organized programs. More than 75% of responding universities are now expanding or planning to expand their EMI offerings.

EMI Programs Serving Domestic Students
The focus of EMI in Japan is clearly on domestic students. Rationales for implementing EMI are tied to educational outcomes for domestic students and students in non-degree EMI programs are predominately domestic. The faculty involved in many EMI programs are also predominately domestic. In ETP programs, 2/3 of responding universities have predominately, or all, Japanese content specialist faculty. For non-degree EMI programs, the figures are slightly more balanced, but Japanese faculty members are in the majority.

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. The qualifications of, support and understanding from, and faculty development for faculty members are among the factors that universities identify as keys for success in EMI programs. In addition, faculty's lack of understanding of, and interest in, EMI were significant challenges at a fairly large number of universities. However, faculty development activities tied to EMI are provided at fewer than 1/3 of responding universities.

In addition to the needs of faculty, there is also a mismatch with regards to students in EMI programs. The single largest issue facing EMI programs is low language proficiency of

domestic students. However, little is being done to deal with this situation. Language-proficiency benchmarks are not in place at a majority of universities offering EMI, nearly half of universities report that there is little or no communication between content and language teachers, and only seven of 118 responding universities require English for Academic Purposes classes before or during the EMI program.

EMI Programs Focused on the Humanities and Social Sciences
EMI classes in the humanities are the most common, followed by social sciences and natural sciences. The focus on humanities is even stronger at private universities. It should be noted, however, that in full-degree English-taught programs, technical fields were the most common, followed by natural sciences.

Multiple Images of EMI
There is no single picture of EMI in Japan. Rather, there are a number of patterns of implementation of EMI depending on the situation and context facing the individual university. The size and the funding source of a university seem to have some influence on how it approaches EMI. For example, small universities are more likely to have a balance of foreign and Japanese faculty while 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. In addition, publicly-funded universities are more likely to be expanding current EMI programs while more private universities are implementing EMI for the first time. Also, publicly-funded universities have more variety in the fields they offer in EMI while private universities are more limited to humanities and social sciences.

However, more striking than differences among universities, are the differences which did not appear in the data. Private or public funding and the size of the university seemed to have no effect on the rationales for implementing EMI, the role of EMI in university marketing, the nationality breakdown of students, or approaches to students' language proficiency.

2.3 Facing Challenges: Examples of Good Practice in EMI
The challenges discussed above, both from the literature and from earlier findings in this project, may paint a somewhat pessimistic picture of EMI implementation in Japan. However, it is important to keep in mind that there are examples of good practice in EMI in the literature. This section introduces some of the factors that have been identified as critical in developing successful EMI both in programs abroad and in Japanese higher education.

To begin with a wide view, Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez, and Frigols-Martin (2013) published a comprehensive overview of factors that need to be considered in planning and implementing an EMI program. They discuss 26 "key actions and processes that are required to successfully launch and operate higher education degree programs provided in English" (p. 9). While their work draws heavily on research and experience in European contexts and is mainly aimed at full-degree ETPs, the *levers* they describe are relevant in many EMI situations (see Table 2).

Table 3
 Summary of Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez, and Frigols Martin's (2013) 26 levers for EMI programs

	Lever	Description
1.	Language Policy	Well-thought-out language policies provide a valuable guide and sense of direction for planning and implementation.
2.	Program Objectives	Rather than the often vaguely defined, *internationalization*, concrete and comprehensive program objectives are needed.
3.	Language Plan	The program needs a concrete plan for how to achieve its objectives, abide by the language policy, and work within contextual constraints.
4.	English Fluency	Fluency in English is key for students, faculty, and administrators in EMI programs. Rather than a static trait, it should be seen as a constantly developing competence that needs to be supported.
5.	Faculty Incentives	Teaching in an additional language is challenging and faculty members may need to be incentivized through financial rewards, reductions in other duties, or support for research projects.
6.	Language Specialists	Language teaching specialists play an important role in EMI and should be, as much as possible, integrated into the program to provide ongoing support to students.
7.	Links to Research	Rather than being simply an educational program, a successful EMI program will include long-term strategic aims to attract students who can contribute to the university research agenda.
8.	Educational Technologies	Though important in any program, information technology plays a particular role in EMI programs due to its potential for supporting international communication and collaboration.
9.	Student Intake	Universities need to adopt a more comprehensive and strategic view of student recruitment; an approach which is consistent with the overall policy, plans, and objectives of the program.
10.	Faculty Involvement	Due to the workload and potentially face-threatening aspects of teaching in English, faculty members should participate in EMI programs by choice, rather than by being coerced.
11.	Coordination and Dialogue	Despite a tradition of faculty independence, EMI programs call for greater degrees of collaboration and communication, both in initial implementation and as an ongoing feature of the program.
12.	English Language Objectives	EMI programs need to acknowledge that language-proficiency outcomes are important program goals, and content specialists, who have traditionally not been involved in language teaching, need to work towards those objectives.
13.	Learning Benchmarks	Continuous formative assessment has been shown to be more effective than summative assessment in EMI programs, especially for a multicultural student body.
14.	Concept Formation	Concept formation is a key element of higher order learning, but it is sometimes problematic in EMI contexts. Peer-supported learning to support co-construction of knowledge is recommended.
15.	English Language Program	Other than in cases where the incoming students' language level is very low, integrated language and content programs are seen to be more effective for EMI.

16.	Plagiarism Management	Plagiarism is more tempting for students working in L2 and more difficult to detect for faculty working in L2. Clear policies and support mechanisms are needed.
17.	Support Staff	Administrative staff who can communicate in English are necessary to support both students and faculty working in EMI programs, especially when they do not speak the home language of the wider university community.
18.	Faculty Cooperation	Individual faculty members working in EMI have increased opportunities for collaboration with academics abroad and greater possibilities for international exposure for their work. The program should support these connections.
19.	Cooperative Ventures	EMI programs can be designed to give universities greater flexibility in appealing to international partners.
20.	Communities of Practice	Given the distinct identity that EMI programs have on campus, they provide an opportunity to develop a community of practice. This can be encouraged by fostering cooperative projects and encouraging input from all stakeholders.
21.	Interactional Methodologies	Considering the generational shift towards more interactive and contributory media, and the increased language fatigue experienced by L2 students listening to extended monologues in lecture classes, EMI programs should be based on active learning strategies.
22.	Conceptual Scaffolding	Because of the added challenges of both teaching and learning in one's L2, EMI programs need to pay more attention to scaffolding of ideas and concepts.
23.	Quality Assurance	A culture of quality assurance should be planned into the program from the outset to ensure that accurate assessments of the program can be made and acted on.
24.	Digitized Learning Environments	EMI programs need to take advantage of improving technologies for digital delivery of content and explore the benefits of *flipped* classrooms.
25.	Social Media	Social media represents a new opportunity for communication among students and faculty. In EMI programs, where language proficiency is a key concern, social media gives students and faculty an opportunity to explore and stretch their language skills.
26.	Virtual Environments	Web-based tools and learning environments are especially relevant for EMI. Thye give students access to materials and learning experiences that may be impossible to provide on campus given the limits on the English-proficiency of faculty or the availability of English-medium materials and resources.

Other examples from the literature confirm and expand on some of Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez, and Frigols Martins (2013) levers with a focus on IT solutions, interactive approaches to teaching and learning, and support for students' language proficiency seeming to dominate the discourse. In Spain, Jimenez-Munoz (2015) recommends greater reliance on IT solutions for EMI programs facing a lack of human resources or appropriate materials, suggesting that a flipped

classroom or blended learning solutions may be appropriate, assuming that students have enough study time outside of class to effectively engage in them. In a comparison of EMI programs in Hong Kong and Germany, Wannagat (2007) finds that interactive approaches to teaching and learning, and constructive processes during such classroom interaction are vital, implying that a shift to active learning is necessary in EMI programs. And many universities are offering training and accreditation programs to help academic staff in EMI competencies, including active learning and intercultural communication (see for example Costa, 2015; Haines, 2014).

In an investigation of an undergraduate EMI program in Spain, Barrios, López-Gutiérreza, and Lechugaa (2015) found that language-proficiency issues were the main concerns; students lacked sufficient proficiency to interact in classroom activities in a sophisticated manner and faculty lacked sufficient proficiency to facilitate such interaction. In order to move the program towards more positive outcomes, stakeholders began an innovation project centered on collaboration and interaction. On the faculty side, EMI teachers participated in workshops and seminars hosted by faculty members with EMI experience. The program also instituted more collaboration with language-teaching specialists for reciprocal classroom observation and joint teaching materials development. On the students' side, teaching assistants were added to the program to provide in-class language support, workshops on content-specific language issues, and tutorial sessions on lesson topics. In addition these teaching assistants worked with faculty members to provide feedback on classroom language use, assist with developing and editing teaching materials, and identify areas of special need in the students' language use. Students were also given tailored language courses based on observations of actual language use in EMI courses. The program also developed an on-line glossary of key content-specific terms and a repository of related text and multi-media resources for students to access.

In examples from Asia, linguistic challenges are seen to be the main issues and translanguaging is suggested as a possible solution. Translanguaging, the strategic use of multiple languages, allows students to not simply use English in EMI and their first language in L1-medium classes, but to shift from one to another and effectively use resources from both to scaffold their language-proficiency development and content understanding. Canagarajah (2006) argues that, rather than the English-only policies common in language education and EMI programs, such shifting between languages should be encouraged.

> Rather than simply joining a speech community, then, we should teach students to shuttle between communities…. Not only must we possess a repertoire of codes from the English language, we must also learn to use it in combination with other world languages (p.26).

In Indonesia, Ibrahim (2001) and Barnard (2014) advocate for this kind of translanguaging. Indonesian undergraduate students are typically not linguistically prepared for EMI and cannot take full advantage of classes offered in English and thus suffer not only academically, but also socially and even emotionally. The solution may be creating bridges to EMI with complementary L1 use and strong English language preparation focusing on EAP. Only with such preparation can students be expected to perform at an academically satisfactory level. In the Vietnamese context, Vu and Burns (2014) found that the major challenges facing EMI were linguistic and institutional. The students' low language proficiency was seen to be interfering with content learning and university leaders implemented EMI without understanding its needs or implications, and without

committing sufficient resources. To address the linguistic challenges, they advocate strategic use of translanguaging as a scaffold for students' language development and content learning. To address the lack of resources, they recommend additional investments in human resources and the adoption of more digital learning environments to take advantage of international EMI resources.

Looking in more detail at examples of good practice from the Japanese context, we see some resonance with the levers described by Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez, and Frigols-Martin (2013). Iyobe and Li (2013; 2017), for example, profile an EMI social sciences program, specifically looking at economics classes taught in English. They noted that overlaps between the language program, the EMI program, and classes taught in Japanese were important. The program they describe is fairly typical of EMI in Japan, with domestic students taking up to approximately one-third of their courses in English. They found that by carefully choosing which courses were to be taught in English, and thinking about their sequencing relative to the Japanese-medium courses, they were able to support the students' acquisition of key content knowledge and skills. Iyobe and Li also found that a sense of critical mass seems to be important in developing EMI programs. At many universities in Japan, the number of EMI courses available is very limited because of the workload involved for both faculty and students. At the same time, students joining EMI courses may opt to take a single course, rather than joining a formal program. While this seems like an easier option for the students, Iyobe and Li argue that more exposure to EMI, rather than less, is the easier option over the long term. They note that with more exposure, students' confidence and ability to perform in EMI classes increases. This is consistent with the notion discussed above of a lag in academic performance at early stages of EMI programs (Wilkinson, 2013). If students only take one or two EMI classes, they never move beyond this initial stage. Iyobe and Li also found that the collaboration between the language and content faculty members was a key factor in the program's success. Through this collaboration, content specialists gained a better understanding of the students' abilities and language proficiency, and the language specialists gained firsthand knowledge of the students' needs.

Honma (2003, 2012) and Aloiua (2008) also discuss the importance of coordination between language and content specialists. The economics department of their university developed a successful EMI program for domestic students which rested on an intensive English preparation program for incoming students and EMI courses beginning in their second year. In this case as well, coordination and communication between language specialists and content specialists was seen to be a key factor in the success of the program. Careful sequencing of courses taught in English and support for students developing their academic literacies were also important elements. Since the program descriptions were first published, the program has developed and become a successful full-degree English-taught program serving both domestic and international students, and the model has been copied by other departments in the university now implementing similar programs.

Manakul (2004, 2007a, 2007b; see also Manakul & Ueda, 2011) describes an EMI engineering program for a mixed cohort of international and domestic students in Japan. Among the key features of the program, Manakul notes that a diverse faculty is important. A variety of teaching styles and points of view allow the program to better serve the needs of students. Manakul also notes that an active approach to learning leads to better outcomes in EMI programs than traditional lectures do. A final point is the need for quality assurance. Manakul stresses that it is not enough simply to implement an EMI program; there needs to be an ongoing assessment of program aims and outcomes to ensure that students' needs are being met.

Yamamoto and Bysouth (2015) use their experiences in an international liberal arts program as a starting point for their discussion of excellence in EMI (see also Ishikura , 2015, 2016; Yamamoto & Ishikura, 2017 for further discussion of this program). The program serves both international and domestic students and features a mixed international and domestic faculty body. Yamamoto and Bysouth point to this diversity as a strength of the program, but stress that such diversity makes communication and collaboration even more important. With students and faculty coming from a variety of backgrounds, stakeholders cannot assume a shared understanding of program aims or even classroom expectations. It is important to establish clear communications and provide explicit information to students about their expected performance and meaningful feedback on their work. However, it is not enough for the communications to go one way; Yamamoto and Ishikura (2017) stress the importance of feedback from students. With a diverse student body, eliciting and acting on feedback is key to ensuring that students' needs are being met.

Fujimoto-Adamson and Adamson (2018), explore teaching practices in English-medium Linguistics classes at two universities in Japan (also see Adamson & Coulson, 2014, 2015). Their findings stress the importance of translanguaging. The strategic use of the students' L1 provides a valuable linguistic scaffold to support students as they struggle to both learn the specific class contents and develop their overall academic literacies in English. Translanguaging also serves to mitigate the potentially demotivating effects of strict monolingual practices.

These examples of good practice in Japan show some resonance with the levers described by Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez, and Frigols-Martin (2013), noting the importance of the following factors: overlaps with the mainstream Japanese-medium program; coherence and careful sequencing among EMI classes; communication between content and language specialists; support for students language proficiency and academic development; translanguaging and a respect for the role of students' L1; and ongoing quality assurance and feedback, both for and from students. However, these examples of good practice in Japanese EMI programs are just that, examples. The studies cited above are single-site descriptions of practice or studies conducted by internal stakeholders. There seems to be a gap in the current literature in terms of parallel studies of good practice at multiple EMI programs.

2.4 Summary of the Challenges and Solutions
The current wave of EMI initiatives in Japan, while not entirely new, is unprecedented in terms of the scope and pace of implementation. As programs are implemented and evolve, program-level stakeholders face challenges in four key areas. Linguistic challenges relate to the language proficiency of students and faculty. Since domestic students, and many international students as well, will be studying in their second language in EMI classes, there is a need to ensure that they have sufficient language proficiency for academic success. And since in Japan, EMI faculty are predominantly domestic, the same can be said for them. In mixed domestic and international programs, cultural challenges arise from the interaction of students and faculty from different backgrounds and different academic traditions. Even when the program is entirely domestic, as is common in Japan, EMI has a tendency to be marginalized and isolated from the mainstream of campus life, allowing a unique program culture to emerge. Administratively, recruiting faculty for EMI programs is a concern. Even when faculty with the necessary language proficiency are available, questions of how to incentivize and support them need to be addressed. Recruiting students is also an issue. EMI programs tend to be small, often serving a little as 5% of the

student body and systems for recruiting and admitting students have not yet fully matured. At the institutional level, university leaders may base their decisions about EMI programs on unrealistic and simplistic assumptions about its potential and the resources necessary to implement it well. There is also a general lack of flexibility in administrative structures that pushes EMI initiatives into marginal or peripheral positions in the university community.

In the researcher's earlier work on this topic, the first two parts of this three-part study, several interesting findings emerged. First, it was clear that a mix of policy initiatives and market forces are pushing EMI implementation in Japan. Government drives to recruit international students and foster global *jinzai* among domestic students are aligning with universities' need to distinguish themselves from rivals, both at home and abroad. Amid these overlapping drivers, EMI programs are responding to the pressures and constraints of their local contexts and evolving in different ways, leading to a variety of implementation models. There is no single image of EMI in Japan. Key challenges faced by stakeholders as they implement EMI programs were consistent with those seen in the literature and included issues of institutional positioning, the difficulty of recruiting qualified faculty, and the low language proficiency of domestic students.

Examples of good practice from the literature have shown the importance of e-learning and interactive pedagogies for success in EMI. Effective ways to assess and support students' English-language proficiency are also vital, as is a respect for the role of L1 in EMI programs. To combat the tendency for EMI to be marginalized, and to better support students' learning, it is important to make EMI a coherent part of the mainstream curriculum of the university. It is also very important to not lose sight of the need for ongoing development and management of EMI programs. With effective communication among stakeholders and a willingness to act on feedback from students, a program can evolve to better serve the students' needs and the university's aims.

The following chapter explains the research context and methodology of the current study, which seeks to show how these, and other, aspects of good practice are being implemented at four newly forming EMI programs in Japan.

Chapter 3 Methodology and Research Sites

As discussed above, there has been an increasing volume of research into EMI programs in Japan in recent years. Policy issues surrounding EMI implementation have been explored (see for example Hashimoto, 2005; Poole, 2016; Rose & McKinley, 2017), challenges faced by students and faculty are examined in a growing number of papers (see for example Carty & Susser, 2015; Heigham, 2014; Ng, 2016), and classroom-level descriptions of practice have been published (see for example Honma, 2003; Iyobe & Li, 2013; Sekiya, 2005; Selzer & Gibson, 2009; Toh, 2013). There have also been several more comprehensive, book-length publications on the topic (see for example recent books in English by Bradford & Brown, 2017b; Toh, 2016; Yamamoto and Bysouth, 2015; and in Japanese by Shimauchi, 2016; Yokota & Kobayashi, 2013). However, discussions of program-level implementation are still lacking and this is a significant gap in the literature. Stakeholders working towards EMI implementation cannot, at present, expect clear practical guidance or a coherent sense of direction from the literature. To fill this gap, the current study explores the planning and early implementation of EMI programs in Japan by looking at examples of how EMI programs were initially developed at the program level.

Four universities implementing EMI for the first time, or expanding limited programs implemented earlier, were chosen as cases. The EMI programs at these universities were followed from the planning stage, to implementation, and through the early stages of development, with primary data generated through semi-structured interviews with program stakeholders, specifically, faculty members involved in program planning, curriculum design, and the implementation of EMI classes. The main purpose of the study is to explore the notion of good practice in program planning in order to establish possible guidelines for program-level stakeholders for future developments.

3.1 The Research Context
For this study, in order to reflect the overall research context in Japan, research sites were chosen with the following criteria in mind:

1. Programs fitting into Shimauchi's global citizen or crossroads models, as discussed above, were chosen. Based on Shimauchi's work (2016, 2017a) and a 2014 nationwide survey of EMI programs in Japan (Brown, 2015), it seems clear that these models catering for domestic students are the most common and fastest growing approaches to EMI in Japan.
2. Since the majority of EMI programs in Japan concentrate on the humanities and social sciences (Brown, 2015), EMI programs in these fields were chosen for study.
3. Programs not supported by the Global 30 and Top Global University funding schemes were chosen. Both of these funding schemes are very high profile in Japan and have received a great deal of attention both in the mass media and the academic literature. The Global 30 program has been discussed in great detail by Aspinall (2013), Bradford (2015; 2016), Burgess, Gibson, Klaphake and Selzer (2010), Heigham (2014; 2017), Ishikawa (2011), Yamamoto and Bysouth (2015) and many others. With so much attention focused on the Gobal 30 and Top Global programs, it can be easy to forget that the Global 30 included only 13 universities, approximately 4% of the universities currently offering EMI in Japan. Even the much larger Top Global program represents only approximately 12% of university EMI

programs. In addition, given the generous funding available to Global 30 and Top Global universities, and the somewhat strict conditions imposed by the terms of the funding schemes, EMI programs developed at these universities may not reflect the natural evolution of EMI in Japan.

4. New programs were chosen in order to focus the study on early implementation. Decisions made early on in planning and implementation have long-lasting effects and this project was intended to look at the early stages of program development.

3.2 Choice of Research Sites

Four universities fitting the above criteria were chosen for this study. The decision to examine four universities, rather than a single institution, was based on the desire to get multiple views of EMI development and to increase the likelihood of stakeholders at other universities finding resonance with the results presented here (Patton, 2005; Yin, 2013). It should be noted that the researcher's own institution is not among the research sites. This decision was taken in order to set this study apart from a tendency towards self-reporting in the current literature on EMI in Japan. Many of the studies cited above are written by internal stakeholders about their own programs (see for example, Aloiau, 2008; Carty & Susser, 2006; Chapple, 2014; Heigham, 2014, 2017; Honma 2003, 2012; Iyobe & Li, 2013; Kunioshi & Nakakoji, 2017; Manakul, 2004, 2007a, 2007b; Ng, 2016; Poole, 2016, 2017; Selzer & Gibson, 2009; Toh, 2013, 2016; Tsuneyoshi, 2005; Yamamoto & Ishikura, 2017). This includes some of the researcher's own earlier work on this topic (Brown & Adamson, 2012; Brown, 2017a). While these internal voices of course have value and contribute interesting insights into the issues surrounding EMI, this study seeks to examine EMI program development from an outsider perspective.

The decision to limit the study to only four universities was taken for two reasons. First was to ensure that each program could be studied in appropriate depth. Working with a larger number of research sites has the potential to create logistical problems which would limit the number of site visits, and thus the depth of understanding possible for each program. For example, the pilot study for this project (Brown, 2014b) was conducted at eight research sites around Japan; however, each was visited only once. As such, the data generated in the pilot study was, unavoidably, insufficient for an in-depth study. The pilot study also largely examined established EMI programs meaning that stakeholders were asked to remember discussions and decisions from years, and in some cases decades, before, and that, given the somewhat fluid nature of EMI program staffing, some current stakeholders were not associated with their program's early development. For that reason, this study prioritized examining new programs.

This focus on newly forming programs led to the second factor in the choice to study only four universities, the limited number of potential research sites. While more than 40% of universities now offer EMI and that number continues to grow, the number of universities developing new EMI programs at any one time is limited. As shown in Table 4 the number of universities reporting to MEXT (2017) that they have EMI programs is rising. For example, at the time this study was being planned, between 2012 and 2013, the number rose from 241 to 262, an increase of 21 universities, and it increased again by 14 in 2014. However, these programs were not included in MEXT records until they had begun to accept students and conduct classes. Therefore, since these were new programs, not all were known to the researcher and thus not all were potential research sites.

