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English Medium Instruction in Higher Education in Asia-Pacific

From Policy to Pedagogy

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EMI Issues and Challenges in Asia-Pacific Higher Education: An Introduction

Ian Walkinshaw, Ben Fenton-Smith and Pamela Humphreys

Abstract This chapter makes the case for a research focus on English medium instruction (EMI) in Asia-Pacific higher education. Three key reasons are provided: (i) the rise in the geopolitical status of English as a lingua franca; (ii) the expansion of higher education in the region; and (iii) the boom in large-scale internationalisation education policies by Asia-Pacific governments. In this context, the very meaning of 'EMI' is problematized, with the binary 'it is or it isn't' distinction eschewed in favour of more nuanced, situated conceptualisations, and extending to EMI in Anglophone contexts. The paper then outlines some of the key challenges relating to EMI at the governmental, institutional and classroom levels, as well as considering issues of language assessment and content outcomes. Finally, an overview of work by key researchers on EMI in Asia-Pacific is provided, focussing on: (i) EMI policies and practices in various Asia-Pacific polities; (ii) issues affecting EMI instructors; and (iii) multiple language use among learners in EMI contexts.

Keywords Asia-Pacific · Content-based language teaching (CBLT) · Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) · English as a *lingua franca* (ELF) · English medium instruction (EMI) · Higher education

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1 Introduction

At the last count, there were almost 8000 courses being taught in English at universities in non-Anglophone countries around the world (Mitchell 2016). Arguably, the global spread of English had previously been felt more at the elementary or secondary levels of education in countries where English was not the dominant local language. Moreover, the primary focus of English language education was language acquisition for communicative purposes. But the last two decades have seen huge changes. Now, English as a 'medium' of instruction (EMI) (as opposed to English as an 'object' of instruction) is becoming a 'new normal', and a key site for this change is higher education, nowhere more so than in the Asia-Pacific.

The purpose of this book is essentially fourfold: (i) to consider the social, historical, political, economic and ideological drivers of EMI's rapid growth in higher education in Asia-Pacific higher education; (ii) to critically review the extent and nature of current practice in a variety of national and cultural contexts; (iii) to evaluate achievements and impacts; and (iv) to speculate on future developments in EMI policy and pedagogy. This volume is among the first to critically examine the emerging global phenomenon of English as a medium of instruction, and the first title to exclusively explore Asia-Pacific university contexts.

2 EMI and Higher Education in Asia-Pacific

Asia Pacific is ripe for a discourse on EMI in higher education for several reasons. The first is the role of English within the geopolitical make-up of the region, where it has become almost by default the sole contact language for trade, commerce, diplomacy, and scholarship (Kirkpatrick 2010). Its position is cemented by its status in regional economic and trade agreements: for example, English is the de facto *lingua franca* of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN),[1] an organisation aimed at economic and social growth and regional stability. Recent moves to establish an ASEAN Economic Community with a single market and production base (Guerrero 2010), and potentially an ASEAN common currency, underscore the need for cooperation and unified decision-making—all of which takes place in English as a *lingua franca*. Regional economic growth has been further stimulated by the 1989 establishment of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and the post-2000 entry of Cambodia, China, Laos, Taiwan and Vietnam into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (other Asia Pacific nations became members in 1995). These factors have created an explosion of demand throughout the region to raise the English language competence of the present and future workforce (Kirkpatrick and Sussex 2012). It is little wonder that tertiary institutions are eager to increase the range of courses and programs offered through EMI.

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[1] The ASEAN member-states are Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. An expanded body, ASEAN+3, incorporates China, Japan and South Korea.