Table 4

Number of Universities Offering Undergraduate EMI (MEXT, 2017)

Universities (total)	2005	2007	2009	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
National (86)	42	44	47	47	50	59	59	61
Public (83)	16	24	24	21	27	29	28	30
Private (601)	118	122	123	154	164	174	187	214
Total (770)	176	190	194	222	241	262	274	305
Rate	22.8%	24.6%	25.2%	30.1%	32.4%	35.5%	37.1%	40.9%

Based on the researcher's knowledge of developments in EMI in the higher education sector, a short list of universities known to be developing new EMI programs in the global citizen or crossroad model was developed. From the short list, several universities were contacted and asked to participate in the project. Initial contact was made through personal connections between the researcher and an individual program stakeholder at each university. The individual stakeholder was approached and arranged introductions to other stakeholders and program leaders. Three universities (Universities A, B, and C) from the short list agreed to participate in the current project. In the case of University D, initial contact was made by a stakeholder from the university's EMI program. The researcher was invited to be an informant in a research project conducted by the EMI program as part of their start-up preparations. This led to reciprocal research participation. In the end, four universities participated as research sites (see Table 5). In all cases, following initial contact and informal discussions, the researcher submitted a request for research cooperation (see Appendix A) to the head of the program and approval was granted at the program or department level, after which, individual stakeholders were formally asked to participate.

Table 5

Overview of Research Sites

	University A	University B	University C	University D
Type	Private	National	Private	Private
Approximate number of undergraduate students*	2000	4500	9000	8000
Approximate number of international students*	10	60	500	120
Planned number of students in EMI program per year*	10	30	115	200
Focus of EMI program	Liberal Arts	Economics	Global Communication	Liberal Arts & Social Sciences

	University A	University B	University C	University D
Program Category**	Global Citizen	Global Citizen	Crossroad	Global Citizen
Start of EMI program (MM/YY of first cohort's enrolment)	4/2015	4/2015	4/2016	4/2016

Notes:
*Data collected from individual university websites, current as of the 2016 academic year.
** From Shimauchi (2016)

It should be noted that since initial contact with the research sites was made based on personal connections, a certain element of convenience sampling is present in the choice. However, this was seen as unavoidable due to the challenges of gaining research access in Japan. In previous studies (Brown, 2014a; 2014b) several formal requests for research cooperation sent to program leaders without the benefit of personal connections or introductions were met with indifference or simply rejected. In the current study as well, two EMI programs rejected requests for research access. This is possibly due to two overlapping issues raised by Coleman (2003) in his discussion of institutional research access in Japan: status and interest. First, the researcher's affiliation may be considered by some to be of insufficient standing in the Japanese university hierarchy. The researcher is a full-time faculty member at a Japanese university, but it is a minor, rural university with very little name recognition outside its immediate area. Also the researcher's affiliation with a prestigious British university is as a research student, not a full-fledged researcher. In addition, the benefits of participation in the research were perhaps not clearly seen by decision makers. The topic of the research and its possible outcomes may be of significance to stakeholders charged with implementing EMI, but, as discussed above, those with decision-making authority are somewhat separated from day-to-day implementation and may have been indifferent to the topic. And so, rather than a formal, top-down approach, initial contact was achieved through what Culter (2003) calls an "interlocking set of connections and introductions" (p. 220) that are seen to be vital in establishing the relationships which eventually lead to trust and access in Japanese contexts.

3.3 Overview of Participants
Table 6 shows an overview of the research participants interviewed for this study, identified by pseudonym, given names only. At each research site, participants were initially self-selected. After obtaining program-level research cooperation, individual faculty members were contacted and invited to participate in the research project. All those who volunteered were interviewed, but, as can be seen in Table 5, some stakeholders were interviewed on multiple occasions while others were spoken to only once. Participants interviewed on multiple occasions were those in key roles in their EMI program and were seen to be able to provide insights into its development. These key roles included: those in official leadership positions in the program, such as Tim, a department dean; those in unofficial leadership roles, such as Takuya, a leader in organizing his

university's program; those occupying a position at a nexus in the program organization and in a position to observe aspects of the program beyond their own responsibilities, such as Angela, working as both a language and content teacher, as well as sitting on the university's international affairs committee and the EMI program steering committee; and those who were able to see the program development from the very beginning, such as Akira, who headed the EMI program planning group and was instrumental in his university's decision to pursue EMI.

Table 6
Research Participants

University	Participant Pseudonym (Nationality)	Position	Number of Interviews
A	Nick (British)	Faculty member, Teaches EMI and language classes	2
	Angela (British)	Faculty member, Member of EMI program steering committee, Teaches EMI and language classes	5
	Ichiro (Japanese)	Faculty member, Member of EMI program steering committee, Head of international affairs committee, Teaches EMI classes	4
	Nancy (American)	Faculty member, Teaches language classes	1
	Tomoko (Japanese)	Faculty member, Teaches EMI and language classes	1
	Sachiko (Japanese)	University president	1
B	John (American)	Faculty member, Member of EMI program steering committee, Teaches EMI and language classes	4
	Takuya (Japanese)	Faculty member, Member of EMI program steering committee, Teaches EMI classes	4
	Matsuo (Japanese)	Faculty member, Program administrator, Teaches EMI classes	1
C	Richard (British)	Faculty member, Coordinator of language classes, Teaches language classes	3

University	Participant Pseudonym (Nationality)	Position	Number of Interviews
	Tim (American)	Faculty member, Dean, Teaches EMI classes	3
	Sally (American)	Faculty member, Teaches EMI and language classes	1
D	Betty (American)	Faculty member, Member of program planning group, Teaches language classes	3
	Mike (American)	Faculty member, Member of program planning group, Teaches language classes	3
	Akira (Japanese)	Faculty member, Head of program planning group, Teaches EMI classes	3

It should be noted that the participants in this project represent a particular segment of EMI program stakeholders. Interviews were conducted only with program-level implementers, with the following three exceptions. At University A, Sachiko is the president of the university, at University C, Tim is the dean of the department which houses the EMI program, and at University D, Akira was head of the program planning group and has since been appointed as a vice president of the university. Planning, curriculum development and program management for EMI initiatives in Japan tend to be faculty driven (Bradford & Brown, 2017b; Kuwamura, 2017), as is the decision to pursue EMI in many cases (Brown, 2014a; Brown & Iyobe, 2014). As such, the bulk of participants in this project were faculty members directly involved in program planning and implementation. For the most part, university-level leaders' voices are not directly represented, nor are the voices of students and administrators. While these other stakeholders experiences of EMI are important, the decision to concentrate on faculty voices was based on the project's overall focus, the rather narrow question of how EMI programs are being implemented, and what challenges program-level stakeholders face and how they overcome those challenges. Because of this focus on faculty voices at the program level, the results discussed below may not fully portray the development of EMI at the four research sites from the point of view of all stakeholders. However, these results do address the program-level concerns that were the focus of this study.

3.4 Overview of Research Sites
This section provides a brief overview of each of the four research sites, explaining the context, implementation, and early development of the EMI programs. These descriptions are based on data collected from the participants and have been checked for accuracy by stakeholders from each site.

3.4.1 University A
University A is a small private university in a major metropolitan area. It is not seen as having a particularly high status or high academic level. University A has a fairly long history, though for much of that history the institution was a two-year junior college rather than a university. The transition to university status came less than 10 years ago and resulted in a certain loss of identity. The main fields of study at the junior college were English language, English literature, and British and American culture studies, which provided a strong sense of identity and a clear and shared image of what a graduate of College A should look like. However, becoming a university made this focus somewhat more diffuse. The university now positions itself as international, and the EMI program was implemented as an attempt to boost the name value of the university. However, according to key stakeholders, the definition of international is not clearly laid out at University A, nor is there a shared image of the direction or goals of the university among the faculty and administrators.

The EMI program at University A is in its early stages. When data collection for this project began, the first cohort of students was going through the entrance examination and selection process, and at the time of writing, the fourth cohort is undergoing the entrance examination process. The program is very small with a maximum planned enrollment of 10 students per year, all domestic. Incoming students' language proficiency is tested and there is a minimum cut-off benchmark for admission; however, this benchmark level is considerably below the benchmark students must meet at the end of their first year of studies.

One of the goals of the EMI program is to attract students of a higher academic level than might normally attend University A. However, this seems not to have come to pass and the program now depends on internal recruiting. In the current cohort of first-year students, seven of the 10 available seats went to students who had already been accepted by the university through normal channels. Only three were specifically admitted to the EMI program directly.

Classes are taught by a mixture of full-time faculty members, mainly Japanese, and part-time teachers specifically recruited for the EMI classes. Faculty members did not volunteer to be part of the EMI program, but were selected by university leaders and pressured to take on EMI classes in addition to their existing workload. Faculty members' language proficiency, understanding of EMI, and preparedness to teach in English were not assessed.

The EMI program is based on a broad liberal arts curriculum and is structured in three phases. The first part begins as soon as the students enter the university and continues for a year and a half. Students enter an intensive program of classes taught in English. Initially, these were positioned as CLIL classes and were meant to be taught by content specialist faculty in English. The plan was to support the students' language proficiency while teaching them the fundamentals of the liberal arts curriculum. However, following disappointing language-proficiency test results in the first cohort of students, several of the first year classes were redesigned as remedial English classes or as preparation for language-proficiency tests.

In phase two of the program, students spend a year studying abroad. This is a mandatory part of the program and students receive full financial support for their tuition and fees at the overseas university. Students are required to attend discipline-specific courses, not language programs, while abroad so there is a strong focus on TOEFL and/or IELTS testing results in the year before they go abroad. However, in the first three cohorts, fewer than half of the students met the required benchmark for entry into the discipline-specific courses.

When students finish their studies abroad they were supposed to return to a full-time EMI program and were expected to complete their graduation research thesis in English. However, due to staffing limitations, only two courses taught in English are available to returning students. Most of their courses in the third and fourth years are in fact Japanese-medium. There are plans to expand the EMI offerings, but it is not certain when or if those plans will be implemented.

The redesign of the CLIL classes in the first year and the reduction of the EMI classes in the third and fourth years have prompted questions about the future identity of the program. It seems study aboard has taken on a much more central role and EMI has become a peripheral part of the students' experience. The EMI program faces severe internal criticism on the grounds of cost-effectiveness. It is seen by many as an overly-expensive program with little tangible benefit for the university. However, the program has political support from the university leaders so it is seen as being sustainable, at least for the mid-term future.

Overall, University A's EMI program has some fundamental flaws, especially in HR and curriculum issues. However, the program is developing and adapting to the students' needs as they become apparent. The program initially suffered from a lack of shared goals and long term strategic planning, leading stakeholders to use the metaphor of building the plane after take-off. However, as time goes on, stakeholders are coming to a shared sense of direction and a long-term vision of the future of the program. That, combined with the very strong support of university leadership, implies an optimistic future for the EMI program at University A, albeit a future very different than that intended in the initial program design.

3.4.2 University B
University B is a small national university located in a rural area in Northern Japan. Though it is a national university, it is not considered a prestigious institution on a national scale. Rather, it serves a mainly local student body. University B is located in a part of Japan which was directly affected by the earthquake and tsunami of 2011 and, as such, a great deal of money is being invested in both facilities and programs as part of the overall reconstruction efforts in the region. The EMI program is being implemented as part of a larger grant from the ministry of education which is seen by some stakeholders as directly connected to the university's "victimhood" following the earthquake. This grant was not directly tied to EMI projects, but funds from it were earmarked for EMI as part of the university's wider global *jinzai* strategy.

When data collection for this project began, the program was still in the planning stage. The EMI program is positioned in the economics department and serves mainly domestic students from that department. The original plan called for the creation of a selected EMI stream of students based on the results of a language-proficiency test given to students in their first year. The twenty students with the highest scores on that test would be given special English-language classes in preparation for EMI and would form the core of the EMI cohort. However, as was the case with many aspects of the original plan, the selected stream of EMI students was not established and students now join the EMI classes with no language-proficiency requirements other than their own belief that they can handle the challenges of EMI.

The current program is an expansion of an earlier, very limited, ad hoc program in which two teachers offered one EMI class each. The current program is designed as a supplementary program for domestic students who wish to take some EMI classes in their second and third years as part of their mainly Japanese-medium degree program. However, fewer domestic students than expected have joined the EMI classes and several international students are now taking part.

All EMI classes are related to economics or business studies. Students who completed all EMI classes envisioned in the original plan would earn approximately 10% of the credits required for graduation through EMI, though most students were not expected to take all available courses. However, at the time of writing, the EMI program is in its third year and fewer than half of the planned courses have been opened, leaving students with few choices for EMI classes.

Currently, the curriculum does not allow for direct support of students' language learning before EMI classes begin. There are no language classes directly linked to the EMI program. Certain elective language classes were intended to be unofficially linked to the EMI classes and the selected group of students was to be strongly encouraged to join those classes. While those language classes do still exist, their connection to the EMI program was never implemented, meaning that students join EMI classes with no specific preparation.

The EMI classes are taught by specialist faculty members from the economics department. Initially the faculty showed little interest in creating new EMI classes and some subgroups within the department actually barred their members from taking on EMI on the grounds that it was too much work. To encourage more participation, funds from the grant were allocated as a financial incentive, but this was not effective. The incentive was designed poorly and encouraged faculty members to nominally join the EMI program, but not necessarily buy into its approach. Because the incentive plan lacked provisions for follow-up or accountability, it was possible to join the program and receive the incentive but not actually teach any classes in English.

The grant under which the EMI program was expanded was term limited and has now expired. With the end of the grant, the EMI program has suffered. The loss of the actual financial resources was problematic of course, but of greater concern was the loss of attention. When it was associated with a large, external grant, the EMI program received attention and political support from university leaders. Without the connection to external funding, attention has shifted to other, higher-priority projects, leaving the EMI program without leadership or a sense of direction.

While University B started with the intention of developing an innovative, supportive approach to EMI, the program has fallen into an ad hoc approach. The program began with a fairly sound plan, given the limitations stakeholders were working with. They had a clear mandate from their own department and the wider university community to develop an EMI program as part of a global *jinzai* initiative. Stakeholders started with research into effective EMI programs and designed a program that seems to have had a great deal of potential. Plans were in place to measure and support students' language proficiency before they joined the program, and the program began with a sound FD initiative. However, through a lack of clear leadership, lack of a clear long-term strategy, and changes in the priorities of the university, the resources and political will necessary to fully implement the plan as originally envisioned did not materialize. Instead, the EMI program has stumbled along, supported largely on the shoulders of two unofficial leaders, who themselves are losing passion for the project. Interestingly though, the EMI program continues to be seen as a pillar of University B's approach to internationalization, at least in marketing materials. The optimism seen among stakeholders at the beginning of the EMI program has given way to an arguably more realistic pessimism, and commitment to the program from university leaders has waned.

3.4.3 University C
University C is a medium-sized private university with more than 9,000 students. The university

is located in a suburb of a large metropolitan area. While its name is well known, it is not generally thought of as an academically high-level university. Most of the students at University C can be considered local, coming from the local metropolitan area; few domestic students move from other parts of Japan to attend University C. However, the university does attract a fairly large proportion of international students, nearly 7% of the student body in 2015. Consistent with other universities in Japan, University C's full-time international students are mainly Asian, mostly from China, while the short-term international students are more diverse.

The EMI program at University C is new. When data collection for this study began, MEXT approval to start the program had just been formalized and the program was in the planning phase. Planning for the program has been somewhat abbreviated. Key program stakeholders were not appointed to their positions until approximately six months before the first classes were to begin. This left very little time for proper planning and consultation. Although some EMI classes were available at University C in the past, they were limited and mainly intended for short-term visiting international students. The existing EMI program served between 100 and 150 international students who were spending a single semester or a year on the University C campus. Unlike the predominantly Asian full-time international students, the short-term international students are more than half North American or European. In the past, a very limited number of domestic students have also taken these EMI classes; however, the new EMI program discussed here is the university's first significant approach to EMI for domestic students.

The EMI program is positioned in a newly forming department. Students entering the program have a choice of focused study on one of three languages: English, for domestic or international students; Chinese, for domestic students; or Japanese, for international students. The program is planned to be fairly large, with approximately 250 students admitted per year. The Chinese-language group is anticipated to be the smallest, making up perhaps 10% of the faculty's admissions quota. The English and Japanese streams are envisaged to be roughly equally sized, with approximately 45% of the admissions quota each. In the first cohort of students, this did not work out as planned and the bulk of incoming first-year students in the new department are in the EMI stream.

For students who choose to focus on English, the first two years of the program involve intensive language training including skills-based general English classes and English for Academic Purposes (EAP) classes. Students will take a total of 36 English-language courses in their first two years, representing nearly half of the credits they need to graduate. While new language teachers are being hired for these classes, many are part-time and will be administered through the university's existing language centre, rather than being directly tied to the newly forming department. There is a language proficiency benchmark acting as a gatekeeper for access to the EMI classes in the new department, but there are no benchmarks for entry into the program as a whole. It was assumed by program planners that the two years of intensive language classes in the first half of the program will be sufficient preparation, though current program stakeholders question this assumption. There are worries about a large number of students failing to meet the benchmark and it is not clear what the policy of the department will be in terms of supporting or accommodating these students.

EMI classes start in the third year of the program. Classes in social sciences, international relations, intercultural understanding and business-related topics will be conducted in English. Parallel Japanese-medium instruction and Chinese-medium instruction courses will be offered. While some new faculty members are being hired and part-time teachers are being brought in, the

majority of the new faculty's teachers already work for the university. The Dean of the new faculty is an international faculty member, but most of the content teachers are domestic. EMI classes are not being specifically developed for domestic students in the new program, rather the existing EMI classes for short-term international students will be used.

The new department is intended to be a flagship program, part of the university's long-standing commitment to internationalization. However, the EMI program is not the only new program in the university. Other, albeit smaller, innovative programs in fields such as transportation, social work, and health care have been established recently and more are expected in the coming years. The university sees EMI as a growth opportunity, part of its survival strategy amid falling university enrollment numbers across the higher education sector in Japan.

The University C EMI program faces some serious challenges, many of their own making. A lack of planning and consultation has led to unrealistic language proficiency benchmarks, a lack of communication among program stakeholders, and a rushed implementation. However, program stakeholders are finding innovative and effective ways to work around these issues. The initial implementation of the program was somewhat problematic, but, with continued work by stakeholders, the future looks bright.

3.4.4 University D

University D is a medium-sized, prestigious private university with a long history. The university is located in a suburb of a major metropolitan area. Though not an elite university academically, D does have a reputation as a very sound liberal arts university. It is also considered prestigious due to a large number of very high-profile alumni and strong connections to the social elite in Japanese society.

The EMI program at University D is newly forming. When data collection for this study began, the first cohort of students was beginning the entrance testing process. The EMI program is positioned in a newly formed department with a very strong social sciences focus. The program is fairly large, with a maximum of 200 students admitted per year.

The program is structured with an increasing level of EMI as it continues. First year students have no EMI classes. They have six classes per week in an intensive skills-focused EAP program and introductory-level specialist classes in social sciences taught in Japanese. EAP classes continue in the second year and CLIL bridge classes start at that time. The bridge classes, intended to ease the transition from EAP to EMI, are lecture-style EMI classes taught by a content specialist paired with a language-support tutorial or workshop class taught by a language teacher, covering the same content as the lecture. EMI begins in earnest in the third year. In the third and fourth years, 50% of classes will be offered via EMI. In order to graduate, students will have to complete a minimum of 20% of their credits in EMI classes.

The program is designed with domestic high school students in mind. A full 50% of all program seats are set aside for the regular admissions strand, normally meaning students who have completed secondary education in Japan, and a further quarter of seats are allotted to graduates from a high school associated with University D and located near the campus. The final quarter of seats are set aside for admissions office or recommended admissions, and these students may show more diversity in terms of their international experience or language proficiency. Admissions office admissions are not limited to domestic students so international students may join the program through this route. However, since all content classes are conducted in Japanese in the first year and there are no Japanese-language support options, the

program is clearly not designed for non-Japanese speaking students, nor is it actively marketed overseas.

Admissions for the first cohort of students seems to have gone very smoothly and the program appears to be popular. The first written entrance exam had a ratio of examinees to available seats of more than 20:1. The first cohort of students is, as expected, entirely domestic, but their incoming English-language proficiency was slightly better than had been anticipated.

The majority of the faculty for the program are newly hired. Several courses will be taught by current University D faculty members who are attached to different departments, but only one current teacher will be a full member of the new department. All other faculty members were newly hired, mainly mid-career, from other universities. The current plan calls for 18 full-time faculty members, 12 Japanese and six international. Of the six international faculty, three are native-English-speaking language teachers and three are content specialists from a variety of language backgrounds. All faculty members have had at least some graduate level education abroad, and some experience teaching in English, either in EMI programs at other universities in Japan, or at universities abroad.

The University D EMI program is developing based on solid, long term planning. Stakeholders have a realistic understanding of the needs of students, especially their language-proficiency needs, and have put in place a system to support the students' development. The emerging program culture is also encouraging students to develop realistic expectations and understand the amount of work they will have to do to reach their goals. One key factor which distinguishes University D's approach to EMI from other similar programs is the decision to establish an entirely new department and dedicate significant resources to hiring new faculty. This approach of starting from scratch allowed University D to develop a coherent program and avoid many of the administrative and institutional challenges associated with implementing EMI using only existing resources. While the program is still quite new and there are some concerns about language support, workload, and communications, it seems that the program is on a solid footing.

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Semi- and unstructured interviews were used as the primary data collection method for this study. This study is looking at program development and curriculum change. These are not simply policy issues with decisions necessarily made on objective pedagogical grounds; they are emotionally-charged social processes tied up with questions of values, status, and both personal and institutional identity. As such, stakeholders' individual interpretations and understandings of the development process are valuable, relevant issues to explore. Also, much of the discussion surrounding curriculum change may never be formally recorded. Decisions are noted and acted upon, but the discussions and disagreements leading to those decisions, which reveal the rationales for actions, are often not part of the record. Participants' individual accounts may be the only source of data available. A final, overriding factor in the choice of data collection methods was the desire for what Mason (2002) calls the "depth, nuance, complexity and roundedness in data" (p. 65) that becomes available when participants freely express themselves.

Interviews conducted on initial site visits were unstructured, wide-ranging, and somewhat superficial, similar to conversational interviewing as described by Patton (2005). The main intention was to establish the program context and develop a general understanding of the process of program development. In addition, as this was the first meeting with many participants, a

casual, conversational style was seen as an opportunity to build trust and establish open dialogue, which is helpful in any research situation (Patton, 2005; Kvale, 2008; Yin, 2013) and is particularly important in the Japanese context (Culter, 2003). Later interviews were based on interview guides developed individually for each university following a review of previous interviews. These later interviews probed issues in more depth and revisited issues which were likely to have changed as the program developed over time (see Appendix B for a sample interview guide).