The second reason is the growth of the higher education sector in the Asia-Pacific. At the launch of the 2015 OECD *Education at a Glance Report*, the organisation's Director for Education and Skills noted that it is in Asia that "you can see the hunger for learning" (Pie News 2015). This hunger is evident in the data: outward bound students from Asia continue to represent over half of the world's mobile international students, and they dominate by a large margin (IEAA 2015). It is also evident in the growth of domestic (home) enrolments in Asian universities, which has seen "an explosive growth over the last few decades from 20 million students in 1980 to 84 million in 2011" (Chien and Chapman 2014, p. 21). For example, in Thailand and Malaysia, postgraduate enrolments have increased by 300% and 400% respectively over the last decade (Chien and Chapman 2014). A senior policy advisor for the European Commission summed up the state of play during an opening address to a high profile education conference in 2013, arguing that Europe could not afford to rest on its laurels, and citing China and India (as well as Latin America) as countries which were developing high-quality education offerings (Rigg 2013). Universities in Asia are no longer only leading the way as the *source* countries of outward bound students but have also begun to actively promote themselves as higher education *destination* markets. In China, for example, the international higher education sector has grown by 13% each year since 2003, from just under 78,000 enrolments up to a total of 380,000 by 2014, and it has set the ambitious goal of being the largest provider of education to outwardly mobile Asian students with 500,000 enrolments in schools, colleges and universities by 2020 (IEAA 2015). From 2016, foreign students studying at Beijing's universities enjoy new work rights (Xinying 2016), making it an attractive destination. Elsewhere in Asia, there are similar trends: Malaysia's international student enrolments increased by more than 25% between 2010 and 2015. In Japan, international student enrolments passed 180,000 in 2014, and both South Korea and Singapore attract students in their tens of thousands. Interestingly, this growth is not being driven by students from traditional source countries such as China but by other Asian countries such as Indonesia, Pakistan and Thailand, and many Asian countries are setting ambitious targets for future growth. Malaysia and South Korea have aims for 200,000 international students each by 2020 and 2023 respectively, for example (IEAA 2015). The increase in higher education enrolments from domestic students along with the desire to attract international students has resulted in a more globalised student body in universities in the Asia-Pacific region and, in turn, an increase in the need for EMI provision.

A third reason stems from the policy actions of governments in the Asia-Pacific in relation to internationalisation. EMI has become a centrepiece of macro-level language policy and planning over the past quarter century, both regionally (i.e.

policies formed Asia-wide) and nationally (i.e. policies formulated by ministries of education). In 2008, ASEAN set a plan to achieve greater regional harmonisation involving 6500 higher education institutions and 12 million post-secondary students (Dang 2015), while the 2012 APEC summit resolved to improve academic staff and student mobility, akin to the EU's Bologna process. Such high-level policy initiatives consolidate the push to EMI (Kirkpatrick 2014). Nationally, many policies are breathtakingly broad in their intended scope and impact, as illustrated by the three following snapshots of language policy and planning reforms underway in the Asia-Pacific higher education sector:

- *Indonesia*: The Minister for Higher Education recently announced the implementation of a bilingual curriculum (Bahasa Indonesian/English) in universities nationwide in 2016 (Dewi this volume). The policy is intended to "encourage English fluency among all students and teaching staff", with the expectation that they will "communicate in English and all academic references would use English terms" (The Jakarta Post 2015).
- *China*: the Ministry of Education requires 5–10% of its undergraduate specialisation courses be taught in English or another foreign language and counts the number of EMI courses offered as a criterion of official evaluations of local universities (Lei and Hu 2014). Future grand plans include the development of Zhejiang University (Times Higher Education 2013), scheduled for completion in 2016, where the on-campus working language will be English. Another development is the establishment of Western university campuses which operate in English, such as Nottingham University's Ningbo campus (Perrin this volume; Pessoa et al. 2014).
- *Japan*: The Japanese government has made available ¥7.7 billion (US$77 million) to 10 "top" universities to elevate them to the top tier of world rankings, and to 20 "global" universities to stimulate internationalization. The Education Ministry stipulates that a common condition for both funding streams is that they increase both the "ratio of foreign faculty and students" and the number of "lectures in English" (MEXT 2014). It is also envisioned that all domestic university students' entry-level English proficiency will be boosted by learning English exclusively through English in their senior high school years, a pedagogical strategy that was implemented nationwide in 2013 (Hashimoto 2013).

It is clear from the studies in this volume and elsewhere that implementing these visions at the meso (institutional) and micro (program/course/individual) levels has often been experimental. Whether this is by necessity or poor management is a common theme in debates about EMI. Indeed, Kirkpatrick (2014) comments that while most Asian universities have accepted that they need to provide EMI courses if they want to raise their international profile, few have developed the language policies that need to go hand in hand with such a decision. EMI is clearly not just a linguistic change but has been described as a geopolitical, economic and ideological phenomenon that is impacting university eco-systems more broadly (Madhavan Brochier 2016).

3 What Does 'EMI' Mean?

At this juncture, it is worth taking a step back to consider what is meant by the term "English Medium Instruction". Experts have suggested that EMI is still ill-defined and not fully agreed upon (Airey 2016). Indeed, Ernesto Macaro, Director of EMI Oxford's Centre for Research and Development on EMI, went as far as to say that "we do not yet know what EMI is" (Rigg 2013) and that its meaning is still evolving (British Council 2013). Knagg noted the "monolithic fallacy" related to EMI, i.e. the assumption that there is only one type, when in fact EMI practices are heavily context-dependent (British Council 2013), a view borne out by the diversity of EMI contexts and perspectives in the present volume. Madhavan Brochier (2016) defines EMI as "teaching subjects using the English language without explicit language learning aims and usually in a country where English is not spoken by a majority of the people", but accepts that even this is open to dispute (and indeed two chapters in this book (Heugh, Li and Song; Humphreys) posit forms of meaningful EMI in Anglophone countries). EMI therefore appears to have reached its Rumsfeldian moment, where although much is known, commentary on the "known unknowns" is equally prevalent.