Each research site was visited several times, with the exact number and timing of visits depending on participants' schedules. The length of interviews varied considerably. The shortest interview was just over 20 minutes while the longest was nearly two and a half hours. The majority of interviews were between 60 and 90 minutes. A total of 38.6 hours of interview data was recorded for this project. Interviews were conducted face-to-face, mainly in English, though some English-Japanese code-switching occurred, especially when discussing uniquely Japanese contexts or procedures. Where statements made in Japanese are referred to below, translations were done by the researcher and confirmed by a Japanese-English bilingual translator. In addition, some interview excerpts have been slightly modified to remove the interjections, false starts, and mistakes common to unplanned speech. Excerpts have also been edited for length in some cases. Personal names, and details which may identify individual stakeholders or the programs they work in, have also been removed, and the names of particular programs or university departments have been changed. Generic terms such as *the department* or *the EMI program* have been substituted.

In addition to individual semi-structured interviews, some data was also collected at two research sites, Universities A and B, through observation and recording of program stakeholders' planning sessions. The researcher was invited to attend and observe such sessions on two occasions during the project. Some data was also collected through email communication with participants.

All interviews and meetings were recorded with the participants' consent (see Appendix A) and transcribed. The researcher's interview notes were also used as a record of thoughts and observations which came up during interviews. The researcher also drew on informal communication with the participants in several cases. While these lunch-time chats and hallway conversations were not recorded and no notes were taken, they did influence the researcher's overall understanding of the participants work and their university context.

3.5.1 Ethical Considerations
This study was conducted after an ethics review and approval. An Application for Ethics Review was submitted and approved by the Research Ethics Officer of the University of Birmingham (AER ERN_14-0905, approved 2014/08/28). Data was collected with participants' informed consent and understanding of the project (see Appendix A). The researcher also had the understanding and consent of program-level leaders at all four research sites. Interviews with participants were recorded and the original recordings and transcript data are kept in locked storage and password protected. Original data files will be deleted 10 years after completion of this project. Recordings were copied and shared only once, with a commercial service which prepared the transcripts used in this study. Selected portions of the original transcripts were shared with a translator to confirm the researcher's understanding of comments made in Japanese. In both cases, the participants' names and research locations were not shared. Research

participants received no compensation, financial or otherwise. In order to ensure their anonymity, all participants are referred to in this paper by pseudonym, given name only. Note that the pseudonyms chosen do not necessarily represent the participant's actual gender. The relation between participants and their pseudonyms is known only to the researcher. Efforts were also made to disguise the participants' workplaces, with the names of universities, departments, and programs all being changed.

3.5.2 A Note on Interview Technique
In research interviewing, it is often considered important that the interviewer not overly influence participants' responses. The interviewer initiates questions, probes for details, and asks for clarification, but should otherwise take on a somewhat passive role (Kvale, 2008). Participants' own experiences and interpretations should be given priority following Seidman's (2006) advice for interviewers to "avoid imposing [one's] own interests on the experience of the participants" (p.92). However, in this project, that aspect of interview technique became somewhat problematic during some interviews due to the researcher's position in the EMI research community in Japan and some participants' knowledge of his work.

The number of EMI programs in development in Japan is growing rapidly. However, the research community looking into that growth is, as yet, somewhat limited. Given that, the researcher's work on EMI is known in the community, especially among language teachers involved in EMI development. Seven of the participants in this study reported having read some of the researcher's earlier published work and three have attended one or more conference presentations given by the researcher. In addition, the researcher has professional contact with two of the participants through administrative work for a local academic association. Also, the researcher is not simply a researcher of EMI, he is also a practitioner with experience planning, developing, and teaching in a small-scale, but successful EMI program. As such, the researcher is seen to have not simply what Collins and Evans (2002) call interactional expertise, but real contributory expertise, where the interviewer is able to contribute to the discussion and offer insights into the participants' work. In several interviews conducted for this study, the interview became more of a discussion with participants asking as well as answering questions, and the researcher offering insights on issues stakeholders were having with their programs.

3.5.3 Triangulating Interview Data
A possible weakness of semi-structured or unstructured interviews of the kind used in this study is the personal nature of the generated data. Semi-structured interviews allow for individual accounts of events and developments, and are seen as "outstanding sources of data that help the scholar understand the local context better" (Willis, 2008 p. 205). However, they are, by their very nature, personal impressions of what took place. It is possible, perhaps even likely, for individual participant's accounts to be biased, or at the very least, incomplete. For that reason, triangulation of the data is necessary. In this study, multiple stakeholders at each research site were interviewed to build up an overall picture of the context. The data was further triangulated through reference to publicly available documents regarding each program: course syllabi, program descriptions, policy statements, guidelines for faculty, and in the cases of Universities A, C, and D, research papers published by program stakeholders. In addition, for Universities C and D, official program descriptions were available. At these two universities, the EMI program was established as part of a newly-forming department. The formation of a new department must be

approved by MEXT and summaries of the application documents, planning reports, and announcements of approval decisions are made public.

Promotional materials produced by each university and related to the EMI programs were also used as part of the triangulation process; however, these were of limited value due to the tendency towards homogeneity of marketing messages in Japanese higher education (Birchely, 2015; 2017). University promotional documents, the brochures, campus guidebooks, and websites containing information on the EMI programs, were seen to be very similar, all expressing variations on the themes of global mindedness, international outlook, and personal growth, while providing very little sense of the individual characteristics of, or rationales for, each program.

A further source of triangulation was informal communication with program stakeholders, both administrators and faculty members, who did not directly participate in this project. A number of stakeholders spoke to the researcher about their EMI program but declined to formally participate in the project. As such, their statements are not included in the data set presented here. However, their voices are represented to some extent as they influenced how the researcher interpreted statements from stakeholders who did participate formally in the project.

It should be noted, however, that the findings reported here were not triangulated with reference to two important groups on campus. First, no data was collected from students for this project, so any reference to the students' experiences comes only from program stakeholders' impressions of that experience. In addition, this project focused on program-level stakeholders, in particular, faculty members involved directly in program implementation. In the case of Universities C and D, this included formal program or department-level leaders, but it also included those in informal leadership or planning positions. The study does not directly include voices from administrators and, with the exception of minimal contributions from leaders at Universities A and B, university-level leadership is not represented. This focus on program-level implementation was a decision based on the goals of the project, as discussed above. However, it must be acknowledged that it represents a potential limitation in the applicability of this study's findings.

Following the completion of data collection, a description of each program was prepared. This was a narrative of sorts, describing the implementation of the program, the challenges stakeholders faced, and how those challenges were dealt with. Early drafts of these descriptions were sent to program stakeholders for what Lincoln and Guba (1985) refer to as "member-checking" (p. 246), where participants confirm the accuracy of the researcher's impressions. Changes were made in the descriptions in light of stakeholders' comments and these changes are reflected in the program descriptions above and the discussion of findings below.

3.5.4 Data Analysis
Data generated for this study was analyzed following a procedure based on the recommendations of Cresswell and Clark (2007), Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure, and Chadwick (2008), Patton (2005), and Kvale (2008). First, all interview transcripts and documentary evidence were gathered and organized by location, participant, and date. Based on an overview of all data, findings from previous related work, and ongoing informal analysis conducted by the researcher during data collection, an initial coding scheme was developed. This coding scheme was added to and adapted as new themes emerged during the data analysis process and in the end, a total of 61 relevant codes had been identified and used. The codes were used to mark significant meaning

units in the data and identify relationships among such units. Codes were assigned based on both manifest coding, coding based directly on the words on the page, and latent coding, where the researcher's judgment, knowledge of the local context, and ability to read between the lines influence interpretation. The coding process was facilitated through the use of the commercial qualitative data analysis tool NViVo 10. Table 7 provides an example of coding based on the opening moments of an interview with participant John at University B.

Table7
Examples of Coding Taken from an Interview with John at University B

Transcript	Codes
Interviewer I have some things I want to follow up on from when I was here before, but if it's OK with you, I would like to start with a wide question. So, 2 years ago when I came, there was a lot of optimism and 8 months ago when I came, there was a lot less optimism. I am wondering where the pendulum is now.	
John Coming off my vacation, I should be pretty inspired. That's just the time of year. As far as optimism, the pendulum is on the negative side. Probably not too different from what it was 8 months ago. Since two years ago, there has been a leadership change in this department. Some of the same group of people who were in the executive board just moved up and the current Gakaricho, even though I get on with him quite well and I can communicate with him well, I think his vision is different than the last one and it's less international, less global, less about that whole global thing. The whole global thing everyone was changing after 2 years ago has quickly shifted in another direction. I am not sure where that direction is but it not toward the global anymore.	Commitment Stakeholder identity Leadership Changing priorities Goals Clarity of goals
Interviewer So the first time I came here, about 3 years ago, the new program and the building up of the EMI classes and that whole thing seemed to be sort of a central element of what the department was trying to do. It's not so much in the centre anymore?	
John I think it's on the chart, it is still there somewhere. In the curriculum documents and the PR materials, it's still there. But it's taken a back seat and no one seems to have been able to analyze the program and say "here's our strengths and this is what we need to do better". There is no ongoing curriculum evaluation. It got started, and that was enough. And the mini conference when we had the presenters come, that was a start. And I thought that was a very good start. I thought we could have some ongoing development to help the teachers who didn't feel comfortable in English. But that has just gone by the wayside because, I think it's kind of budget related. If there is money to be spent within a particular fund, then we spend it. And if there is no money then there is no need to do it. Like, there is no connection between what needs to be done and then find a budget for that. But there was money to be spent therefore "bring them over". And, because it was a new program. But once it's started, we are on our own now. I guess it	Program marketing Program identity Follow up Real value of EMI FD Follow up Changing Priorities

Transcript	Codes
goes back to other frustrations I talked about. The way it's almost a monetary driven curriculum change or Philosophy.	Funding
	Sustainability Long –term strategy
	Decision making

The next step of the data analysis was identifying key themes that emerged based on the coding work. In some cases, a single code itself emerged as a theme. For example, the code Incentives was used to mark sections of transcripts in which participants discussed how faculty were encouraged or motivated to join EMI programs. This was later seen to be a key theme in and of itself, so the theme of Incentives for Faculty was identified based on participant statements grouped under a single code.

However, in most cases, themes were identified based on several overlapping codes. For example, several of the codes seen in Table 7 were seen to coalesce around the idea of how the EMI program related to other parts of the university. For example this statement from John was marked with the overlapping codes Leadership and Changing Priorities.

> Since two years ago, there has been a leadership change in this department. Some of the same group of people who were in the executive board just moved up and the current Gakaricho, even though I get on with him quite well and I can communicate with him well, I think his vision is different than the last one and it's less international, less global, less about that whole global thing. The whole global thing everyone was changing after 2 years ago has quickly shifted in another direction.

In addition, this section was coded as Program Marketing, and Program Identity.

> I think on the chart, it is still there somewhere. In the curriculum documents and the PR materials, it's still there. But it's taken a back seat and no one seems to have been able to analyze the program and say "here's our strengths and this is what we need to do better".

In both of these excerpts, John is explaining his interpretation of the position of the EMI program. Therefore, these codes, along with others identified in transcripts from other participants, were grouped together to form the theme Relationship with the Wider University Community. See Figure 1 for a representation of the theme.
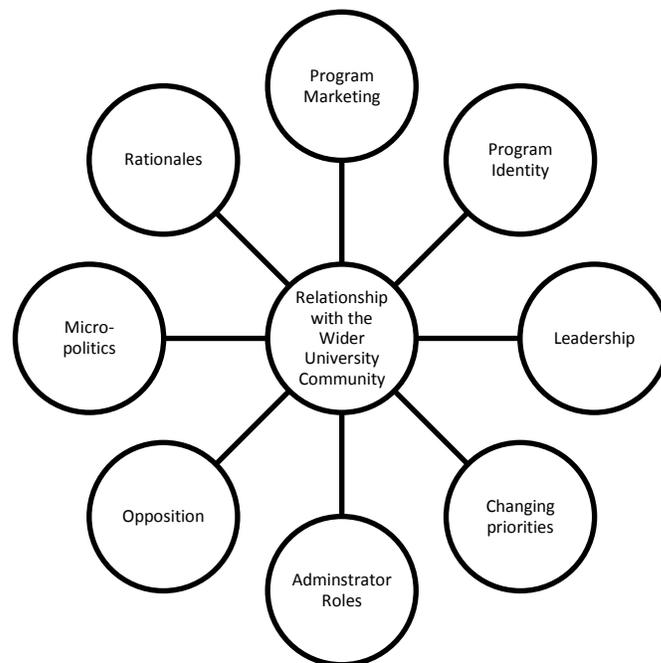
Figure 1 A representation of codes and themes (Codes related to the theme Relationship with the Wider University Community)

As a final step, in order to provide an organizing structure for discussion, the key themes emerging from the interview transcripts were sorted into one of four categories, Linguistic Challenges, Cultural Challenges, Administrative Challenges, and Institutional Challenges, which were based on Bradford' (2015, 2016) framework of challenges facing EMI programs, as discussed in Chapter 2. Looking at the examples of the two themes discussed above, Incentives for Faculty was placed in the Administrative Challenges category while Relationship with the Wider University Community was categorized as an Institutional Challenge. In the following chapter, the themes emerging from the data analysis are examined in these four categories in turn.

Chapter 4 Results

This chapter addresses the implementation and early development of EMI programs at the four case universities in terms of Bradford's (2015, 2016) linguistic, cultural, administrative and institutional challenges. Of course, not all challenges discussed above arose in all four contexts and at some universities, the challenges in a given area may be much more significant than they are at a different university. The descriptions of challenges below are presented in a paraphrased summary, with reference to participants' own explanations.

4.1 Linguistic Challenges
As discussed above, linguistic issues are often the most readily apparent challenges facing EMI programs. Among the four universities studied here, linguistic challenges arose related to benchmarks, support for students' language proficiency, bridging between language learning and EMI, and the faculty's language proficiency.

4.1.1 Language-proficiency Benchmarks
The four universities studied here take different approaches to benchmarks. At University A, there is a language-proficiency benchmark tied to a mandatory year aboard at the midpoint of the program. Students must pass the entry requirements for academic programs, not language classes, abroad so they have to meet a fairly strict benchmark, as measured by a TOEFL test. If they cannot, they cannot join the study-aboard program or the third-year in-house EMI classes. However, the benchmark for entry into the program itself has been set at a much lower level and incoming students' language proficiency is often quite low.

> We saw this big gap with grammar…. They need to get their TOFEL score up to 550
> to be able to get into the programs that they want to. And they are coming in with
> TOEFL, you know, 200. (Angela, University A)

This gap, and the pressure on the program to bring the students up to the benchmark level, has created three significant unintended consequences.

First, the program has a high dropout rate, with only 3 of the first cohort of 10 students successfully completing the year abroad and continuing to third year. This high dropout rate, and the fear that it may impact the long-term sustainability of the program, led to a second consequence, changes in the structure of the first year. Initially, the first year was dedicated to CLIL courses introducing fundamental elements of the liberal arts curriculum with only two classes exclusively dedicated to language skills. However, stakeholders had to change that approach.

> The first year students are very focused on English studies…. Actually, as opposed
> to what we imagined before, the English courses, the CLIL classes are kind of used
> for preparing students to take English qualifications tests and to get as high a score as
> possible…. The academic contents come later. (Ichiro, University A)

A third consequence of the benchmark issue was a decision to relax the rules for study abroad. When it became clear that not everyone in the first cohort of students would clear the benchmark, the EMI steering committee decided to allow students to spend their first semester abroad in language programs. Angela refers to this change as an "escape hatch" that was not part of the original program design. It was an ad hoc decision made in response to the low language proficiency of the students, a rather large change in the overall direction of the program, making the program less demanding, or as Ichiro puts it "more lenient".

University B has no language-proficiency benchmark at all. This was not a considered decision; rather, it is a consequence of the overall ad hoc nature of EMI at B. Stakeholders had a plan to implement language-proficiency testing for first-year students and recruit the top students from among the incoming cohort for EMI. In fact, language-proficiency requirements are still referred to in program documents, but the system was never implemented and program stakeholders doubt that it ever will be.

> So there was an entrance exam, and then whoever applied to the EMI program, they were just pushing to get people to apply so it didn't matter…. They want a program that works, so they're just going to fill the spots. So, on paper it looks like we did [stream the program] but there wasn't really a selection. (John, University B)

University C is facing a similar issue as University A. At C, EMI students also study abroad; however, they are expected to study in language programs overseas so there is no pre-departure benchmark. There is, however, a benchmark when they return, controlling entry into third-year EMI classes. This benchmark is fairly low, significantly below the CEFR B2 level commonly seen to be an appropriate starting point for EMI. In addition, EMI students' intake proficiency-test scores are as much as 20% higher than the campus-wide average. However, stakeholders worry that many students may not clear the benchmark, barring them from third-year EMI classes. Richard notes that this benchmark was set by university leaders without consultation with language teachers and he believes it is not a realistic goal. "Speaking very frankly and honestly the majority of our students will not reach that target".

University D has adopted a different approach to benchmarks by simply not having any. This is different from B's lack of benchmarks since it was a considered decision. Having seen logistical difficulties and negative consequences of in-house language-proficiency benchmarks at other universities, stakeholders decided not to establish any.

> If we're going to [set a benchmark] we're going to have to set those scores now [before the first cohort begins]. And so there is a danger to set them too low. You know, let's say we get a miraculous first cohort, set benchmarks too low and everybody has already met the score and we look like idiots. Or more likely, and more dangerous, the other way around is nobody reaches it and nobody becomes a third-year student. (Mike, University D)

D students do take language-proficiency tests, but these are related to their study abroad choices. Their scores do not determine access to in-house EMI classes.

4.1.2 Back-up Plans

A benchmark acting as a gatekeeper for access to the next stage of the program raises an interesting issue. What, if anything, will be done for students who cannot clear the benchmark? Does a program have to prepare a back-up plan for such students? At University B, this is not an issue. While the program theoretically has a benchmark, it is not enforced and all EMI classes are elective. Students simply choose to join EMI classes or not, regardless of their language proficiency. University A has a similarly simple back-up-plan. Because EMI is an inter-departmental project, all students are already registered in one of the university's three departments. If they cannot clear the benchmark, they simply leave the program, return to their own department, and proceed with mainstream Japanese-medium classes.

At University D, there is no in-house benchmark that would bar students from joining EMI classes. However, stakeholders acknowledge that some students may not develop sufficient language proficiency and the program design allows graduation with a relatively limited minimum EMI component. Students can complete their requirements taking only lecture-type EMI classes, which program stakeholders consider easier than the more participatory seminar-type classes.

> I think those who are coming to our department are going to understand lectures, so my sense is that they can take one-third to half of their credits from lectures and that's fine.... Small workshops are harder and those will be taken only by advanced students, students who are good in English. (Akira, University D)

At University C, the issue of benchmarks and back-up-plans is unresolved. It seems that the question of a "plan B" was not considered in initial planning.

> There wasn't a Plan B. The students expect they will be brought up to that level and they are worried, "Are we going to reach it or not?" And so at that point according to the paperwork that we submitted [to MEXT] there's really nothing to do, but fail them and send them back home, which will be not a good thing to do. So we're thinking of a Plan B. That was not properly considered, time was not properly devoted to it [before the program started]. (Tim, University C)

Stakeholders doubt that the university will actually enforce this hard-line position and fail a significant portion of the cohort. As Richard says, "I imagine [the benchmarks] will be waffled. It isn't at the moment but I think they may think we have to do something". So, even as the first cohort approaches the deadline to clear the benchmark, stakeholders are now considering options. One possibility is to have students continue with language-preparation classes until they are able to meet the benchmark, either extending their stay abroad, or repeating in-house language classes. Another possibility is to somehow alter EMI classes, perhaps introducing tutorial support, allowing for translanguaging as a scaffold, or creating a parallel remedial stream of EMI classes. As discussed below, this lack of a plan B is not an isolated incident at University C. It is part of a pattern of key decisions being made, or not made as in this case, without consultation with direct program stakeholders.

4.1.3 Support for Language Proficiency
At the universities studied here, EMI stakeholders recognize students' language-proficiency needs and strive to support them. At two of the case universities, language support is a well-planned, central element of the program, but the other two feature more ad hoc or emerging support mechanisms.

As discussed above, University A is an example of emerging support mechanisms for language proficiency. Initial plans were minimal, with only two required EAP classes. Students were assumed to be getting English exposure through required liberal arts CLIL classes. However, as the first cohort of students went through the program, this assumption was called into question.

> Once we looked through it, we realized they are not getting enough actual English. If everybody was really teaching CLIL and we had a framework and we knew that these were the goals that we had for the first year, it would work. But if half of the people are actually teaching in Japanese? (Angela, University A).

To compensate, extracurricular seminars on test-taking strategies and remedial grammar were offered by language teachers on a voluntary basis. However, this was not a long-term solution as they depended on the goodwill of a limited number of faculty members; other, more permanent features were added to the program for later cohorts. For example, incoming students now have pre-admission language training on grammar and reading, and several CLIL courses in the first year were replaced with test-preparation and remedial grammar classes. Stakeholders report that these changes are providing better support for the students' language proficiency.

At University B, language support for EMI students was planned but not implemented. Stakeholders could not coordinate EMI and English-language classes because first-year English classes are taught for students from the entire university, while EMI students are exclusively from the Economics Department. In addition, most faculty members teaching English-language classes were not considered EMI stakeholders. There was one possible support mechanism for EMI students. One oral communication class taken only by economics majors and taught by a faculty member associated with the EMI program was unofficially designated for EMI support. Unfortunately, the connection between this class and the EMI program was never fully realized.

The other two programs studied here have a more formalized approach to language support. Incoming EMI students at University C have a well-structured and extensive language education program in their first two years, enabling them, in theory, to meet the target for entry into EMI classes. Students are required to take a minimum of 36 English-language courses in their first two years and complete one semester in a language program abroad. One interesting feature of the language support program is the addition of classes, mainly taught in Japanese, on study skills, critical thinking, and applied linguistics. These are intended to help the students become more effective, more independent learners, though the long-term outcomes are still uncertain. The language program also includes extensive self-study requirements for students, an acknowledgement that class time alone will be insufficient to help students meet their goals. Also, stakeholders, acknowledging the realities of student life, made self-study a required and assessed part of the program, rather than simply encouraging it.

> We have integrated into every class whether it's an elective or required class, 25% is outside class self-study and an element of TOEFL prep…. We have a collective

experience which tells us that unless it's part of their assessment, they are probably not going to do it. (Richard, University C)

Contrary to some initial worries, the first cohort is taking advantage of the self-study opportunities; attendance at outsourced English lessons provided by a commercial language school has been over 90% and many students joined optional summer language courses.

At University D, there is a well-developed and coherent language-support curriculum. The decision was made early on to create a dedicated English-language teaching program. Decision makers believed that general-education English classes would be insufficient for the program's needs, noting that language proficiency is not simply a question of the number of language classes; the mindset of teachers and students is important. The humanities-driven general-education language classes were not a realistic option. An EAP program focused on preparing students for EMI was established instead.

The whole goal is global *jinzai* and English is crucial. And they didn't think that they were going to get that from the modern languages centre, so the English classes had to be part of the department. Thanks to that, we have a very tight English program. (Betty, University D)

A key feature of language-learning at D is the workload. The program is asking much more from students than is normal in the first year of university. Similar to University C, they have more language classes than other students and more work in each class. Even with this heavy workload and well-structured language support, there are some worries that the students will have difficulty making the jump to EMI. Stakeholders have not entirely dismissed the idea that even the very high expectations of the language-support program may not be enough.

4.1.4 Bridging between English-language Classes and EMI
For EMI students, language proficiency is not the only issue. Even students with very high proficiency face challenges in the transition from studying English to studying in English. The universities studied here have explored the notion of a bridge to support students in this transition.

At University A, the first year CLIL classes are meant to be this bridge. While some have been repurposed as test-preparation classes, others remain. These classes scaffold content learning and foster academic skills while building up language proficiency. They are also a sheltered space for students to explore using English as a language for learning and thinking.

Stakeholders at University B wanted to establish a similar bridging element in their curriculum, but, as discussed above, they were unable to. As an at least partial measure, John has unofficially taken on the challenge of providing a bridge, using his EMI class to foster basic academic skills, which he considers at least as important as the actual content-learning outcomes.

University C initially had no plan to introduce a bridge component. Richard attributes this gap in the curriculum to a lack of consultation between those who designed the program and those who would later implement it.

This comes back to the point that there is no consultation really, so I am not sure for example the people who decided this knew about things like CLIL or EMI specifically. They just know there are language classes and there are content classes,

I don't really think they understood what might happen at this point. (Richard, University C)

However, as the first cohort progressed through language classes, the need for a bridge became more apparent. Sally, for example, worries about students' overall academic readiness. Since she teaches both language and EMI classes, she can see students' language development and compare it to what they need for EMI.

Because the way they have learned English is so different from my expectations, so different than my comparisons with my international students, I feel a bit frustrated to get them to learn actively, autonomously…. I think in general, in these areas of study skills, the EMI program students seem to need a lot of help and training. (Sally, University C)

To make up for the lack of a smooth transition, optional seminars led by volunteer teachers were introduced to help students get used to using English in an authentic environment. Stakeholders also used time slots reserved for elective classes to institute content classes taught in English by language-teaching faculty. Neither CLIL, nor EMI, these "content-light" classes, as Richard calls them, will give students "an experience of not just a four-skills English textbook, but something real. Like a taster. A little experience of what you are going to have". These classes are based on the language teachers' own interests; however, they are thematically linked to topics covered in the third- and fourth-year EMI classes.

At University D, the bridge between English classes and EMI is a key feature of the program, present in the curriculum from the beginning. Stakeholders knew that the transition would be difficult and planned accordingly, creating a scaffold for students' first attempts to learn academic content in English.

In second year, they'll have a social science course that will be 100 students in a lecture. And then that's when the classes start to get CLIL-ish. There will be an English language course that's paired with that lecture…. And so that English lecture will probably have to be structured appropriately to make it a little bit more accessible. Then the language course will be a CLIL-ish language course that will support the lecture. (Mike, University D)

4.1.5 Faculty Language Proficiency
At the universities studied here, much less attention was given to faculty's language proficiency than to students' proficiency. None of the universities had a benchmark for faculty, nor did they support faculty language learning in any significant way. The proficiency of the faculty was simply assumed to be sufficient and there was no serious consideration of criteria for choosing EMI teachers. Faculty language level may be a concern, but not one that is being acted on.

At University A, the EMI faculty are primarily Japanese. These teachers were chosen in the planning phase of the program by the then program director. Angela described the selection and vetting process as somewhat less than rigorous, with decisions being made based only on the director's impression of faculty members' proficiency.

It was like, "OK so-and-so can teach economics and we think he can teach it in English. OK, he's going to come in. This person, I think they teach human resource management and she can speak English. OK, she comes in". (Angela, University A)

Selected faculty were not tested or examined in any way and they have not been offered any opportunities to improve their language proficiency.

Selection of EMI faculty at University B was also somewhat loose and the assumption that the faculty's language proficiency would be sufficient was not borne out. Initially, John and other stakeholders were optimistic about the role of Japanese faculty members in the program, noting that their use of English could be a valuable role model for domestic students, even if their proficiency was somewhat lacking.

Japanese teachers teaching in English, and even struggling in English sometimes, is going to be an awesome model that I don't think we've seen on campus. It's going to open up the eyes of the freshmen to see most of their Japanese professors can use English. (John, University B)

Later, stakeholders had concerns about how faculty were recruited, apparently with no criteria other than self-selection.

Well, there were worrying signs last year…. I mean the way it was just thrown out there to the faculty, "Who wants to teach EMI?" instead of saying let's choose people. And then there was one individual who's English was not up to par. There was no accountability set up. (John, University B)

This problem was confounded by confusion over what constitutes EMI and a lack agreement on classroom language policy. There was no agreement about how EMI was different than the role English-language reading materials were already playing in economics classes. John attributes this to factors beyond the program itself, a campus-wide aversion to coordination. In the end, these issues led to some classes designated as EMI not actually being taught in English.

At University C, the issue of faculty language proficiency does not seem to have been seriously considered. Most of the EMI content classes are being assigned to faculty members already working at the university, though some will be covered by newly hired part-time faculty. Tim reports that the language proficiency of faculty is not a concern as they speak English as a first language or have graduate credentials from overseas universities. Many also already have some experience in EMI in the parallel program for short-term international students, so it is being assumed that their language proficiency is up to the challenge. However, there are no indications that this has been checked in any way.

At University D, the EMI program has an important advantage in terms of faculty language proficiency; almost all of the full-time faculty were newly hired. This allowed stakeholders to make language proficiency and experience teaching in English a requirement during the application process. While there was no formal language-proficiency test or benchmark, new faculty were asked to give a presentation in English during their job interviews.

4.2 Cultural Challenges

Of the universities studied here, only University C, an example of Shimauchi's (2016) crossroad model of EMI, has a significant issue with mixing of cultures among international and domestic students and faculty. The others, global citizen programs serving mainly domestic students, do not face those issues. However, that is not to say they do not have cultural issues. As their programs develop, each is evolving a unique program-level culture influenced by faculty, students, the curriculum, and the university community.

4.2.1 Domestic and International Students' Interaction

At University C, stakeholders are aware of the potential issues when domestic and international students study together in EMI; however, it is not clear yet how the program will deal with those issues. The program is designed to bring domestic students into an existing EMI program serving the needs of short-term international students. The short-term EMI program has been successful at University C for quite some time and is an important part of the relationship between the university and its overseas partners. Rather than developing a new program for the domestic cohort, the university will have the existing program do double duty, meaning that the same classes will have to try to meet the needs of very different students.

> The goal is slightly different but we use the same medium, the same classes. The exchange students take them to learn about Japan…. And the Japanese students who come into the new program, it's the same classes but the goals are a bit different.… So, we're trying to use the same medium to meet the divergent goals with different sets of students. (Tim, University C)

Beyond the language proficiency issues discussed above, there are concerns about how domestic students will fit into existing EMI classes. These classes are taught differently than Japanese-medium classes, with a different approach to teaching and learning, and different demands placed on students. This led to concerns among faculty. Sally for instance is concerned that domestic students separate their personal life and studies.

> I sometimes get the feeling that they want to hold back their personal experiences. I don't think they share experiences, which for me is such a shame because that would be so helpful. Their engagement with the world, they don't see that as anything to be shared. They don't see that their personal experiences up to now could contribute to their learning…. I think my international students in EMI classes are different. They are constantly relating to whatever subject matter we share in class. But the Japanese students, they don't think this is a learning space, they don't think this is a sharing space. This is a communal space for us to grow, to become an adult, to become a fully engaged individual. They don't see that they can bring that. (Sally, University C)

Richard shares this concern but sees the mandatory semester abroad as a potential solution.

> That language measurement doesn't mean that you are going to be able to take this class effectively. But in a way, we are hoping that their study abroad will in a way

orient them a little but to working with students from other cultures. (Richard, University C)

4.2.2 Program-level Culture

While only University C faces cultural issues in the interaction of international and domestic students and faculty, all four universities have issues relating to the distinct program-level culture emerging as their programs evolve. Three aspects of this program culture seem to be significant: the workload placed on students, students' level of autonomy, and the potential for the program to be isolated from the mainstream campus community.

Workload

One major program-level cultural issue is the workload for students. In three of the EMI programs studied here, students have a considerably higher workload than their Japanese-medium peers. How the students and faculty adapt to this workload is an interesting point to consider. At University A for instance, EMI students have more classes per week and more work in each class than their Japanese-medium counterparts. Part of this is due to the pressure to clear the language-proficiency benchmark. Students do more work outside of class to ensure that they can meet the requirements for their chosen program abroad. There is also a structural issue; because students spend a year abroad, they must earn extra credits before departure to compensate for their time away. This has led to frontloading in the program, with many of the required classes being packed into the first year. Ichiro notes that this gives students very little time to actually study, "Students have to take many courses so there is virtually no time for them to do homework".

The workload issue is also confounded by the question of what contents need to be taught in each class. The program is based on a broad liberal arts curriculum with little specialization in any one field. However, the faculty know that the students are preparing to enter second or third-year specialized programs abroad. They feel pressure to achieve what Ichiro calls a "global standard," in reality an American standard, of knowledge in their classes; students will need this foundation before they go aboard. So faculty members are actually pushing students to absorb more content than would be taught in a Japanese-medium course on a similar topic. This problem was compounded early on in the program by a lack of communication among faculty. Multiple teachers all tried to insist on a "global standard" of class contents and assignments without considering the total workload of students, which ended up overwhelming some of them.

Stakeholders also worry that Japanese undergraduates in general are ill-prepared for the volume and depth of content normally covered in North American universities. This worry was borne out, at least among the first cohort, who returned from study abroad only having done enough coursework to claim approximately half of the 40 credits allowed under program policies.

Students at University A are reacting to the workload issue in a variety of ways. Some are meeting most if not all program expectations, though Angela notes they do "grumble" about their workload. For others, however, the workload, or more specifically the gap between EMI and mainstream students' workloads, has become a serious issue.

> Even for the best students, I don't feel that they expect it to be as tough as it is. There is a gap. And then when they have friends in the other department, they're kind of like, "Well, how come we have so much more? I know I am in EMI, but still I

thought all university students are supposed to have this much work. But my friends are going surfing." (Angela, University A)

This may be contributing to the high level of attrition seen in the program.

At University B, there is no coherent image of what the students' workload should be. As a result, the message that EMI courses are challenging and require commitment is not being effectively conveyed. Takuya noticed the students' poor performance in terms of their willingness to keep up with required reading and has had to adjust his expectations accordingly.

They just attend and they just listen to me…. When I asked them to read, at that moment if the report is big, they just see like the first two or three pages a little bit and then they just stop. So I understood that they don't study so much. So big reports, like more than 50 pages, they won't read that. (Takuya, University B)

At University C, the issue of workload has emerged in the language preparation classes. As discussed above, the benchmark set for EMI is a very ambitious goal for most students so the program has a great deal of out-of-class, self-study work, which of course increases students' workload. In addition, because of their low incoming language proficiency, many students are taking more than the minimum required 36 language courses.

On the faculty side, University C had some early issues with faculty members not fully appreciating the workload expected of students. Most language teachers, both full-time and part-time, in the EMI program also teach classes elsewhere at C. In particular, many teach English-language general-education courses for a student body with much less well-defined language-learning goals. Teachers who initially approached their EMI program classes in the same way they teach their other classes were not meeting the program's expectations. However, these issues have largely been dealt with through communication and reiteration of the program's expectations.

Workload is also a significant issue at University D; the program is asking more from students than would normally be expected in the first year of university.

The students are overtaxed and they complain there are too many things to do. Lots of homework. Lots of projects. But that's good actually. It seems that they are learning and that's good news. They need it. (Akira, University D)

There was a conscious decision to make this heavy workload part of the program culture and the students' sense of identity. Akira reports the program's unofficial motto is "Real life is not so easy. The real world is not so easy."

For the most part, the students seem to be rising to the challenge and adapting well to the heavy workload, perhaps due to self-selection. Incoming students knew the program would have high expectations and still decided to join. Betty, the only full-time EMI faculty member who has experience working in other programs at University D, notes that the EMI students are different than other D students.

They are much higher level and have more awareness of what's going on. I think they are a different group. They are more directed. They have more ideas about what

they want to do. And they have more questions that they want to know about. I think they are just a bit more curious about the world. (Betty, University D)

She attributes this difference partly to the emerging program culture, but mainly to the success of the recruiting process. The marketing and admissions procedures were successful in attracting and admitting the kind of students D was hoping to get. During promotional events, stakeholders were careful to give clear messages about the expected workload and they openly encouraged students to apply to other programs at D if they felt they might not be up to the challenge.

As for faculty, University D is facing a similar situation to University A's worries about a "global standard" of contents in EMI classes. It seems that a consensus view of the appropriate breadth and depth of content for the program has yet to emerge. This issue can be seen in the example of selected textbooks. Some of the social-science faculty have assigned textbooks imported from the west for their classes, while language teachers argue that these books represent an unrealistic challenge for students, both in terms of their complexity and their breadth of coverage.

Autonomy
One interesting aspect of program culture seen in this study is the explicit attempt to promote student autonomy. While learner autonomy is a common goal in many programs, stakeholders in the programs studied here see it as especially important, even a necessity, for success in EMI and are consciously shaping their program cultures to foster it.

At University C, the importance of autonomy is connected to an acknowledgement that the program itself may be insufficient to support students' language proficiency development. As discussed above, the language proficiency benchmark at C is likely an unachievable goal for many students without autonomy and self-directed study. Thus fostering autonomy is an explicit program goal and faculty members teaching first-year classes are all expected to contribute to it in some way.

Autonomy is also a key goal at University D.

They need to be a bit their own self advocates to get what they need. And I think this program is good for that because there is a lot we don't give them. We tell them where to get it and what to do but do not so-called spoon feed it to students as the students are normally expecting. So students pretty much need to be self-directed and have a plan and get in gear and get it done. (Betty, University D)

However, rather than being an explicit classroom learning outcome, it can be seen as an element in all program decision making, even for questions that might otherwise seem purely technical. One example is the approach to computer access.

About the students being in charge of their own learning, I think it started when we decided to just have WiFi and not have any computers. That was a sign that students had to take care of themselves and get things themselves. "Well, now you have access to the world. So you should be able to find stuff you need and get the help you need." (Betty, University D)

Stakeholders see this as a pedagogical decision linked to the goal of student autonomy, not simply a technical question. It is a sign that students are expected to be more independent. This decision highlights important aspects of planning at D. This technical decision was not made on purely technical grounds, but was based on students' academic needs and long-term program goals. The decision was also not made in isolation; decisions made in one area have impacts on other aspects of the program and stakeholders keep these connections in mind.

Isolation

One aspect of program culture that has a potentially strong influence on the students' experience is isolation. EMI programs tend to isolate students from the mainstream of campus life, but for the universities studied here, isolation was not seen as a problem, at least initially; it was welcomed, even planned for. At University A, this planned isolation led to problems, but at Universities C and D, it seems to be working out well.

Originally, the EMI classes at University A were intentionally isolated from the mainstream, Japanese-medium campus, leading to many complaints from students. EMI classes were all run in the same classroom and none of the courses were open to students other than those in the EMI program.

> We separate them away from everybody else…. We set their timetable. They have no options. And because it's such a heavy schedule, they don't have any time to mix with other students. (Angela, University A)

The decision to isolate the students was a design feature from the outset of the program, and one which university leaders would not change, at least initially. They were resistant to program stakeholders' efforts to integrate the EMI program with the mainstream university community.

For the second and third cohorts of students, the separation was somewhat relaxed. While other students still could not join EMI courses, EMI students were allowed to join courses in the mainstream Japanese-medium program as electives. However, in reality, this change did not improve the situation; the EMI curriculum was so highly structured that students did not have time to take outside electives. Interestingly, even though three years of stakeholder concerns and student complaints about isolation could not trigger a change of policy, ongoing worries about cost-effectiveness, discussed in greater detail below, did so. For the fourth cohort of students, EMI courses will be open to mainstream Japanese-medium students, a change demanded by faculty outside the EMI program.

At University C, the isolation of EMI students is not simply a question of policy, it is an actual physical separation. As mentioned above, the EMI program is housed in a satellite facility approximately three kilometers from the main campus. However, rather than a problem, stakeholders see this as an advantage, allowing students to come together as a group and develop a sense of community and identity.

> Being at the satellite facility obviously helps. They take all of their classes together there. We are also pushing the outside class study pretty hard. So a lot of them take advantage of the space in that building… That's another opportunity for them to be together. So they know they are EMI students. (Richard, University C)

Stakeholders also downplay worries that physical isolation will result in social isolation. The main campus is not far and is accessible by free shuttle bus. Also, the EMI program is part of a full department with 250 students in each cohort, many of whom are international students. This is perhaps a sufficiently large and diverse community to avoid students' feeling isolated. This is facilitated by stakeholders encouraging students to use the satellite facility as both an academic and social space.

At University D as well, stakeholders seem to welcome, and perhaps even foster, a certain amount of isolation. This is seen as a positive feature of the program, tied to developing a sense of community and meeting the program goals. The students are not physically isolated and have access to all extracurricular activities on campus; however, they are limited in their contact with other students by the curriculum structure. Even though technically students may take elective classes from other departments, the requirements of the EMI program make it very difficult for them to actually do so. As a result, program stakeholders report the first cohort of students has become a very tightly-knit community.

> The group is very tight. One of the reasons is that they all take classes together every day of the week. They are in the same classes. Their group stays together all day. (Betty, University D)

Similarly to University C, the 200-student size of the cohort may be a sufficiently large and diverse community to offset the potential downsides of isolation.

4.3 Administrative Challenges

Implementing and operating an EMI program of course raises some administrative challenges. At the universities in this study, those challenges are related to recruiting and incentivizing faculty, and recruiting and providing enough classes for students.

4.3.1 Selecting and Recruiting Faculty

Recruiting qualified faculty to teach courses in English is a perpetual problem. EMI courses are thought to be more difficult to teach and since they often occupy a marginal position in the university community, they are not a priority for faculty. For the universities in this study, recruiting faculty was seen as a critical issue in two programs, but was less problematic in two others.

Even though recruiting faculty is a well-known problem, it does not seem to have been considered in the planning phases of the University A program. Even Sachiko, president of the university and driving force behind the EMI program, freely admits that the program does "not have enough faculty to teach in English", a sentiment echoed by other stakeholders.

> Because the EMI program doesn't actually belong to a department, it's kind of this floating thing; we are pulling in professors from different departments. We don't have enough professors as it is to be able to maintain the program period. We can't maintain it with our current faculty. (Angela, University A)

University A is dealing with this issue through the extensive use of part-time teachers, changes in status of certain language teachers, and virtual conscription of full-time domestic faculty.

A shortage of EMI teachers at University A is perhaps not surprising. When the program was created, faculty were already teaching a full class load and no new full-time faculty positions were created. In addition to the simple capacity issue, there were also gaps in the curriculum. The new program was designed around a kernel of what existing faculty could teach in English, but designers wanted a wider, well-rounded curriculum to parallel the broad Japanese-medium liberal arts program.

> The idea was to have art, philosophy, science; very basic liberal arts subjects taught in English in the first year to give the students a very rounded background before they went into more specialized subjects because our university already has all of those courses in Japanese, so we put a lot of emphasis on parity…. They thought, "Yeah why not have it in English because we have it in Japanese and they should have it in English." (Angela, University A)

This made providing the necessary range of EMI courses difficult without part-time teachers.

Another strategy to mitigate the faculty shortage is using language teachers in CLIL and EMI classes. Some of the English-language faculty at A are teaching the language support classes for first-year students and others are teaching CLIL or EMI classes. Some, including Nick, Angela, and Tomoko, are teaching both. One problem with this double role for language teachers is that taking on a class in the EMI program may cause difficulties in their main role as language teachers. Nick, a faculty member with graduate degrees in language education, took over an EMI philosophy class on the basis of his undergraduate qualifications, after a part-time philosophy specialist left the program. This had knock-on effects on his workload in his own department.

> We know probably he can [teach the philosophy course] but that means he might end up losing one of the courses for the English program. But they really need him to teach because we don't have enough teachers in his department. That means – if he is taking one for the EMI program, it's just unworkable. (Angela, University A)

A third human resources strategy at University A is pressure placed on full-time faculty to take on EMI classes. Faculty members were not given an option to participate in the EMI program; they were selected, rather than invited.

> We just don't have teachers that feel that they are qualified to do it and confident enough to do it. They were dragged in. So they didn't self-select. Nobody self-selected. Everybody was selected. (Angela, University A)

This selection did achieve its goal of getting the program off the ground. However, the selected faculty were not necessarily willing to actually teach in English, leading to some classes being labeled as CLIL or EMI, but not being taught as such.

In the end, the combination of using part-time teachers, repurposing language teachers, and pressuring full-time content specialists has created a minimally sustainable teaching body for

the EMI program. However, even with all three strategies in place, there is still not enough capacity to offer the program that was originally intended, and this is driving curriculum changes. For example, in the initial curriculum design, students returning from study abroad would enter a full-time EMI program, with all classes required for graduation offered in English. However, the first cohort returned to find that only two classes were offered in EMI. For this first cohort at least, EMI in the third and fourth year of the program has become a peripheral part of their university experience, rather than the centerpiece it was supposed to be.

At University B as well, the lack of faculty willing to join the EMI program was a key administrative challenge. Before the current program, University B did have two faculty members, one Japanese and one American, teaching one EMI class each. When the decision was made to expand EMI, there was very little interest among the faculty of the Economics Department. Some in the department felt that the EMI program was taking resources, faculty members' class time, away from higher priorities. In fact, due to a shortage of faculty in the department, some who may have been interested in EMI were prevented from joining by senior members of their research groups. This shortage of faculty has meant that the EMI program at B did not expand to the extent that it was originally intended to. This is one of the key factors leading to the shift into ad hoc delivery.

At University C, the EMI program relies on a mix of full- and part-time faculty. Among the full-time EMI faculty, few are actually part of the new department. The existing EMI classes are taught by faculty members from different departments, or by part-time teachers, and that will continue. On the language side, approximately two-thirds of the English-language courses in the students' first two years are taught by part-time teachers. Some components of the language program are also outsourced to a private language school, a situation full-time stakeholders disagree with.

> We won't be able to hire people as University C staff, so they will be outsourced from company X, Y, or Z. And that means that any kind of negotiation with them to create the environment has probably gone out the window because they will be much more business-like and they won't be as invested in the students. So that is probably one of our biggest disappointments because we've recognized how important it could be to create an atmosphere where students can go and know these people are part of the program with them. That's not going to happen. (Richard, University C)

Both Tim, managing the EMI faculty, and Richard, managing the language-teaching faculty, report difficulties in communicating with part-time staff because they are on campus only when they have classes to teach. Beyond simple logistical issues, it may be even more difficult to communicate the necessity to adapt to the needs of the new department and its students. Tim worries that as the department's domestic students enter existing EMI courses, part-time teachers may not want to adapt to the new reality.