Clearly, a current conundrum is the proliferation of closely related terms that have clouded the nexus between discipline-specific learning and academic language. As Madhavan Brochier recently put it, echoing the work of Ernesto Macaro (British Council 2013) while drawing on her own practical wisdom born of "hundreds of hours" observing EMI classrooms in France:

> English Medium Instruction is not the same as Content Language Integrated Learning (CLIL); it's not a substitute for English for Academic Purposes (EAP); and it's not a refashioning of English for Specific Purposes (ESP). […] It is something that stands on its own.

The key point of distinction, she argues, between EMI and the others is that

> EMI has no exclusively stated language-learning aims. […] I've never seen anyone go into an EMI course thinking: "Great, I'll work on my students' English as well". In fact, what I see is quite the opposite. […] If that happens, it's a happy by-product.

The word "by-product" is apt since it is evocative of experimentation, a recurring theme in EMI's nascent literature (this book included). There is almost a characterisation of EMI as the maverick younger sibling of CLIL/CBLT/EAP/ESP[2]—making it up as she goes along, resistant to doing things systematically, but somehow getting all the attention in recent times. Taguchi (2014), interestingly, uses the same word, describing EMI as "a tool for academic study…a by-product of the process of gaining content knowledge in academic subjects" (p. 89) and therefore without explicit language outcomes.

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[2] CBLT = Content-based Language Teaching; EAP = English for Academic Purposes; ESP = English for Specific Purposes.

Another way to grapple with the difference between EMI, CLIL and EAP/ESP is via Airey's (2016) conceptualisation of a language/content continuum. In his model, EAP courses are positioned as focusing exclusively on language outcomes whereas CLIL is concerned with both content *and* language goals. EMI is further along the continuum and is said to focus only on learning related to content. It is common to hear calls for "more EAP" in institutional contexts where the implementation of EMI is perceived to require support—a model that links EAP and EMI but keeps them discrete. This can be a marriage of convenience for language specialists on the one hand and discipline specialists on the other, who may find close collaboration too challenging but be happy for each camp to pursue their goals within the same institution. It is also a likely reason that CLIL, which idealises the synthesis of both approaches, has not gained significant traction in higher education globally (although it has at the primary/secondary levels)—it would require university academics to give equal weight to content and language in their teaching, a revolutionary change in most contexts. It is also noteworthy that CLIL is the only acronym of the three without an "E" in it. This is because it is concerned with the way(s) language is used within a discipline (e.g. to formulate arguments or frame concepts), and is therefore as much about the L1 as the L2. EAP and EMI are both concerned specifically with English: EAP with how English operates in academic domains; EMI with the transmission of academic knowledge through English.

The meaning of the "E" in "EMI" (the notion of *which* or *whose* English is being referred to) is indeed a point of controversy and one that is raised by several contributors to this volume (e.g. Kirkpatrick and Mahboob). The "E" may, for example, denote an American, British or other "native speaker" norm, or English as an International language (EIL), or English as a *lingua franca* (ELF). Currently, there is no single model that can be used as a global standard (Pennycook 2012) and generally what is meant by "English" in the implementation of EMI policies is not articulated. It is not clear, for example, whether countries adopting EMI as the *lingua academica* of higher education should be aiming to emulate a specified native speaker variety or whether a standard local variety might (or should) be accepted. Kirkpatrick (2014) and many others (e.g. Jenkins 2013; Taguchi 2014) have also raised the issue of ownership in such contexts where English is not the L1 of most of the stakeholders, along with the possible negative impact on local languages when English is used in their stead.

Finally, we argue that, in many contexts, programs cannot and should not be defined using the binary distinction of "EMI" or "not EMI", or what Knagg (British Council 2013) refers to as "the on-off fallacy". Rather, EMI is a more nuanced concept operating on continua of usage at varying levels including institutional, course and classroom. For example, depending on the context, English might be used outside of the classroom for on- or off-campus interactions as well as inside the classroom. At classroom level, the extent of use might vary from English being simply the language of the textbook (Lei and Hu 2014), or the medium of delivery, or the language of assessed activities, or the language of classroom activities or the language of all classroom interactions. English might also be used along with other languages, allowing for code-switching and translanguaging, as chapters in this volume describe. While the extent of English use may not always be explicitly stated, it is possible for language policies to articulate this, such as the distinction made at the Hong Kong Institute of Education between Medium of Instruction (MOI) and Classroom Language (CL) (Kirkpatrick this volume).