> If I was a part-timer and I had a bunch of jobs at different universities and somebody at University X told me I have to change my teaching style, I might just say "Screw them. It's not in my job description. It's not what I signed up for." But you know, we can get other people. We can advertise and get better people. (Tim, University C)

On the language side, Richard reported some initial trouble with teachers, both full- and part-time, not understanding the special needs and higher standards of the EMI program. Initially, teachers did not have a sense of how their classes fit into the overall goals of the department. They were accustomed to the near-absolute freedom to determine one's own classroom objectives and teaching approach common in other university language programs. However, after several orientations for new teachers, Richard was more optimistic about their understanding of program aims.

At University D, the EMI program was developed as an entirely new department with mostly newly hired faculty. This allowed D much more flexibility and control over human-resources issues than was possible at the other case universities. Stakeholders were able to seek out and select the best possible candidates for faculty positions. Most EMI classes at D will be taught by these newly hired faculty. As for the language program, there is a core group of full-time faculty, also mainly newly hired, but many of the language classes are taught by part-time teachers. Generally, the process of hiring and training part-time teachers was smooth, but there some demographic and workload issues.

Program stakeholders have some regrets about the demographics of the part-time teachers they were able to recruit. University D's first cohort of students is two-thirds female and stakeholders expect this to be a continuing pattern. They wanted the faculty to reflect the student body. Among the full-time faculty, the program is gender balanced; however, there were problems in recruiting diverse part-time faculty.

> We really tried to get good female instructors to be here, and particularly Japanese instructors to be sort of good role models for those students. We were not able to get the balance we really wanted. In the end, if you look at the pool of people around who are available and are good, we ended up hiring more balding middle-age white men than we wanted to. Nothing wrong with that. But, we are aware that that is maybe not ideal for our group of students that's coming in. (Mike, University D)

The program was, however, able to hire at least some young female Japanese English teachers who, it is hoped, will be good role models for the students.

Along with care in the selection of part-time faculty, University D is supporting and coordinating part-time language teachers to a greater extent than is normal in Japan. The program offers seminars, workshops, guidance on syllabus planning, and on-going program feedback for part-time teachers, something not seen in many other programs. While this support can be seen as a positive development, it also has to be acknowledged that the part-time teachers' workload is very high. Stakeholders worry that this will make it difficult to keep well-qualified part-time teachers in the program.

> The teachers' biggest concern was that they had too much to do…. There was too much material to cover, too much marking to do. Just a whole lot to get done…. I had one teacher who said it's more work than any of the classes she has ever taught anywhere else. And she actually wants to leave…. It's not fair because they are getting paid the same as they would somewhere else so it's not worth it for them. So that's a big concern. If we overwork teachers, we can't keep them. (Betty, University D)

4.3.2 Incentives for Faculty

One possible solution to the problem of recruiting EMI faculty is incentives. Faculty members can be encouraged to participate in EMI with financial inducements, or other rewards such as increased research support, reduction in workload in other areas, or access to training and professional development. The universities studied here have taken different approaches to incentivizing faculty members, with only University B directly financially rewarding EMI participation.

University A has no incentives for faculty members. In fact, as discussed above, the EMI program was established with little regard to the faculty's wishes. Not only are faculty members pressured to teach EMI classes, they are doing so above and beyond their normal teaching load. Far from being rewarded, they are being disincentivized. This has become contentious, with faculty members feeling over-worked and department heads worried about resources being diverted to EMI.

University C is also not incentivizing their full-time faculty. While stakeholders are aware that many universities in Japan are starting to incentivize EMI faculty, C does not, mainly on financial grounds.

> Faculty should be incentivized. It's obvious that they should be…. But it's not really being done here. However you do it, it costs money, either directly or indirectly. So it must be done but it's not being done here. (Tim, University C)

This lack of incentives may have contributed to a growing dependence on part-time teachers in EMI. While EMI classes may be important for the university as a whole, for individual faculty members, they are a low priority. And since these classes are taught above and beyond the normal class load, and the faculty members are not incentivized, there is a natural tendency to shift these classes to part-time teachers whenever possible.

At University D, the issue of financial incentives has not been considered. The EMI program was established in a new department with almost all newly hired faculty. Since they were specifically hired to work in EMI, it was not considered necessary to offer them any particular incentive. Apart from financial incentives however, the program does offer a strong inducement to some stakeholders. Mike in particular, reports being highly motivated by having a real voice in how the program is run. Having worked at several other universities in Japan, Mike is familiar with the peripheral role international faculty, especially language teachers, normally play. But at D, Mike has a real voice in program affairs, and this may be a greater incentive than any financial reward the university could offer.

> I have a feeling here that I am listened to. I'm not always agreed with, that's for sure, but I do feel that people listen to what I have to say, and I feel like my contribution is generally trusted. (Mike, University D)

Of the universities studied here, only University B has a direct financial incentive for faculty. The university offered faculty members who agreed to teach a single EMI class for three years a 200,000 yen increase in their personal research budget. Initially, hopes were high that this would encourage rapid development of the program; however, this plan had some rather serious

flaws and led to unintended consequences. One flaw emerged early on when it became clear that all those who applied for the incentive were being accepted without any vetting having taken place. The committee nominally in charge of EMI was surprised to find that the incentive was approved for anyone who applied. It was also apparent that the incentive plan rewarded simply joining the EMI program, rather than actual performance or commitment.

> I was against the incentives from the beginning…. If they would have been incentivized for successful completion at the end, if there was a bit more training tied to it, if they were required to come to our meetings or go see another program, if they were required to submit a syllabus, or just anything, any form of accountability would have been good. But there was nothing. (John, University B)

This lack of accountability and follow-up allowed at least one faculty member to receive the incentive without actually teaching in English. While the class in question is still listed as part of the EMI program, it is conducted in Japanese.

Another problem with the incentive was that among the faculty, only Japanese economists were eligible. Others, working within the Economics Department, were not considered. A Russian faculty member who started teaching some general-education classes in English was not eligible since those classes were not specialist economics classes. John, as a native English speaker, was also not eligible for the incentive. EMI classes were not seen as a significant challenge for him. This highlights the assumption by decision makers at B that the difficulty of EMI is tied to the teacher's language proficiency. EMI classes are challenging because the teacher is operating in their second language. The difficulty is not due to the students' needs, the difficulty of integrating linguistically and academically diverse students, the need to prepare in-house materials, or any of the other issues generally associated with EMI. Only the faculty members' language proficiency was considered.

With these weaknesses in the design of the incentive, it is perhaps not surprising that it failed. Takuya, who later became one of the EMI program's unofficial leaders, admits that he was initially attracted to EMI, at least in part, by the incentive. However, later it became much less important, even to the point where he returned some of the money he had not used. As an economist who studies incentives, his professional evaluation of the B incentive plan was very clear: the system did not work.

4.3.3 Marketing and Recruiting Students
Along with difficulties in recruiting and incentivizing faculty, recruiting students can be a challenge for EMI programs. At University A, EMI was originally intended to appeal to students who might not otherwise consider attending A. Tomoko reported that the intent was "to raise the level of our university because the administration wanted to attract students from better high schools. The *hensachi* of our university will go up. That was the original idea". In part, this was to fulfill what university leaders consider the school's mission of fostering global citizens. However, there was also a clear sense that the program was part of a strategy to ensure the long-term survival of the university. Amid falling enrolments and over-capacity in the higher education sector, A is worried about being able to recruit enough students. While not in danger of closing in the near future, it is operating slightly below its rated capacity for new student intake, meaning it has seats available

which it is not able to fill with new students. This was clearly part of the thinking behind establishing the EMI program.

The new program was intended to raise the overall profile of the university and attract higher-quality applicants; however, the program may not be living up to this expectation. The quality of incoming students has not risen and the process of recruiting for the EMI program has changed. Initially, stakeholders focused on recruiting students directly from high schools. The program itself was seen to be attractive and the very generous financial aid for the year abroad and free iPads given to all EMI students were strong incentives. Through a great deal of faculty and administrators' time and energy invested in recruiting, the program was able to fill its quota of ten students. However, over time, the students entering the EMI program have begun to come from a different source. The program is now recruiting more students internally.

> We are now more focused on the candidates from the pool of high school students who have already been accepted by the university entrance examination. We offer twice or three times the entrance examination for high school students who want to apply to the EMI program directly. But we don't expect so many students to choose that type of examination. (Ichiro, University A)

For the current fourth cohort, stakeholders expect as many as seven of the ten EMI seats to be filled through this route. This means that rather than attracting new, higher quality students into the university as intended, the program is now an additional offering available to current students. This is a significant change in the position of the program and its identity within the university community, but the long-term implications of this shift are not yet apparent.

For University B, recruiting students for the EMI program is another issue for which there was a plan that was not carried out. Stakeholders intended to select a group of high English-language proficiency students from among the incoming domestic cohort and stream them into the EMI program. However, even from the outset, it was not clear who would select the students. Perhaps partly because of this lack of clarity about the incoming students, the EMI program has shifted its focus away from EMI for domestic students. EMI students are now approximately half international. Taken optimistically, this allows the EMI program to serve a new, albeit unexpected, function in the department's curriculum.

> We have a big mix of international students, about half I would say. And that is where the EMI program is fitting in another gap within our curriculum. [International students] needed to be able to take some English classes and get credits in our program. So the EMI program is filling another gap. But EMI wasn't started that way. (John, University B)

This shift to recruiting international students is being encouraged by some university administrators who want to be able to offer more options for incoming international students. However, as with the existing EMI program, those administrators calling for an expansion are not seen to be planning for it in any practical or meaningful way.

At University C, the process of recruiting students seems to have gone relatively smoothly for the first cohort. The possibility of the new department "cannibalizing" students, that is, recruiting mainly from among students who would otherwise have entered one of C's other

departments, does not seem to have been a significant problem.

> There was no cannibalizing that we could see. It's true that some students applied for more than one department and had to choose one if they were admitted to both. And it's also true that there is some overlap between programs. But the area of overlap is not that great really. (Tim, University C)

There are, however, a few issues in the recruiting system that need to be dealt with as the program moves forward. For example, the program actually admitted more students than intended. The original plan called for a total of 250 new students, but to actually enrol 250 students, they offered spots to considerably more. Stakeholders had to estimate how many of the accepted students would actually attend. If they underestimated, it was possible to release a supplementary list of accepted students later, though from a marketing stand-point, this would not make a good impression. If they overestimated, they would admit more students than their MEXT-assigned quota allows. Predicting the ratio of accepted to admitted students is difficult at the best of times, but for a new program with no historical pattern to refer to, it was extremely problematic. Program stakeholders see the admissions process for the first cohort of students as a learning experience and hope to be able to use the admissions procedures to increase the overall academic level of incoming students as time goes on.

> As far as intake is concerned, from the program side I think they accepted students they really didn't need to. I understand the pressures they are operating under, so that's a huge pressure they are under to meet numbers and it's a bit of a guesstimate. But now we have one run through. We had some of students they are saying "yes" to that we should say "no" to. (Richard, University C)

At University D, recruiting was based on a clear image of the incoming students the program wanted; students who might not otherwise come to D, students with an international outlook and perhaps a higher-than-average tolerance for risk-taking.

> We hope any students who are willing to take the plunge, take a risk on being that first cohort, they are probably not your usual students. Looking at these initial applicants, there is a fair amount of international experience, not a conventional high school background. (Mike, University D)

Of course, having a clear image of the students the program wanted did not mean that those students would necessarily choose University D. Being in a major metropolitan area and surrounded by other prestigious, and academically-inclined universities, D faced stiff competition for the best students. Even with this competition, the entrance process was a success for the first cohort, and the program had more than 20 applicants for every available seat. However, similar to University C, as a new program, it was difficult for stakeholders to accurately manage the number of incoming students, and the first cohort of students is somewhat larger than intended. Also similar to C, the possibility of the EMI program cannibalizing students did not become a serious issue. In fact, the marketing done to promote the new department had a knock-on effect on the whole university, with the number of applicants for other departments also rising.

4.3.4 Capacity and Critical Mass

One administrative issue which emerged only at one university was the question of capacity. At three universities, EMI classes were newly created, but at University C, only a limited number of new EMI classes were created. Most EMI classes in the new program are already in place, serving incoming short-term international students. However, the university currently has only approximately 30 such classes. In addition, the new program will more than double the number of students in EMI classes. Stakeholders seem to think this will not be a significant issue. They acknowledge that there are physical limits on classroom space, but the university is taking steps to relieve the pressure by purchasing or leasing additional buildings. In terms of class size, the number of students in EMI classes will, of course, increase and this will create new challenges for the faculty, but stakeholders do not see this as a critical issue.

> Now they are small classes with five students, 10 students or 20 students. Depending on what happens in the future, they could well be classes with 50 students. But I think no matter what happens, the class sizes will get larger so that will cause some problems with the teaching, but it's nothing insurmountable. I mean we have plenty of lecture classes now that have 50 students in them. It's not ideal as a learning environment, but it certainly works. (Tim, University C)

Another issue arising at some, but not all universities was the notion of critical mass. At two of the universities studied here, it is unclear if the program offers enough exposure to EMI. At University A, while the program was intended to offer a full set of EMI classes to students returning from study abroad, there are now only two EMI classes available for third-year students. And at University B, the initial plan called for students to take approximately 10% of their classes in English, but fewer than half of the planned EMI classes were implemented.

4.4 Institutional Challenges

Institutional challenges emerging at the universities studied here are related to the questions of how the program is positioned in the university community, how well the faculty understand the program, how budgets are managed, and how decisions are made.

4.4.1 Relationship with the Wider University Community

When new programs, not only EMI initiatives, begin it is important to consider how the program fits into and influences the existing institutional identity. Is the program seen as a threat by existing entities or accepted as a new opportunity? Is the program marginalized or does it occupy a central position? Is the program a piece of an existing institutional identity, or is it an agent of change? At the universities studied here, there is a wide variety in the roles that EMI is playing and how it is perceived on campus.

At University A, EMI is an interdepartmental program, theoretically serving students from any of the university's three departments. Resources needed to support the program, most notably faculty members' class hours, are drawn from all three departments. However, in the first four cohorts, all EMI students have come from only one department. This imbalance in the distribution of EMI students is a contributing factor in the resistance the program faces. Stakeholders in the other departments question why resources that could be better used within

their own department are being used for what is essentially a single-department program.

> We all have commitments to our departments as well as the EMI program. And I know my dean is not happy at all that three of my classes are for the EMI program, and I attend EMI program faculty meetings, and I attend EMI program study abroad sessions and training. All these extra things. He is not happy that I do that in addition to all the stuff for my department. He thinks I am overworked, as it is. And he thinks that maybe my attention is not on my department. (Angela, University A)

In spite of the lack of buy-in caused by the interdepartmental nature of the program, there is a sense that there was no other tenable option. All current EMI students come from a single department but that department did not have the necessary human resources to develop and maintain an EMI program on its own. In addition, that department's faculty resisted EMI. However, establishing the program as an interdepartmental effort, while possible, did not eliminate resistance. EMI is now in a kind of negative competition with the university's very small graduate school.

> EMI is here and it's sucking money. And we have the graduate school here which is also low numbers, six or seven in the graduate school. It's sucking money. There's a battle between them, and some people have said we should close the graduate school and other people are saying we should close EMI. (Angela, University A)

At University B, the EMI program is a marginal effort at best. Initially, EMI was envisaged as a centerpiece of the university's internationalization efforts, and it continues to be portrayed as such in external messaging. Marketing materials prominently display descriptions of the program in a way that greatly exaggerates its actual importance on campus. However, far from being a pillar of internationalization, EMI has been the victim of shifts in the priorities of university leaders. First, the university as a whole is working to establish a new department in an unrelated field, meaning that both financial and human resources are being shifted.

> Because we have started this new department, it is really draining the finances. They are looking for money anywhere they can find it and they are cutting, cutting, cutting. I don't think anyone foresaw how much money it would take to get it up and running and how it would just pull money from the rest of the university. (John, University B)

> We are now trying to make the new department in two years. So, we have to change this department too. So, we cannot recruit new professors for now, even though we have retired teachers or teachers who go away to another university. Those seats are now going to the new department. So, we are now very short of staff. (Takuya, University B)

In addition, establishing the new department is occupying the time, energy, and attention of university leaders and decision makers.

Stakeholders report that national-level changes are also drawing attention and resources

away from EMI at University B. Like many universities around Japan, EMI at B was implemented under the auspices of a global *jinzai* initiative. However, the government's attention, along with some of its funding, has shifted. Active learning is now becoming a key point in the discourse on higher education, and University B, having spent the past five or more years developing a rhetoric of global *jinzai*, is now working to rebrand itself as a centre of excellence in active learning. Takuya is somewhat cynical about this shift, referring to active learning as merely a label.

> They really like active learning, the department's steering committee and decision makers like that. They probably like the label of active learning. Active learning is the new global *jinzai*. So the label has changed from global *jinzai* to active learning. (Takuya, University B)

At University C, there is a feeling that the EMI program is an important part of the university's plans for expansion. C had, before the new department opened, approximately 9,000 students. With an intake of 250 students per year, the new department increases overall capacity by more than 10%. While 10,000 students is not recognized as a benchmark in any official sense, it is a meaningful threshold distinguishing small from medium-sized universities. The EMI program is not University C's first, nor its only recent expansion. Rather, the university has a continuing history of what Tim calls "academic entrepreneurship," implementing innovative programs in niche markets. The EMI program is largest such program, but it is not the first time the university has expanded and it will likely not be the last.

> We would like to be optimistic. I am an optimistic person generally. But I am not sure if optimism is driving [the EMI program]. It's more worries about the future. I think I can say with 100% confidence that the belief here is that hunkering down is not the answer. The only way to meet challenges is to do new things. If you do the same thing, or worse yet do the same thing and scale down, that's a formula for disaster. And it all comes from our chancellor really. He has been the driving force for a quarter of a century now. That's his personal philosophy and I think he is basically right. He doesn't want to just stay at the same scale, he wants to grow the university. (Tim, University C)

EMI is also seen by many at C as a flagship program with value beyond the simple number of students it brings to the university. It plays an important role in the university's drive to internationalize and is a recruitment tool appealing to higher level students than normally come to University C.

> Well of course when you start a new program, you want it to be a flagship program. So that is certainly how it is conceived. The idea was, and still is, we would create something at a high level and we would use that to attract students at a different and higher level than would normally come to the university. So it is like Field of Dreams "If you build it they will come." (Tim, University C)

With EMI positioned as a flagship, it raises the potential for competition with other departments

and programs within the university for funding and resources. There is also a possibility of student recruitment cannibalizing from other departments. That is, the new department may be recruiting students who would otherwise have attended University C in a different department, with no net gain to the university as a whole. However, as discussed above, this has not been a significant problem at C.

Another possible conflict among departments is in program branding. How is the new program different than what the university already does? Without a sufficiently unique identity, a new program risks alienating external stakeholders. At University C, this is an unresolved issue.

> There is one important question. How does the English or Chinese or Japanese taught in this program relate to the English major or whatever major in the liberal arts department? Which is a valid question that hasn't been completely considered. It's a real question that we need to answer. There are some similarities and some confusion or overlap there so we really do need to differentiate between the programs. Not just as a marketing tool, but really we need to clearly be able to say that the liberal arts program is this, and we are that. (Richard, University C)

At University D, the question of fit with the wider university community was a significant part of the planning process and care was taken to ensure that EMI was established as an integral part of the university-wide approach to education, not as a peripheral or incidental add-on. In fact, the current EMI program is actually the second proposal for an internationally-oriented program at D. The first, proposed more than six years before the current program began, was rejected due to a lack of focus and fit with the university identity. However, this was not a rejection of EMI itself, simply a rejection of a proposal that hadn't been properly developed.

Taking this rejection to heart, Akira and other early stakeholders began a thorough investigation of how EMI succeeded at other universities and what role a new program could play in the D community. The result was a five-year development process including hiring a significant number of faculty members two years or more before the program opened. These teachers, including Mike, Betty, and others on the language teaching side, and several members of the social sciences team, worked to plan the curriculum and develop syllabi. This second round of planning was based on the notion that the program had to have a clear focus and had to reflect the current identity and values of the university as a whole. Stakeholders firmly believe that this sense of focus is what sets the D EMI program apart from its competitors and makes it an extension of the existing university identity, rather than a marginal effort.

> Having everything is not a good idea. You have to focus on what you are getting and particularly you have to focus on the strength of this university. And what's the strength of this university? All the programs we have are based on some discipline: law, economics, literature, or science. So if we have an international plan, it's not like program of everything. We have to have program of something and "something" has to be determined. We looked at other programs, and other universities do not offer international programs based on social sciences. They create more like culture-oriented programs, or sometimes liberal arts, everything-included kind of programs. So we thought, well, maybe social sciences is the right program for University D. (Akira, University D)

Stakeholders also see EMI as a possible agent of change, promoting internationalization of the whole university. The EMI program is referred to by the university president and others as the "tug boat" of D's internationalization efforts.

4.4.2 Faculty Understanding
The extent to which a program is understood in the wider university community is an important institutional issue. Do stakeholders understand the program's goals, how it proposes to accomplish those goals, and the resources necessary to do so? At the universities studied here, this was an issue, even among faculty actually teaching the EMI classes.

At University A, the question of the faculty's understanding of the program is a major issue. As discussed above, A designated the content classes in the entire first year and half as CLIL, meant to be taught in English. However, the faculty teaching those CLIL classes are not all aware of what that implies for their teaching practice; the distinction between EMI and CLIL is not widely understood at A.

> They don't know what the program is. They don't know what CLIL is. They don't know why that is any different than teaching English or teaching in English. They don't know what the difference is between the EMI program and the English-language Teaching Center. (Angela, University A)

Even Ichiro, a dedicated and talented teacher involved in planning and implementing the program, based his understanding of his role on his experience teaching overseas. This does speak well to his ability to teach in English. But does his experience teaching in a western context, to largely native speakers of English, prepare him for CLIL classes with students of low language proficiency?

Along with a lack of understanding of CLIL itself, some faculty members do not understand the actual language proficiency of incoming students. Students' test scores are shared with faculty, but they cannot interpret those numbers in a meaningful way. They are also unfamiliar with adapting their classroom practice to suit differing language-proficiency levels.

> The teachers that are teaching in the program next year haven't taught the students yet and don't know their level. One teacher said she doesn't know from where to base. She knows the score, the TOEFL score, but doesn't know what that really means. How much can they discuss? She is really worried. She consulted me and she consulted with Angela, and everybody. (Tomoko, University A)

In fact, one part-time teacher left the program after only one year, saying the students' low language proficiency and low overall academic level made it impossible to effectively teach the content of the class.

> The first guy we had taught at [a major university] and he was a philosophy major, and he did really great, he really worked hard to try and get to the students but he said he can't teach that low level. They don't have enough English and they don't have enough knowledge even to be able to transfer. (Angela, University A)

This issue of lack of understanding from faculty assigned to CLIL classes could have been avoided, or at least mitigated, with effective faculty development. The university did host several seminars on CLIL-related topics, bringing in experts from a university well-known for its adoption of CLIL. It also offered demonstration lessons and discussion sessions. However, the impact of such training was limited. Faculty members participated, but do not seem to have transferred their understanding to their own teaching practice.

University B suffers from a similar lack of shared understanding, but the problem is somewhat wider. As noted above, John sees this lack of consensus as a campus-wide issue, not simply a weakness of the EMI program in particular. Initially he was both hopeful that a consensus could be reached and fearful of how easily such consensus could be lost, if in fact it ever emerged. Later interviews confirmed John's concern; a shared understanding never really emerged at B. There were too many notions of what the curriculum should include, too little leadership at the program level, and too little accountability at the individual level for such consensus to develop. So without a unifying vision, the implementation of the EMI program followed an ad hoc track with "bits and pieces" of external models adopted without a real understanding of the models themselves.

> There is no one really in charge of curriculum. There are curriculum committees, but no one is checking my class or asking me detailed questions about how my class fits within this model, or how I am adopting and adapting it. There is no accountability. So lots of bits and pieces, but no collage. If there were lots of bits and pieces and we were making a hybrid and we knew what the hybrid was, I wouldn't be against that. But I don't see that. I don't see that collage. We just see the bits and pieces. (John, University B)

At Universities C and D, the faculty's understanding of the program and its goals was also a potential issue, but stakeholders took effective steps to deal with it. At C, there is a potential lack of communication leading to a lack of a shared understanding of the program and its students. Communications channels tend to be weak at Japanese universities in general, and in the case of the EMI program at C, there are several factors which could make communication even more problematic. First is the dramatic split in the students' experience of the program. The first two years are primarily dedicated to language classes and a few preparatory classes taught in Japanese. Starting in the third year, students move to EMI classes. The program is clearly designed in two, semi-independent phases, reducing day-to-day collaboration between faculty members involved in the two halves. In fact, only one faculty member, Sally, teaches in both parts of the program. This separation is exacerbated by the timing of the students' mandatory semester abroad which falls between the two in-house portions of the program. Students do not move directly from language classes to EMI; there is a separation of at least one semester. Nor is there a team-taught or otherwise collaborative bridge element between the two parts of the program. One can easily imagine both students and faculty seeing the two parts as independent.

Another factor potentially hindering communications is simply physical. The two portions of the program are not on the same campus. As discussed above, the language program is housed in a satellite facility approximately three kilometers from the main campus where the EMI faculty have offices and classes. The physical separation of the two halves of the program may limit

communication to scheduled meetings, and it may serve to reinforce any preconceived images of separation.

However, it seems that in spite of, or perhaps as a reaction to, potential communication issues, stakeholders are implementing effective solutions to work around these barriers. They point to monthly faculty meetings as an example of healthy communication and see the faculty development committee as an additional point of contact. Along with meetings and FD sessions, formal information gathering is also underway. Sally is heading an effort to gather and pass information to language teachers about the expectations of EMI teachers. Richard agrees that this kind of information is necessary; language teachers cannot effectively prepare students if they do not understand what the EMI teachers are expecting in terms of student performance. However, he would also like to see information going both ways, with language teachers learning more about EMI expectations, and EMI teachers learning more about the students' language proficiency and preparation. With these communication efforts underway, Tim is quite positive about the growing sense of community and shared vision among the faculty.

> We are all in the same department now. We identify, recognize problems, issues that we need to face as a department…. There is and there will be ongoing discussion and I haven't seen any polarization and I don't expect to see any polarization. Of course, there are always issues, but I don't see any us-versus-them type of mentality now or don't imagine it happening. (Tim, University C)

At University D, the fact that the program is new and the faculty have mainly been hired from outside provides an opportunity to develop a shared understanding without preconceived notions. In some senses this is working well and effective lines of communication are open. Mike, a language teacher in the program, notes that the effective communication and shared sense of direction he experienced is a function of the newness of the program.

> There aren't so many established paths for communication; let's say cliques or whatever you want to call it. I don't think we had enough people yet to have cliques within the faculty. All those people are kind of working together for the first time, newly, and in a very small group. I think all of those people, basically they've had good respect for each other and so that was a good start. (Mike, University D)

However, there are some indications that now that the program has actually begun, communication is becoming an issue and cliques may be developing. Akira for instance discusses parallel, but not interdisciplinary communications when asked about how information is being shared in the program. The social sciences faculty and language teaching faculty meet regularly to discuss classes and other issues, but these meetings are often separate. While Akira is not specifically worried about a possible communications gap between the two groups, some stakeholders are concerned. Betty for one refers to a lack of "interface" between the content specialists and English-language specialists in the faculty. There is little daily contact between the two groups on a formal basis, and now that the program is running, all stakeholders are too busy to fully engage in the kind of informal communications that might bring the two groups together. The department is new and relatively small; however, the faculty still have the same commitments to the wider university community that larger, more established departments have.

This means that faculty members have administrative roles both within the department and representing the department on campus-wide committees, leaving less time for either formal or informal communication among program stakeholders.

4.2.3 Budgeting and Costs
Budgeting for EMI programs is, as for any university program, a key issue. How costs are handled and what resources are dedicated to a new program have important implications for program quality and long-term sustainability. The universities in this study had different approaches to securing the necessary resources for their EMI programs.

At University A, the issue of budgeting is a bone of contention among the faculty. As discussed above, the program has an intake quota of only 10 students per year and many of the EMI courses have as few as three students registered. And yet the program consumes a disproportionately large amount of resources. Full-time faculty members are teaching EMI courses and managing the program in addition to their duties in their own department, creating a substantial increase in their workloads. And many of the EMI courses are taught by part-time teachers, which is a significant financial burden for the university. However, this is not the only problem; it is not simply that EMI classes are undersubscribed. Rather, a higher student intake, while alleviating the cost pressure on the on-campus EMI classes, would increase the costs associated with the mandatory subsidized study-abroad component.

> Basically it is a cost-ineffective system. The university gives the students money for class fees overseas. Therefore, if more and more students are successfully going aboard, the costs that the university must incur will be bigger. If the program expands, it will be even less cost effective. (Ichiro, University A)

At University B, the budgeting issue is even more pronounced. Stakeholders noted a strongly budget-oriented view of program planning. Naturally, budgets are part of program planning and implementation at any institution; however, at B, the roles seem to be reversed. Rather than budgets being planned and funds being obtained to support a program considered valuable to the mission of the university, programs are developed to obtain funds, especially grant funds from outside the university, and budgets are planned to use up the available funds. Budgetary concerns lead program planning rather than vice versa; the budget is not a tool to accomplish the program's goals, the budget itself is the goal.

> If there is money to be spent within a particular fund, then we spend it. And if there is no money, then there is no need to do [anything]. There is no connection between what needs to be done and then find a budget for that…. It's almost a monetary-driven curriculum change or philosophy. (John, University B)

Looking at the example of FD for EMI, John explains that budgets are the key factor in understanding why a single FD seminar was carried out at the beginning of the program, but never repeated. When there were available funds in the budget, they needed to be spent so outside experts were invited to give a seminar. But when the funds were exhausted follow-up or continuing FD was no longer a priority. This budgetary focus also explains a shift in university-level leaders' attention away from EMI. The initial implementation of EMI was done under an

external grant. When the program was associated with external funding, leaders paid attention to it. When that grant funding term expired, their priorities shifted elsewhere.

> A few years ago, global *jinzai* was the priority, but now the president and the main office, their attention moved away from global *jinzai*…. The priority is now decreasing because we couldn't get any outside money. (Takuya, University B)

At University C, the EMI program was established as a new department and is of much larger scale than the programs at A or B. As such, budgeting for the program had to be more formalized. All resources for the program came from internal funds; no outside grant funding was used. The program was located in a newly-refurbished building and funds were allocated for hiring new faulty members. However, most of the new incoming faculty members, in both the language and EMI classes, will be part time. At the time of writing, approval had been granted to hire only one new full-time faculty member for EMI classes even though the program is expanding the university's overall capacity by more than 1000 students. In addition, some language classes have been outsourced, as discussed above. This reliance on part-time or outsourced teachers is seen as a cost cutting measure. Another cost cutting measure is the decision to incorporate domestic students into the existing EMI program for international students. Domestic and international students studying together will, of course, create challenges for the program, but it is expected to also lead to very positive learning outcomes for both groups. However, there are no indications that these pedagogical concerns influenced the decision of program planners to put the domestic students in the international classes. That decision seems to have been made strictly on budgetary and logistical grounds.

> We are a private university. We do everything we do on the basis of student tuition so we have to achieve our goals in a fashion that makes sense financially…. But these classes are now taught for, you know, 100 students, 150 students a term. And they don't all take the same course, they have a choice. So there might be 5 students in a class, 10 students in a class, 15 students in a class, they're small classes now. But the new program admits 250 students a year and so that's a lot more students. (Tim, University C)

Similar to University C, the EMI program at University D was established as a new department, funded with internal resources. Also similar to C, the program is housed in a building renovated for the new department. However, unlike C, the D EMI program has made a major investment in faculty, hiring 18 new full-time, tenured faculty members. This difference may be related to the position of the EMI program on campus. As discussed below in greater detail, D's program represents a significant evolution for the university, the first new department established in more than five decades. Also, unlike C, the EMI program was not established to increase the overall student intake or to increase the competiveness of the university. D is not facing the same dangers as other universities as the university-aged population shrinks in Japan. It is a private university, but it is not among those operating below its allotted intake capacity and is financially secure.

4.2.4 Planning and Decision Making

Decision making is, of course, a key facet of program planning and the locus of decision making, that is, where and by whom decisions are made, is a key issue. This can lead to problems when there is a disconnect between those making decisions and those implementing them.

At University A, the way decisions were made early on, and the outcomes of some of those decisions, have created challenges. As explained above in the discussions of language proficiency benchmarks and faculty recruitment, many key decisions were made unilaterally by university leaders. Those who would later be responsible for implementing the decisions were not consulted. This reduced the overall level of buy-in among faculty and led to problematic decisions being made; decisions seemingly based on an unrealistic, or at least overly optimistic, understanding of the realities of EMI. One such problematic decision was the pace at which the program was developed. Since EMI was implemented as an interdepartmental program rather than as a new department, A did not need MEXT approval, giving the university a great deal of flexibility and allowing for a very rapid implementation. The entire planning phase for the program took less than a year and Angela, Ichiro, and other key members of the implementation team were brought into the program only five months before classes began.

This rapid development and lack of communication has also made it difficult to establish a shared sense of direction among stakeholders. Not everyone teaching EMI classes understands or agrees with the goals of the program. Stakeholders never had a chance to express their views about or contribute their ideas to the program design and so the wide variety of images of what the program should be trying to accomplish have never really merged into a shared sense of direction.

> This program was a kind of helicopter drop. And when I joined the program, everything was almost done, fixed. Therefore, there was no room for me to suggest how to improve it. But if the program was created based on the proper idea, with particular goals, then it would be OK. But unfortunately, I didn't think that way. Therefore, not only me, but also every faculty member started feeling frustration. Frustration because of the gap between the actual curriculum and what we think. (Ichiro, University A)

> Get your team on the same page in the beginning. Get everybody together who is working on that program, administrators and faculty together, and really talk it out and really talk it through in the beginning and really find out what everybody's expectations are and what their concerns are. From my experience, we didn't have that. It was just suddenly, "We are having an EMI program." (Angela, University A)

Despite a lack of clear goals, and other issues discussed above, stakeholders are optimistic about the long term sustainability of the program. The university president Sachiko, and to a lesser extent, the chairman of the board of regents, and a new vice president, are all strong supporters of EMI and are committed to the program's future.

> The university chairman always says that the EMI program is a flagship of the university, so even if the number of students is small, it can take a flagship role but so far it doesn't have great impact. Of course it has some impact but so far it doesn't

have a strong impact yet on the image the university. Taking the flagship role is the most important so the cost is not the primary concern for the university so far. But if the situation continues for years and years, then the situation will have to change. (Ichiro, University A)

The new vice president that we have is gung ho about internationalization and values the EMI program tremendously and will not see it die…. So, the EMI program just this kind of thing that's a flagship I guess for internationalization….If you ask how long it's going to last, the will of the senior management is there to keep it going for long-term. (Angela, University A)

Stakeholders at University B also suffer from unclear goals and have a double burden of a lack of leadership. The strong institutional-level support for EMI seen at A is absent, having disappeared when external funding came to an end. Initially, John and Takuya fell into an unofficial leadership role, but did not have a legitimate leadership position or decision-making authority. This in-between status was quite frustrating on both a personal and professional level, and made it difficult to effectively exercise leadership. Unfortunately, neither John nor Takuya sees any potential leaders developing in the EMI program. EMI at B will likely continue to be ad hoc and rudderless for the foreseeable future.

It's kind of sad because there are so many good people here, and smart people. But no leadership is my overall analysis of it.…With leadership, I think we could have a really strong curriculum, a really good program. For a national university, we have a lot of unique things going on. But pulling it together and packaging it appropriately is not going to happen any time soon. (John, University B)

At University C, similar to the situation at University A, the initial planning was rushed or perhaps simplistic. To open the EMI program as a new department, the university needed to get approval from MEXT. Tim reports that this was the priority of those involved in early planning. Getting through the approval process smoothly seemed to be more important than the actual long-term vision of the program. "To be honest, I don't think they've put enough thought into it. They've just broken down what looked like might pass the MEXT approval process and lo and behold it went through".

Stakeholders currently involved in implementing the EMI program were not involved in the initial program design. Richard for example was not brought on until quite late in the program. He was already heading C's English-language program for general education when he was asked to join the EMI program as head of its language courses. He was given only six months to prepare the complete language program curriculum, and recruit and train the teachers needed to deliver it, all while continuing his previous workload. Tim, the dean of the department, was also not involved in early program planning. All three stakeholders interviewed at D report feeling some degree of frustration at the lack of consultation between decision makers and implementers.

This lack of consultation has led to decisions being made that were perhaps not in the overall best interests of the program. One example is in the structure of language classes which were based on unrealistic assumptions about incoming students. Specifically, program planners assumed that incoming students would be equally distributed across language proficiency levels,

rather than conforming to the normal distribution more commonly seen among incoming students.

> Our students will be divided into three levels. The submission to MEXT was made without talking to language teachers. One of the things that happened was they proposed that we would offer eight elective English language classes at beginner level, eight at intermediate level, and eight at advanced level. However, our intake is not going to be even like this, of course, with beginners, intermediate, and advanced. That means we are going to have a small pool of advanced students but with eight classes. Yeah, but I don't think they thought it through. We might have a lot in lower level, very, very few in higher level. But, we have to offer those. I did ask can we just do four high levels in spring and the other four in autumn. No, because they have submitted eight [in the proposal to MEXT], we have to do eight. (Richard, University C)

Another example can be seen in a decision not being made. As discussed above, the program does not have a clear plan to deal with students who cannot meet the language-proficiency benchmark at the end of their second year. Even now, at the time of writing, the first cohort of students is entering their second year, but discussions about the back-up-plan are ongoing and program stakeholders are receiving mixed messages.

> Everybody involved with the program is aware that it's a looming issue but we haven't come up with a strategy to deal with it. (Tim, University C)

Whatever option is eventually settled on, this question is an important one. Of course, for the domestic students, this has important implications for their studies. But also, for the program as a whole, and the wider university community, this is a crucial issue. If it is not dealt with appropriately, and the quality of the EMI classes is compromised as a result, there is a potential for damage to the reputation of the university among its overseas partners.

> We have all these courses in English that they [domestic students] are supposed to take with exchange students. And if the courses are not offered at the current level, the exchange students will be unhappy and their home institutions will say "What are you guys doing? This is not a university level class. We can't give credit for it," so that will screw up all of our exchange agreements. (Tim, University C)

This is clearly an issue that could have been prevented by more forethought and consultation between program planners and the eventual implementers.

At University D, there has been a different approach to decision making. As discussed above, the program has been characterized by long-term planning and careful implementation. Planning for the EMI program began nearly five years before the first cohort started and the university established a planning committee with administrators and faculty members working full time to prepare the curriculum and administrative structures for the new department.

> A lot of universities are throwing together whatever they've got and putting a fresh coat of paint on it and calling it a program. I know some people opening those

programs, yeah. It is the big new thing. But I think we're a little ahead, for a couple of reasons. [Several teachers] came on last year, they were being hired the year before that and there was preparatory work and research going on before that year, we're already getting four years back, you know. That planning was taking place before this recent wave of sort of general consciousness of EMI. This has been, I think, pretty carefully planned. (Mike, University D)

Some stakeholders attribute the program's long-term vision to the fact that the university did not receive government support to implement EMI. They argue that the structure of government grant programs and the strings attached to the funding can actually discourage the kind of long-term, strategic planning that was seen at D. In particular, faculty and staff hired under such grant funding are typically hired on term-limited contracts. When the funding term ends, their positions are eliminated. This makes it difficult to maintain institutional memory and make long-term plans.

Another factor in University D's commitment to long-term planning is that fact that the EMI program is the first new department the university has opened in decades. There has not been a significant change in the university structure since the 1970's and so there is a very strong feeling that establishing the new department needs to be done slowly and carefully.

4.5 Summary of Results

The results presented here paint a picture of the four universities in this study. University A suffered from rushed planning, unrealistic assumptions, and a lack of buy-in from faculty, but program stakeholders have dedicated time and energy to adapting the original program design to better suit the realities of the university context. On the other hand, at University B, shifting priorities among university leaders and a lack of shared vision and leadership at the program level have pushed EMI into ad hoc implementation. At University C, unrealistic assumptions and rushed planning made implementation more challenging, but program stakeholders have been able to keep the program on track. University D invested time, money and energy into long-term planning for their EMI program and stakeholders have enjoyed a largely smooth implementation. See Table 8 for a summary of the 20 key themes which emerged at the four universities organized into Bradford's (2015, 2016) four categories of challenges facing EMI programs.

Table 8
Summary of Results

Category of Challenges*	Key Theme	University A	University B	University C	University D
Linguistic	Language-proficiency benchmarks	Problematic gap between incoming proficiency and mid-program benchmark	Planned but not implemented	Problematic gap between incoming proficiency and mid-program benchmark	None
	Back-up plans	Students return to L1-medium program	N/A	Undecided, students may repeat language classes	None, low-level students can graduate with minimal EMI

Category of Challenges*	Key Theme	University A	University B	University C	University D
	Support for Language Proficiency	Initially insufficient, now developing	Planned but not implemented	Extensive, well developed, may be insufficient	Extensive, well developed
	Bridging between English-language classes and EMI	CLIL classes in 1st year	Ad hoc in one class	"Content-light" elective classes	"CLIL-ish" required classes in 2nd year
	Faculty language proficiency	Assumed but not checked, possibly problematic	Assumed but not checked, problematic	Assumed but not checked, faculty have EMI experience	Assumed but not checked, faculty have EMI experience
Cultural	Domestic and international students interaction	N/A	N/A	Acknowledged issue but no plans in place, possible role for study abroad	N/A
	Workload	Very high, student complaints	Students not prepared	Very high, students adapting well	Very high, students adapting well
	Autonomy	Intentionally fostered	N/A	Intentionally fostered	Intentionally fostered
	Isolation	Problematic, part of program design, now evolving	N/A	Intentionally fostered, sense of community	Intentionally fostered, sense of community
Adminis-trative	Selecting and recruiting faculty	Selected unilaterally by program director, some new part-time	Volunteer, self-selected	Faculty now teaching EMI for international students, one new full-time, some new part-time	18 newly hired full-time, some new part-time
	Incentives for faculty	None, EMI above current full workload	Poorly designed financial incentive	Acknowledged issue but no plans in place	None
	Marketing and recruiting students	Initially direct recruiting, now internal	Ad hoc, all EMI classes elective	Well planned, effective	Well planned, effective

Category of Challenges*	Key Theme	University A	University B	University C	University D
	Capacity	N/A	N/A	Few new EMI classes, current EMI class size will double	N/A
	Critical mass	Insufficient resources for 3rd year EMI classes	Very limited number of EMI classes	N/A	N/A
Institutional	Relationship with the wider university community	Resources taken from three departments but students from only one	Marginal	Independent department, flagship program, some rivalry with other departments	Independent department, flagship program
	Faculty understand-ding	Unclear, lack of shared goals, lack of buy-in	Unclear, lack of shared goals, lack of buy-in	Initially problematic, largely resolved	New department identity without preconceptions, some possible communication issues
	Budgeting and costs	Cost ineffective, resistance from faculty	Support tied to term-limited external funds	Internal funds, limited	Internal funds, very large investment by university
	Planning and decision making	Gap between leaders and implementers, unrealistic assumptions	Ad hoc, unclear leadership	Gap between leaders and implementers, unrealistic assumptions	Based on long-term view, collaboration between leaders and implementers
	Institutional support	Strong support from top leadership	Leaders attention shifted away from EMI	Strong support from top leadership	Strong support from top leadership
	Planning	Short lead time, some ad hoc	Clear plan initially, not implemented	Short lead time, initially problematic, now more systematic	Long-term planning based on realistic assumptions and clear goals

Notes:

* Based on Bradford's (2015, 2016) framework of challenges

4.6 Implications of Results

The key themes emerging from the results of this study, as summarized in Table 8, are seen to have implications for program-level practice in three main areas. First, several factors which can facilitate or hinder EMI developments can be seen in the results. While program-level stakeholders may not have direct control over these factors, they will influence how an EMI program develops and must be born in mind. There are also several issues that need to be addressed as stakeholders go through the process of implementation and several points that should be included in the design of an EMI program curriculum. This section addresses each of those areas in turn.

4.6.1 Facilitating and Hindering Factors

The first group of implications relates to factors that facilitate or hinder EMI program implementation. These factors are perhaps beyond the control of EMI program stakeholders themselves, but they have a strong influence on the program's development and need to be considered. At the institutional level, the question of leadership and long-term vision is important, and at the national level, the overall language proficiency of the incoming cohort of students is an important factor.

Leadership and long-term planning

Leadership is a key element in the success of any program. Effective leadership will facilitate and poor leadership will hinder EMI developments. Of the four EMI programs studied here, only at University D did program stakeholders feel that they had effective leadership from the beginning. The university adopted a slow and careful approach to developing its EMI program, in stark contrast to the rush seen at the other three universities. As the experience at University B shows, a lack of leadership, or more precisely, leaders' attention shifting away from the program, can have serious consequences. Without the clear sense of direction effective leadership could have provided, the program never really lived up to its potential. The EMI programs at Universities A and C provide examples of another leadership issue. Both feature strong support from university-level decision makers and effective leadership from program-level stakeholders. However, in both cases, a lack of collaboration and communication between the two levels of leadership led to problems including unrealistic assumptions about the students' language proficiency and the resources needed to foster their language development, and a lack of buy-in among the faculty. The disconnect between leaders and implementers can leave the program-level faculty in the dark about the actual aims of and rationales for the EMI initiative, meaning that individual stakeholders have to draw their own conclusions about what their EMI classes are meant to accomplish (Bradford, 2015; Dearden & Macarao, 2016). Strong leadership and effective collaboration between university and program-level leaders is necessary for the program to make realistic implementation decisions and have a shared sense of direction among stakeholders.

Related to the issue of planning and decision making is the question of budgeting. At one level, it is simply another facet of program planning. However, as the experiences of the four case universities show, it has a large impact on program development. At University A, the cost ineffectiveness of the program is a major factor in the resistance EMI faces. At University B, the disappearance of external funding was a major factor in the program becoming ad hoc. At University C, the limited EMI funding influenced the discussions to hire new faculty mainly part-time, merge domestic students into an existing international EMI program, and outsource some

elements of program delivery. At University D, the dedication of considerable financial resources to EMI development allowed for hiring new full-time faculty members. Even when budgets are controlled outside the program itself, stakeholders need to be aware of budgeting issues and consider how they influence program development.

Incoming language proficiency
One major factor that hinders EMI programs in Japan is the language proficiency of incoming students. While testing and support for language proficiency may be within the control of EMI programs, the incoming proficiency of students often is not. EMI programs reside within the wider context of the higher education sector, and as they expand into third- or even fourth-tier universities, the natural market for EMI, highly motivated students with high-level language proficiency, quickly becomes a very small minority. This is clearly seen in the experience of three of the case universities in this study. At University A, incoming students are at a very low level of language proficiency, and this has led to significant changes in the program design. University B faces similar problems. Even as a nominally prestigious national university, it does not attract higher language-proficiency students. And at University C, even though the incoming EMI students have proficiency test scores 20% higher than the university average, the stretch to reach the proficiency required for EMI is, as Richard describes it, "an extremely ambitious target" for most students. Only at University D, are the students entering the program at a sufficiently high level, perhaps due to D's prestige and their large investment in program marketing.

4.6.2 Issues in Implementation
The second area of implications concerns how stakeholders should approach implementation. These are issues that arise in the preparation phase or early in implementation and can have lasting impacts on the development of the program. In this study, issues of communication, human resources, and faculty development arose.

Communication and coordination
Establishing open communication channels is an important first step in program planning. It allows for effective coordination and collaboration among stakeholders. As discussed in the section on leadership above, communication between university-level and program-level leaders is key, but communication among program-level stakeholders is also important..At University A, the program started without widespread consultation, leaving faculty members frustrated and uncommitted to the program or its outcomes. At University B, initially positive efforts at communication quickly faded away as the program became more and more ad hoc. At University C and University D, perhaps because the EMI programs were established as independent departments, faculty meetings and professional development sessions have been more effective at establishing and maintaining intra-departmental communication.

Program leaders need to develop lines of communication among stakeholders. Regular formal meetings are crucial, but it is important to not overlook the informal lines of communication that can allow all stakeholders to have a shared sense of direction and a shared understanding of the program's aims.

Recruiting and Incentivizing Faculty

Recruiting and incentivizing faculty for EMI programs is an ongoing issue in many contexts (see for example Tsuyeyoshi, 2005). Finding faculty who have the right mix of content knowledge, teaching skills, and sensitivity to students' needs, and who are willing to take on the challenge of EMI is not easy. In addition, programs need to ensure that the faculty have the language proficiency they need to teach effectively in English. Once appropriate faculty are found, they may need to be incentivized. Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez, and Frigols Martins (2013) strongly recommend incentives for EMI faculty, arguing that their workload is higher and their contribution to the internationalization aims of the university is greater than for those teaching L1-medium classes. Faculty incentives can include financial rewards, reductions in class loads or other duties, and support for research projects.

At University A, rather than being incentivized, EMI faculty were pressured to take on additional work. EMI classes were added to their already full workload and they were required to contribute to the program administratively, above and beyond their commitments to their own departments. At University B as well, faculty taught EMI classes above and beyond their required workload; however, there was a generous financial incentive available to new EMI teachers. But the incentive was poorly planned and did not meet its objectives. At University C, the EMI faculty are drawn from the university's other departments, or are hired part-time. Stakeholders acknowledge that they should be offering incentives to EMI faculty, but they cannot due to financial constraints. At University D, the EMI faculty were newly hired and were chosen to be appropriate for the program. There was no special need to offer incentives because EMI was a condition of the job that they were aware of when they applied.

The kind of incentives offered by University B are still unusual in Japan (Claflin, Kunimasa, Churton, 2014). This may be a cost issue, as it was at University C, or incentives may be seen as going against established academic norms of egalitarianism (Jon & Kim, 2011). Even if direct financial incentives are not used, the disincentives seen at University A should be avoided. EMI classes should not be assigned above and beyond existing workloads for faculty who are pressured to accept them. And if incentives are offered, care needs to be taken to avoid the mistakes of University B.

Faculty Development

Teaching in one's second language is not easy, and it is especially difficult when, as is the case at three of the universities studied here, EMI classes are assigned above and beyond the faculty's already full class load. Faculty members need time and support to develop their skills. They may need to develop their own language proficiency or they may need support as they explore new ideas about teaching and learning. Faculty development before an EMI program begins and continuing as the program develops is very important. However, in the Japanese context, FD does not have a strong position. Though mandatory at all universities in Japan, it is often characterized by token implementation. Faculty buy-in, and resulting changes in teaching practice are often minimal (Fink, 2013; Suzuki, 2013).

The universities studied here are unusual in terms of FD. FD is not commonly offered as part of EMI programs; fewer than half of universities with EMI initiatives have directly linked FD (Brown, 2015, 2017b). But all four of the current case universities offer FD, with of course, varying levels of engagement among the faculty. At University A, several well-intentioned approaches to FD were undertaken, but it is unclear if their efforts had a long-term impact on actual teaching practice. University B hosted one FD event before the program began; however,

when the program budget was discontinued, there was no impetus to continue FD. Because the EMI programs at University C and University D were established as independent departments, they are required to have FD events; both programs have established FD committees charged with organizing those events. However, in both cases, amid the many other things that need to be done to get the programs running, FD is seen as something that can wait. As at many other universities in Japan, FD is simply not a priority.

This ineffective implementation of FD is unfortunate. Effective FD for EMI has potential benefits beyond the EMI program. It is important to remember that most faculty teaching in EMI in Japan have very few EMI classes and teach mainly in Japanese-medium programs. However, pedagogical skills and new approaches to teaching and learning developed in EMI tend to influence how faculty teach in their first language as well (see for example, Iyobe & Li, 2013, 2017). Thus, token FD sells short not only the EMI program, but also the mainstream Japanese-medium program as well.

4.6.3 Elements of Program Design
The third area of implications is connected to pedagogical elements of program design. Six such elements emerged as significant in the findings: language-proficiency benchmarks; language support and a bridge between EFL and EMI; active learning; coherence among EMI courses; isolation; and teaching materials.

Language-proficiency Benchmarks
Obviously, ensuring students' language proficiency is important for success in EMI and, as discussed above, a CEFR B2 level is widely accepted as an appropriate starting point for EMI students. It would seem, therefore, that opening EMI classes only to students who had proven, through some kind of language testing, that they had achieved this level would make sense. However, the experiences of the four universities studied here show that establishing a language-proficiency benchmark can be problematic. The experiences of University A and University C indicate that a benchmark set at the mid-point of a program, as a gatekeeper for the transition from language classes to EMI, may actually act as a barrier for students' entry. This was especially problematic at A and C because the incoming language level of the students was low.

This issue, the gap between incoming students' level and the demands of EMI, will become increasingly serious as EMI expands in Japan and more low-level universities adopt it. These universities cannot reasonably expect their incoming students to have the language-proficiency necessary to enter EMI classes, nor will these students likely be at a sufficient level that a single year of language preparation, no matter how intense, will be enough to reach a CEFR B2 benchmark. That is not to say, however, that a blanket policy of no benchmarks is appropriate. As the University B case shows, a de facto lack of benchmarks, a benchmark set but not enforced, is also problematic. The experience of University D shows that the decision not to implement a program-wide benchmark can be appropriate, but only under certain conditions. The incoming language level of new students at D is high and the language preparation program was planned specifically to support students entering EMI.

Related to the issue of benchmarks is the question of what to do when a student cannot meet the benchmark, the so-called plan B. At University B and University D, such a plan was not necessary. At B all EMI classes are elective and D has no formal, program-wide gate-keeping benchmark. At University A, students who could not pass the benchmark returned to the

mainstream Japanese-medium program in their department. At University C, the issue of a plan B was also not considered in the initial program design and stakeholders are now working to establish an effective policy.

The decision to adopt a language proficiency benchmark is not a simple one. For elective EMI classes, a language benchmark acts as other prerequisites do, guaranteeing at least minimum required language proficiency among all students, and offering students a clear indication of whether or not an EMI class is a good choice for them. However, when EMI classes are a required part of the students' program, a benchmark has the potential to be a barrier keeping students from graduation. As such, program stakeholders have a responsibility to establish effective support mechanisms and a plan B for students who cannot clear the benchmark.

Language Support
None of the four universities studied here is a full ETP. Students do not start EMI classes immediately upon entering the university. In all cases there is some form of support for developing students' language proficiency before they begin EMI. At University B, this was, as with many other parts of the initially planned program, not implemented effectively. At University A, the language support program evolved over time, responding to the realities of the students' very low incoming proficiency. At University C and University D, the language support programs have been implemented largely as planned, both featuring an intensive program of EAP classes in the students' first and second years along with a CLIL or "CLIL-ish" transition to EMI in the second year. One interesting point to note is that for the programs discussed here the language support is given to students before EMI classes begin or in a bridging phase. Once students have made the transition to EMI, the language support comes to an end. Ongoing language support mechanisms parallel to EMI classes, as recommended by Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez, and Frigols Martin (2013) and Barrios, Lopez-Gutiereza, and Lechugaa (2016) are not offered. At University C for example, the English program leads to EMI, but is clearly separate. Program stakeholders should not assume that once students have cleared a language-proficiency benchmark, they no longer need language support.

The Role of Active Learning
Active learning, interactive and participatory classroom practice, is linked to better academic outcomes for EMI students than traditional lecture-based pedagogy (see for example Macaro, 2015; Manakul, 2007a; Marsh, Pavon-Vasquez & Frigols Martin, 2013; Wannagat, 2007; Yamamoto & Ishikura, 2017; see also Brown & Adamson, 2012; Brown, 2017a for a discussion of active learning and EMI in Japan). At University A and University B, it is not clear to what extent EMI faculty are adopting active classroom strategies. At University C, EMI faculty report that they do approach their existing EMI classes more interactively than classes they teach in Japanese. At University D, program planners made an interesting distinction between lectures and more active classes. EMI lecture classes are seen to be easier for low-level students and there is a route to graduation taking only lecture-style EMI classes. Active, participatory classes are elective and are expected to attract high-level students. Traditionally, questions of classroom practice have been an individual matter at universities in Japan, though that may be changing (see for example Brown & Adamson, 2012; Brown, 2017a). Program planners should consider how to encourage and foster active approaches to pedagogy.

Coherence and Critical Mass
Iyobe and Li (2017) argue that coherence is a key element of EMI programs. Strategically planned overlaps with the L1-medium program are important for students taking only some of their classes in English. When EMI and L1-medium class topics are related, students can take advantage of the kind of strategic translanguaging that Vu and Burns (2014) recommend. In addition, a careful sequence of EMI classes can support students' uptake of the academic contents. EMI classes that support each other with related content give students a deeper understanding of ideas through repeated exposure. This implies a need for a critical mass in EMI, ensuring that students have enough exposure to become accustomed to learning in English. Unfortunately, it is not yet clear exactly how much exposure to EMI constitutes a critical mass.

At University A, coherence and critical mass are problems for the program. The curriculum features broad topic coverage, with many unrelated classes taught in English, and the third- and fourth-year program does not offer a critical mass of EMI classes; contrary to what was initially planned, most of the students' classes are taught in Japanese. University B has a similar issue, though it is even more serious. The limited number of EMI classes available are largely unrelated to each other. University C and University D are in a better position in terms of coherence. At University C, the EMI classes are all related to a particular theme, Japanese studies, allowing for beneficial overlap, and there are enough EMI classes for students to complete their degree program and achieve a critical mass of exposure. At University D as well, the department offers a full set of classes in English and has introductory-level Japanese-medium social science classes, giving students a solid foundation in key concepts that overlap with their EMI classes.

This issue of coherence and critical mass may be especially problematic in the Japanese context. The majority of EMI programs are very small and ad hoc (Brown & Iyobe, 2014; Brown, 2014b, 2015) making it difficult to achieve coherence and critical mass. And there are very few programs taught entirely in EMI; for most students EMI classes make up only a part of their degree. Program planners need to consider how these EMI classes will fit with the students' other studies.

Isolation
Students in EMI programs, and sometimes the faculty as well, form a distinct bubble within the wider university community. In Japan, Shimauchi (2012, 2016) uses the term *Dejima* as one of her three EMI program types to imply this kind of separation and isolation. While none of the programs studied here fit Shimauchi's definition of *Dejima* exactly, A, C, and D do tend to isolate the students. Though this isolation is problematized in the literature (see for example Heigham, 2014, 2017; Mitchel, 2015; Tsuneyoshi, 2015), The universities in this study planned for isolation as part of their program design. At all three universities, EMI students are isolated by curriculum structures and their heavy workload, and University C has even physically isolated EMI students at a satellite campus. At University A, isolation was the root of many of the complaints from students and contributed to the program's high attrition. However, at Universities C and D, perhaps due to the much larger size of the EMI cohort, isolation has become an important part of the sense of community and program identity.

Teaching Materials
Obtaining appropriate teaching materials can be problematic for EMI. Locally produced university-level texts in English simply do not exist and imported texts from the west are

problematic on several fronts. First, they may be based on cultural assumptions not shared by typical Japanese undergraduates. In the natural sciences or technical fields, this may be less of an issue since cultural background is less salient. However, in the humanities and social sciences, which currently dominate EMI in Japan (Brown, 2015), materials may be opaque to students who do not have the background knowledge necessary to understand the examples, allusions, and metaphors used. These books also tend to be much more expensive than university-level texts produced domestically. The length of textbooks is also an issue if they are written for an academic calendar that allots considerably more time to individual courses than is typical in Japan. Japanese undergraduates normally have a large number separate classes per week, each covering a limited amount of material. Thus, by using imported materials, faculty members may be attempting to fit the so-called "global standard" of contents into courses with much less contact time. At University A and University B, some faculty members have gone to the trouble of writing completely original texts for their EMI classes while others are using imported materials regardless of the inappropriate language level and cultural content. At University C, the EMI classes currently taught for short-term international students are based entirely on authentic materials and there are concerns that the domestic students will be unable to deal with that authenticity when they join the EMI classes. At University D, the texts have become an issue of contention, with content specialists intending to use imported texts as is, and some language teachers arguing that this is not a realistic option. The balance between the cultural background, linguistic complexity, length, and cost of texts is an ongoing issue for EMI programs in Japan. It is something program stakeholders will need to consider.

4.6.2 Summary of Implications
It is interesting to note how many of the issues discussed here are not specific to EMI. Of course some are. The question of language-proficiency benchmarks and contingency plans for students who do not meet those benchmarks is clearly an EMI-specific issue, as is the task of designing effective language support. Also, some issues may be more pertinent for EMI programs than for other university initiatives. For example the question of communication among stakeholders can be exacerbated by interdisciplinary boundaries between language and content faculty, and faculty recruitment for EMI is more challenging because of the need for high-level English proficiency. However, many of these issues are not specifically tied to EMI programs. The need for leadership, long-term planning, and a shared sense of direction will arise in any university initiative. Almost all program planners will face human resources issues and struggle with how to best incentivize their faculty. And coming to a consensus about the most appropriate classroom practice for any given program is a universal challenge. Therefore, in some sense, many of the best practices for implementing and developing EMI programs are simply the best practices for implementing and developing any program. A summary of recommendations derived from key findings can be found in Table 9. A practical application of these findings can be found in the Program Leaders' Guide for EMI Planning in Appendix D. This guide was developed to support program implementers in their discussions, planning, and decision making.

Table 9
Summary of Key Implications

Recommendations for EMI Program Development

	Recommendations for EMI Program Development
Facilitating and Hindering Factors	Establish clear communication between university- and program-level leaders.
	Involve implementers in program decision-making.
	Commit to long-term planning and budgeting.
	Base decision-making on realistic assumptions about incoming students.
Issues in Implementation	Establish open communication between program stakeholders.
	Objectively assess the qualifications of potential EMI faculty.
	Reduce the workload of EMI faculty in other areas.
	Design any possible incentive plan carefully for follow up and accountability.
	Plan for ongoing faculty development for language proficiency and pedagogy.
	Establish clear program goals for both language acquisition and content uptake.
	Ensure that stakeholders have a shared understanding of program aims.
Elements of Program Design	Set realistic benchmarks for language proficiency.
	Establish contingency plans for students who cannot meet benchmarks.
	Offer language support to prepare, and ongoing support parallel to EMI.
	Include a bridge from EFL to EMI.
	Encourage faculty to adopt active learning.
	Plan the program to offer sufficient EMI to achieve critical mass.
	Plan for effective links between EMI and L1-medium programs.
	Establish coherence among EMI classes.
	Consider possible effects of EMI students being isolated.
	Decide how to obtain appropriate teaching materials.

4.7 Limitations and Directions for Further Research

This study has limitations in several important areas. The first, of course, is scope. With only four cases to draw on, the study cannot be said to portray the full range of EMI implementation in Japan. In addition, the participants in this study were all faculty members; the voices of two other important groups, students and administrators, were not represented here. Participants were also active implementers of EMI programs. While this did give them detailed day-to-day knowledge of program developments, other than Akira at University D, none of the main participants were part of the decision to pursue EMI or the initial program planning. Given that a gap between decision makers and implementers was seen as an issue in three of the research sites, lacking the voices of university leaders may be a significant weakness of this study.

The span of the study may also be considered a limitation. The period over which the four

case universities were observed ranged from one and a half years at University D to four and a half years at University A. Given that the purpose of this study was to investigate EMI implementation and early development, this was sufficient. However, in all four cases, decisions made early in program planning have continuing implications, and the full impact of some program design features may not be known for some time to come. In addition, the programs have all evolved over time and stakeholders are continuing to make changes to better suit students' needs and the programs' goals. It seems evident that longer-term observation of these programs is necessary, especially at University C and University D. At the time of writing, both of these programs were still under their four-year probationary period with MEXT, and stakeholders had limited freedom to change program policies or curriculum designs. It will be interesting to see how the programs develop after the four-year probation.

Along with wider and continuing investigations of the current research, the findings of this project open some interesting new avenues for study.

Language-proficiency Benchmarks
A clear benchmark at the CEFR B2 level would seem to be an obvious addition to an EMI program, limiting EMI only to students able to take advantage of it. But the examples of University A and University C are quite problematic in this regard. There, mid-program benchmarks have actually caused more problems than they prevented. And at University D, the EMI program seems, initially at least, to be functioning well without benchmarks. This leads to questions about when and how benchmarks should be implemented.

Language Support and Bridge Classes
All four case universities at least attempted to provide meaningful support for EMI students' language development, but their approaches and levels of success varied. Given that very few undergraduate students in Japan have the language proficiency they need for EMI upon finishing high school, how to best support them as they prepare for EMI is a significant question. This is particularly important if, as at Universities C and D, language support is directly linked to the EMI classes and language teachers have an opportunity to tailor their lessons. How a program supports students in the transition to EMI is also an interesting question. The CLIL, "CLIL-ish" or "content-light" classes seen in this study are certainly popular choices for many EMI programs in Japan. However, research on their actual effectiveness is lacking.

Content Learning
Research discussed above has shown that overall, EMI students' academic performance parallels or may even be slightly better than, mainstream L1-medium students' outcomes. However, these findings assume that the two groups have been taught the same materials. In the Japanese context this may not be a safe assumption as programs struggle to define themselves and their approach to the so-called "global standard" of content learning. It is not yet clear to what extent programs are covering content and to what extent students are learning that content.

Critical Mass
The notion of critical mass arose as a key point. Students who do not have enough exposure to EMI may never fully transition from learning English to learning in English. Individual EMI classes offered ad hoc across the curriculum, as is common in Japan, may not be enough and may

not lead to appropriate depth of content learning. However, it is not clear how much EMI is enough.

Employability
Many EMI programs in Japan, including those studied here, are part of global *jinzai* initiatives and are assumed to help students prepare for internationally-minded careers. However, the focus on EMI for domestic students is relatively recent and there are, as yet, no long-term findings about EMI students' employability or their long-term, post-graduation outcomes.

Teaching Materials
The difficulty of obtaining appropriate teaching materials for EMI in Japan is a serious issue. As EMI becomes more common, research on, and the development of localized teaching materials will become a necessity.

Criteria for Success
MEXT tracks the number of universities offering EMI and is continuing to encourage expansion. And for universities funded by the Global 30 or Top Global projects, criteria for the size and scope of EMI programs were established. However, there are, at present, no widely agreed upon criteria for quality in EMI. In this study, notions of success and failure were judged based on the participants own assessment of their programs; however, the development of external benchmarks and criteria should be prioritized.

   With these limitations and open questions in mind, the following chapter brings the thesis to a close with a discussion of how the findings of this, admittedly narrow, study relate to ongoing trends in the higher-education sector as a whole.

Chapter 5 Discussion and Conclusion

This study followed the early stages of EMI programs at four universities, exploring how program-level implementers dealt with the linguistic, cultural, administrative and institutional challenges implied by EMI. In terms of linguistic challenges, the English proficiency of incoming students and how best to measure and support that proficiency is an obvious issue. A language-proficiency benchmark at the CEFR B2 level is recommended but such a benchmark must be implemented carefully, lest it act as a wall rather than a gatekeeper. Students need to be effectively supported as they develop their language proficiency and work toward meeting the benchmark. Cultural challenges arising from students and faculty of different backgrounds interacting are an issue in many EMI programs. However, even when EMI implementation is largely domestic, as is often the case in Japan, issues related to program-level culture arise including a higher workload for EMI students, and the potential for them to be isolated from the mainstream campus community. Administratively, recruiting both students and faculty is a key issue. Amid demographic changes and a shrinking university-aged cohort, the competition to attract qualified students with sufficient language proficiency for EMI is stiff, and universities have to base their EMI programs on realistic assumptions about incoming students. For faculty, finding, incentivizing and supporting talented teachers who want to be part of EMI initiatives is an ongoing struggle. At the institutional level, communication and coordination are vital. Institutional and program-level leaders need to coordinate their approach to EMI, and those who will eventually implement EMI need to be involved in program decision-making from the outset.

Along with this program-level detail, it is worthwhile to consider the development of EMI, as seen in this study, within the wider context of the higher education sector in Japan. This final chapter of the thesis looks at EMI both as a reflection of recent and ongoing changes in the higher education sector, and as an example of those things which are not changing in higher education in Japan.

5.1 EMI as a Reflection of Change

Looking at developments in EMI in Japan over the past 20 years, it is possible to see it as a microcosm of the evolution of the higher education sector, with EMI influencing and being influenced by changes in demographics, shifts in the balance of power between universities and the government, changes in the approach to English-language teaching, greater diversity among international students, and increasing stratification of the higher education sector as a whole.

5.1.1 Demographics

It is easy to see EMI as a response to the challenges of demographic change. Japan is a famously aging society and the cohort of university-aged young adults is shrinking. However, since Japan greatly expanded the capacity of its higher education sector in the 1990s, we now see the somewhat ironic situation of a very high rate of higher education attendance coupled with excess capacity in the sector as a whole. As of 2011, more than 75% of high school graduates were moving on to some form of higher education (Huang, 2012), be it vocational training, college, or university, while at the same time, over 45% of Japan's more than 600 private universities were operating under capacity (The Promotion and Mutual Aid Corporation for Private Schools of Japan, 2013), meaning that there are more seats available than qualified applicants at many universities. This has led to anticipation of a great deal of attrition among private universities,

either through merger or closure (Newby, et al., 2009). While private universities, especially those in rural areas, are under the greatest pressure, public and national universities are not immune to these demographic changes. With their nominally higher prestige value and lower tuition rates, they are not yet facing the dreaded *teininware*, failure to meet admissions quotas, but the competition to attract the best students has intensified for all but the top elite universities. This is pushing universities to adapt in order to survive. Where once name value was the key selling point, universities must now compete on different grounds (Birchley, 2017). Individualized attention, academic performance outcomes, support for career development, and innovative academic programs, including EMI, are now selling points (Yamada, 2012) and universities are implementing EMI as a survival strategy (Brown, 2014a; Brown & Iyobe, 2014) in response to the severe market conditions they now find themselves in.

In this study, these concerns about changing demographics and shifting markets are clearly visible at the private universities A and C. At University A, EMI is seen as a route to institutional survival. Beyond the impact their small program has on the actual EMI students, the existence of the program is assumed to have a knock-on effect on the image of the entire campus. Stakeholders see the EMI program as a way to create an aura of internationalization and academic rigor for the entire university. And at C, university leaders identified EMI as a cornerstone in the their expansion plans. The new EMI program, with its very large incoming cohort, is increasing the size of the university student body by more than 10%, which will push University C across the figurative threshold of a total student body of 10,000. Rather than simply expanding existing programs however, the new EMI program can also appeal to a new kind of student; presumably better quality students than might otherwise come to C. Among the private universities studied here, only D seems to be relatively safe from this dramatic demographic shift. Stakeholders are aware of changing demographics and are responding to them; however, D, because of its prestige, long history, position in the market as discussed below, and substantial financial resources, is not facing the same level of demographic pressure as the others.

5.1.2 Changes in Decision Making and the Locus of Control
Over the past 15 years, the higher education sector in Japan has experienced a dramatic shift in the balance of power, with decision making being centralized, shifting away from full-time teaching staff, represented by faculty senates at individual universities, and to university leaders and MEXT. For much of the 20th century, universities in Japan, especially publically-funded institutions, were largely controlled by the faculty. Leaders were chosen from among the faculty by popular consensus and the government exercised very little control over day to day activities. Once a given institution had passed beyond a four-year probationary period, the government took an essentially hands-off approach leaving the university with what Mori (2009) characterized as "a lifetime status of laissez faire" (p.79). However, in the 21st century, the situation has shifted and changes in the structure of the higher education sector have allowed for much more direct influence from the government. One important change was in the distribution of funding. MEXT funding for universities was once largely based on the number of students; however, in recent years, the overall funding level for higher education has been reduced and more of that funding has been shifted into competitive grants (Mori, 2009; Mulvey, 2010). This allows for greater government influence as universities align their policies with MEXT initiatives in order to obtain funds. Another important factor in the shifting power balance has been changes in the way universities are accredited. New quality assurance and accreditation procedures give MEXT more

power to guide, or perhaps pressure, universities.

Along with the centralization of power in the hands of MEXT, there has also been a shift in the balance of power within universities themselves. In 2004, national universities were incorporated as independent entities with the aim of allowing for more flexibility and autonomy (Oba, 2006). This change also centralized authority in the president's office and reduced the influence of faculty senates. At the same time, private universities, which had always had a more top-down structure, were feeling the effects of the demographic changes and market forces discussed above, leading to more consolidation of power in the hands of university leaders.

This centralization of power in the higher education sector has been one of the factors influencing the growth of EMI in Japan (Brown, 2017c). As discussed above, there was an attempt by MEXT to give EMI a greater role in universities through the establishment of positions for foreign faculty members as part of the first wave of internationalization of higher education in the 1980s (Mulvey, 2017; Yonezawa, 2014). However, this plan faced resistance from the Japanese faculty members already in place and can best be characterized as a failed attempt to introduce EMI (Mulvey, 2017). In the 21st century, with more top-down decision making at universities themselves, and stronger mechanisms of government influence, resistance from faculty senates was much less of a factor and MEXTs current round of internationalization efforts, including EMI programs, has been much more successful, with the number of universities offering EMI doubling since the turn of the century.

The influence of this centralized decision making can be clearly seen in the sites visited for this study. At Universities A and C, both private universities, the decision to implement EMI was entirely top-down with no consultative process with the faculty members who would eventually implement the program. In both cases, resistance among the faculty to the notion of EMI was entirely ineffectual. At both universities, stakeholders report that the decision to pursue EMI was based on a desire to align with MEXT's goals for fostering global *jinzai*. At the national University B as well, the decision to start a new program was made by top-level leaders and the new program was implemented as part of their larger internationalization and global *jinzai* strategy. This larger strategy was seen by program-level stakeholders as an attempt to align the university with trends in MEXT funding schemes.

5.1.3 Changes in English Language Teaching
It is also possible to see EMI as part of a wider trend towards a more practical, usage-oriented approach to English-language teaching (ELT) in Japan (Glasgow & Paller, 2016). As the government reforms the education system, changes in the approach to ELT can be seen at all levels. In elementary school, language classes are starting earlier, now in the 3rd grade in many schools. In secondary school, the shift started with the 2003 action plan to cultivate Japanese with English abilities, and was accelerated with MEXT's 2013 decision to require that English-language classes in secondary schools be taught in English. This trend towards usage-based ELT can also be seen in the recent rise in popularity of CLIL in both secondary and tertiary settings in Japan (see for example Pinner, 2013; Watanabe, Ikeda & Izumi, 2011). Technically speaking, EMI does not have a role to play in language education (Brown & Bradford, 2017b), in fact, according to MEXT's own definition, classes whose purpose is language instruction cannot be considered EMI. EMI is defined as courses conducted entirely in English, excluding those whose primary aim is language instruction (MEXT, 2015a, 2017). However, in reality, EMI is often conflated with language teaching objectives, and programs are implemented with the simplistic

assumption that they will develop students' language skills (Brown, 2014a, 2014b, Chapple, 2014, Toh, 2013, 2016). EMI is seen as a "relatively simple and cheap solution to both the problems of internationalization and upgraded local language proficiency" (Hamid, Nguyen & Baldauf, 2013, p. 10). MEXT itself seems to have a conflicted view of the role of language in EMI, defining EMI as apart from ELT on the one hand, but also seeing EMI as a language learning strategy on the other hand.

> Amid ongoing globalization, in order to develop an educational environment where Japanese people can acquire the necessary English skills …, it is very important for Japanese universities to conduct lessons in English for (sic) a certain extent. (MEXT, 2009, p.17).

While this notion that EMI promotes English-language proficiency is common in Japan, three of the research sites in this study have structured their programs in such a way as to belie that assumption. Universities A, C and D all have strong ELT support prior to the students' starting EMI classes. These program stakeholders do not seem to be operating under the assumption that EMI will naturally and automatically improve students' language proficiency. At A, the ELT support was a later addition to the program, not part of the initial planning, showing that perhaps this assumption was part of early decision making. At University B as well, even though they were unable to actually implement it, program-level stakeholders did try to provide similar ELT support. This recognition of the need for ELT support is a positive sign of the evolution of thinking on EMI in Japan. Until recently, such support for ELT was almost entirely absent from EMI programs, even those serving domestic students (Brown, 2016a, 2016b, 2017b)

5.1.4 Increasing diversity of international students
In Japan, EMI programs are often discussed in terms of domestic students, and in fact, most programs do serve the needs of a predominately domestic student body (Brown, 2016a). However, EMI does have another role, recruiting international students. In Japan, full-time, four-year international programs have long been dominated by East Asian students, predominately Chinese and Korean. Some recent significant influxes of Vietnamese and Nepalese students have increased diversity, but the student body continues to be over 90% Asian (JASSO, 2015). These students have, for the most part, enrolled in Japanese-medium programs (Aspinall, 2013). One major barrier to greater diversity among international students is the requirement for Japanese-language proficiency for entry into mainstream Japanese-medium (MOFA, 2004), and EMI is seen as a solution for the challenge of diversification (Kuwamura, 2017). Short-term EMI programs for visiting or exchange students tend to attract a more diverse student body, 32% European and North American, and only 62% Asian (JASSO, 2015). More recently, EMI is also acting as an agent of diversity for four-year matriculating students. As part of the Global 30 Project, and with ongoing and expanded support from the Top Global funding scheme, top-tier universities have established full four-year programs taught entirely in English. While still limited in both number and scope (Ota & Horiuchi, 2016, 2017), these EMI programs do serve to open universities to a more diverse student body.
In this study, all four programs were chosen as research sites in part because they targeted domestic students. As such the notion of EMI as an agent of diversity was not a significant factor in any of the programs studied here. However, University B did see their program identity shift

somewhat, and the university is now looking to the EMI program as a way to improve offerings for international students, especially short-term ones. At the time of writing, it is unclear to what extent the University B EMI program is moving down this new path.

5.1.5 Stratification

EMI also reflects a growing stratification in the higher education sector. Japanese higher education has always been stratified but the situation has recently become more extreme, due in part to the previously mentioned demographic shifts and the resulting changes in the higher education market in Japan. Lower-tier universities are struggling to recruit enough students to remain financially viable, while mid-level and upper-tier universities compete to attract more qualified applicants. In addition, as discussed above, the government has shifted more of its funding into competitive grants (Mori, 2009; Mulvey, 2017, Yonezawa, 2014), which is driving stratification as a relatively small number of upper-tier universities are repeatedly selected as recipients, while smaller, less prestigious universities face budget cuts. The emergence and growing importance of ranking tables for universities is also a factor in stratification. Initially treated with suspicion by universities, ranking tables, both domestic and international, have been embraced in the higher education sector (Ghazarian, 2011; IHEP, 2009; Ishikawa, 2009).

EMI can be seen as both a symptom and a driver of stratification. Among universities in lower tiers of the higher education sector, EMI is being driven by stratification. EMI programs are implemented as a survival strategy as stratification intensifies and universities try to appeal to students. For mid-level and upper-tier universities, EMI is one of the drivers of greater stratification. Numerical targets related to internationalization, for example the number of international students and faculty, the rate at which domestic students study abroad, and the number of EMI classes offered, are key indicators for ranking agencies and funding schemes. Successful implementation of EMI can improve, or at least maintain, a university's position.

The influence of stratification can be seen in this study, with the four research sites fitting into three different strata of the higher education sector. While University D is not among the upper-tier universities funded by MEXT for EMI developments, it is a prestigious university and therefore is at the upper end of the stratification. According to the Times Higher Education Ranking of Japanese Universities (Times Higher Education, 2017), D is ranked fairly highly, among the top 7% of all universities in Japan. Universities B and C are in a slightly lower tier, both ranked just out of the top 15%. University A is in a yet lower tier; it has not been given a numerical ranking. The influence of the difference in status can be seen in how the universities approached staffing for their EMI programs. For example, at both C and D, the new EMI programs are bringing in more than 200 students per year and significantly increasing the size of the overall student body. However, at C only a single new full-time faculty member was employed for the new program. As a mid-level private university, C is facing strict budget controls and is re-purposing existing classes for the new, much larger domestic cohort. At D on the other hand, a higher name value for the institution as a whole, and the financial stability that comes from being a well-established, upper-tier university, put them in a position to hire extensively, bringing in 16 new full-time faculty members for the program.

5.2 EMI as a Reflection of Constancy

While it is important to see how EMI reflects and is driving changes in the higher education sector, it is also important to acknowledge ways in which EMI is not innovative or new; it is

simply the latest iteration of ongoing patterns. We can get a sense of EMI's overall position in higher education by comparing it to earlier, similar experiences in innovation, in effect, looking back in order to look forward. In the case of EMI, one example stands out as being particularly informative[1]. In the 1990s, universities in Japan invested heavily in Information Technology (IT), and the IT infrastructure on campuses around Japan developed quite quickly. However, the implementation was not entirely smooth and was plagued by a set of issues which will be familiar to stakeholders in many EMI programs today: a focus in implementation rather than integration, a lack of specialist support, and a tendency towards short-term, superficial decision making at the expense of long-term strategic planning.

One aspect of the higher education sector that seems not to have changed over the past 25 years is the rhetoric behind innovation, a prevailing and ongoing sense of crisis and a call for universities to produce a different kind of graduate. In the 1990s, economic setbacks and the rise of the internet brought about a rhetoric of crisis in Japan. The infamous bubble economy had burst and Japan was falling behind in key areas of technology, lacking both IT specialists and IT literacy among generalists (Fukao, Ikeguchi, Young Gak & Kwon, 2015). The business community was calling on universities to adopt IT quickly in order to foster a new generation of flexible young people with IT skills who would power entrepreneurship based on the American Silicon Valley model (Morris-Suzuki & Rimmer, 2003). Businesses were looking for university graduates with "originality, individuality, creativity, initiative, and leadership abilities" (Bachnik, 2003, p. 10).

In the 21st century, the focus has shifted from IT skills to global *jinzai*, globally capable human resources, but the underlying core of the rhetoric remains unchanged. Business and government discourse on EMI and global *jinzai* continues to focus on the sense of crisis (Hashimoto, 2017). As the so called *lost decade* after the bursting of the bubble stretched into the *lost decades*, Japan's aging society faced a declining labor force and falling competitiveness in the global economy. For the government, EMI is part of the solution (see for example MEXT, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c). EMI programs can attract top quality international students, who can become part of Japan's workforce after graduation (Ashizawa, 2013; Yonezawa, 2014). EMI is also central to efforts to foster global *jinzai* among domestic students. Even the very definition of global *jinzai*, vague and open to interpretation though it may be, resonates with the earlier calls for IT capable entrepreneurial leaders. Global *jinzai* have strong communication skills, an understanding of different cultures, the ability to work independently and creatively, and leadership skills (Yonezawa, 2014).

These very similar calls for a new type of university graduate reveal another interesting parallel between IT initiatives and EMI programs. Both seem to have been fighting against what Brumby (2003) calls the "tyranny of tradition" (p. 291), prevailing educational traditions and institutional identities. For IT initiatives, the goal of developing computer-literate specialist students went against the established notion of what universities were meant to accomplish at the undergraduate level, which was to produce generalists. The universities were in effect "swimming upstream … that is to say, moving against prevailing social forces" (Bachnik, 2003, p. 93). The universities themselves also failed to acknowledge the need for changes in

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[1] Note that this discussion of parallels between IT and EMI draws upon a co-written argument previously published in Bradford and Brown (2017a, 2018).

institutional identity and approaches to pedagogy implied by the adoption of IT (Latchem, Jung, Aoki and Ozkul, 2008).

This sense of *swimming upstream* is familiar to many stakeholders working in current EMI initiatives. As discussed above, most EMI programs in Japan serve domestic students as part global *jinzai* initiatives. However, this goal of fostering internationally-minded young people conflicts with prevailing notions of the importance of national identity. And so, somewhat ironically, a strong sense of national identity as Japanese and a deep understanding of Japanese culture are both identified as key elements of the definition of global *jinzai* by university leaders (Huang & Daizen, 2014), and by MEXT (Shimauchi, 2017b). EMI programs can also conflict with established institutional identities. Poole (2016, 2017) argues that Japanese universities strive to preserve their established institutional identity and are thus are fundamentally change-averse and resistant to internationalization efforts. This can be seen in how EMI is implemented but not embraced on many campuses (Bradford & Brown, 2017b). Looking at EMI programs established under the Global 30 Project, Ota and Horiuchi (2016, 2017) found that many were very small, serving as few as 10 international students. They argue however, that, rather than being due to logistical or funding constraints, this limited program size was an intentional decision made to maintain the domestic identity of the departments in which the EMI programs were established.

Another aspect of higher education innovation that seems not to have changed is the tendency to prioritize implementation over integration. Educational innovation tends to follow a process with four stages: initiation, implementation, institutionalization, and integration (Aderson, 2010; Fullan, 2007, 2009; Klassen, 2004; Van de Wende, 1996). First is *initiation* where the initial impetus to innovate is expressed and explored. Next is *implementation* where the new programs actually come into being. This is followed by *institutionalization* as the innovation becomes common practice within individual institutions and within the education sector as a whole. Finally, governments and educational institutions adapt their goals and priorities, their administrative structures and institutional identities, and their approaches to teaching and learning to allow for the *integration* or *incorporation* of the new idea. In both the examples of IT and EMI, this final stage, integration, is lacking.

In the 1990s, while the policy discussions centered on fostering a new kind of student, at the institutional level, equipment and logistical issues were at the heart of program implementation. Implementing IT simply meant developing the IT infrastructure on campus. Questions of pedagogy and the impact of IT on student learning were, as Bachnik explains, "virtually absent from the Japanese discourse on IT and educational reform" (2003, P. 10). Even now, Japan's higher education sector features a very well developed IT infrastructure, but there is a serious gap between the availability of IT and its actual application to education (Ozkul & Aoki, 2007). In a trend that was established in the early days of IT and remains unchanged, considerable resources are allocated to equipment, software, and logistics, with little dedicated to training for faculty or students, or the development of pedagogy (Latchem, Jung, Aoki and Ozkul, 2008). This focus on implementation is encouraged by how programs are tracked and assessed. Spending on logistics and equipment is monitored and universities are assessed based on availability of IT resources on campus, but there is no comprehensive plan for evaluating IT policy in terms of educational attainment (Lee, Hung & Cheah, 2008).

Current EMI innovations seem to have a similar focus on implementation at the expense of integration. The majority of EMI programs are ad hoc, that is, they are not effectively

integrated into the wider university curriculum (Brown, 2015, 2016a; Kudo & Hashimoto, 2008). Even at universities that invest heavily in developing EMI programs, parallel investment in the actual internationalization of the curriculum is often lacking (Takagi, 2013, 2017). Numerical targets such as the number of EMI classes, the number of international faculty members, and student mobility rates, both incoming and outgoing, are prioritized by ranking agencies and funding schemes, so it is only natural that they are a priority for universities as well. In addition, EMI programs are often marginalized on campus and seen as a peripheral element of the curriculum (Brown 2014b, 2015). In extreme cases EMI programs are created simply to have an EMI program. Rather than being a means to a considered pedagogical aim or target, the existence of the program itself is the goal.

Another parallel seen between IT and EMI implementation is a lack of specialist support. In most cases full-time administrators at universities in Japan work in a given position within the university for a limited term, often two years, and then move to another position.. Over time, this staff rotation is effective in producing generalist administrators with experience in and knowledge of a wide variety of university functions. However, this system does not produce support staff with deep specialized knowledge of any given area, and staff members need to learn new skills and processes essentially from zero following each rotation. During the adoption of IT, this lead to gaps in the availability of support. "In the case of computer support, where specialized knowledge in a quickly changing field is required, the question of lack of competence is a real problem" (Slater, 2003, p. 73). Some IT specialists were of course hired by universities but not as full-time administrators. They were placed in temporary, marginal positions, and though they had responsibility for IT infrastructure, decision making authority for IT issues rested with the full-time generalists. Faced with this lack of support, self-taught faculty members began taking over IT initiatives, and on many campuses, management of IT systems became a volunteer-based faculty function (Yoshida & Bachnik, 2003).

In current EMI initiatives, a similar lack of specialist support is a challenge. Full-time administrators assigned to EMI programs are rarely specialists in international education and are often assigned to the program temporarily, as part of their normal rotation. Much of the work of administering programs is done by self-taught faculty members or administrative staff members on limited-term contracts (Bradford, 2015; Bradford & Brown, 2017b). Because of their position, these short-term administrators have little voice in program decision making (Brown, 2015, 2017b; Poole, 2016, 2017) and when their contracts come to an end, their expertise and experience are lost, resulting in a lack of institutional memory within EMI programs (Brown, 2017b)

A final similarity emerges from an analysis of decision making in IT and EMI. In early initiatives, IT implementation was hindered by a focus on pragmatic, superficial goals and a lack of strategic thinking and long-term planning (Bachnik, 2003). Universities did not take on the challenge of adapting administrative structures, institutional culture, and approaches to pedagogy, changes that could have made IT a more central element of higher education. The approach to IT implementation was actually characterized by contingent and reactive decision making, lacking a coherent or long-term strategy (Latchem, Jung, Aoki & Ozkul, 2008; Ozkul & Aoki, 2007; Aoki, 2008).

In current EMI initiatives, the indications are that we are following the same short-term, superficial path. Many who comment on EMI in Japan share the view that that universities, and the government, see EMI simplistically, as a magic-bullet solution to the challenge of

internationalization (see for example, Chapple, 2014; Hashimnoto, 2005; Hamid, Nguyen & Baldauf, 2013; Le Ha, 2013; Kedzierski, 2016). The actual difficulties inherent in EMI and the resources needed to implement it in a meaningful and systematic way are not taken into account in planning decisions (Ng, 2016) as universities rush to implement EMI (Morizumi, 2015), with apparently the same lack of coherence and long-term strategy seen in IT initiatives a quarter century ago.

5.3 Looking Forward
As we look at EMI initiatives, it becomes clear that they reflect both ongoing changes and persistent patterns in how innovation comes about in higher education. If EMI is to avoid the fate of IT, widespread implementation with limited integration, there are some open questions which need to be dealt with, both in terms of program-level decision making and the research agenda on EMI in Japan.

The findings of this study, as described in Chapter 4, have provided some of the answers for program-level questions. For EMI to be genuinely integrated as a widespread part of higher education in Japan, stakeholders and decision makers need to work together to base their programs on a realistic understanding of incoming students and the resources needed to meet their needs. Universities also need to consider how their EMI programs fit into the overall mission of the institution and how they reflect and drive the evolution of institutional identity.

In terms of the research agenda, it should be noted that even though EMI in Japan has been growing for two decades, the widespread attention now focused on it is relatively recent and it is still unclear to what extent EMI really is the tool that the government is looking for to internationalize the higher education sector. In addition to the specific research questions implied by the findings of this study, as described in Chapter 4, there are also a number of larger open questions about EMI's status and position that need to be addressed as it continues to progress in Japan.

> How is EMI affecting the wider field of ELT in Japan? Is it, as some in government circles hope, *a cheap and easy solution* for the challenge of internationalization?
> What are the long-term outcomes for domestic students in EMI? EMI is often assumed to lead to employability benefits, but are those benefits real?
> How does EMI contribute to the goal of fostering global *jinzai*? EMI is often conflated with global *jinzai* in business and government discourse, but it is, as yet, unclear how the two are related.
> How is EMI contributing to the internationalization of universities? Is EMI really driving expanded diversity of the faculty and student body as MEXT hopes?

The answers to these questions will emerge as time goes on and research continues. These answers will provide the roadmap we need to ensure that EMI takes its place as an integral part of the higher education sector in Japan.

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