In summary, the meaning of "EMI" is a long way from being settled. On the contrary, it is a contested term and far from value-neutral.

4 Challenges for EMI

We preface our discussion of the issues in EMI with the view that its implementation has largely been promulgated with good intentions. The aim of macro-level stakeholders to increase the quality of educational offerings and to develop English language proficiency, potentially leading to a well-qualified, internationally-minded, bi- or multilingual workforce, is laudable. Nevertheless, in many cases, macro- and meso-level stakeholders seem to have adopted EMI policies uncritically, attracted by the opportunity for marketing, internationalisation and/or financial benefit (Dearden 2014). Scholars (e.g. Hamid et al. 2013; Nguyen et al. this volume; Kirkpatrick this volume; Wilkinson 2013) argue that these presumed advantages are sometimes prioritised ahead of educational benefits such as gaining academic knowledge. Gibbs (2010, cited in Jenkins 2013) characterises the situation as "a collusion of mediocrity based on immediacy, hedonism and financial return" (p. 251).

More research is needed into the motives underlying the implementation of EMI, best practice for delivery, and the implications for teaching, learning and teacher professional development (Dearden 2014). In many cases a policy-level short-sightedness exists regarding the myriad "difficulties and challenges" (Hamid et al. 2013, p. 11) inherent in implementing such a policy at the institutional and classroom levels. What is not generally considered at macro-level is that teaching content in EMI requires not just expertise in discipline content and the ability to effectively communicate knowledge to learners, but also what Wilkinson (2013) terms "language competence", i.e. the capacity to effectively teach discipline content through the medium of English. In many contexts, there is a shortage of teachers possessing sufficient language competence (Dearden 2014; Hamid et al. 2013; Vu and Burns 2014). Added to this is a lack of clear guidelines for faculty on how to deliver education through the medium of English (Dearden 2014). Staff may also be compelled to operate with limited training, resources (e.g. assessment, learning materials, coursebooks) (Dearden 2014; Hamid et al. 2013; Vu and Burns 2014) or funding, and without the illuminating benefit of research findings (Dearden 2014).

There may also be unrealistic expectations of student outcomes: research indicates that the input from content teaching does not necessarily equate to language proficiency development (Hamid et al. 2013; Wilkinson 2013). And if learners do not have sufficient academic language capability, then their content learning may suffer as well—what (Hamid et al. 2013) call a double loss rather than the hoped-for double gain (see also Shohamy 2013)—impacting on their performance at university and their career options on exit.

Finally, there is the question of whether and how language outcomes should be measured in EMI contexts. This includes the issue of whether standards of English should be set for entry and/or exit in EMI contexts (as argued by Nguyen et al. in this volume), and, if so, how language outcomes might be measured or evaluated (Lei and Hu 2014; Pan 2009). It has also been suggested that a threshold of language is required for lecturers to participate effectively in EMI (Klaassen and De Graaff 2001), raising the allied issue of whether teaching staff too should be required to have a minimum level of English to deliver EMI, and, if so, how that might be ascertained.

5 Previous Research

While research into EMI is growing, only a small number of studies focus solely on tertiary education in Asia-Pacific. It was in Europe that the EMI phenomenon gained its initial momentum, in the wake of the Bologna Declaration of 1999 that created a European Higher Education Area, and the first major reports on EMI therefore tended to focus on the that context. Two key examples are Wächter and Maiworm's (2008, 2014) oft-cited and continually updated documentation of the growth of English taught programs across the continent, and Coleman's 2006 state-of-the-art report on EMI in European higher education, which was one of the first to clearly delineate the multiple drivers and impacts of EMI on this part of the world. In this section, we briefly outline some of the key recent studies, with a view to their applicability to Asia-Pacific, and foreground areas where the current book may extend or complement existing findings and initiate further enquiry. Our overview is not intended to be exhaustive, since the chapters in the collection offer detailed literature reviews of their own.

The collection most akin to the current volume is Hamid et al.'s (2014) *Language planning for medium of instruction in Asia*, which explores the policy and practice of medium of instruction (MoI) in various Asian education contexts.[3] Applying a language policy and planning perspective, Hamid et al. (2014) offer insight into the contexts, processes, goals and outcomes of MoI policies across the region, with a particular focus on micro-level stakeholders including teachers, students and parents. Hamid et al.'s comprehensive overview of the policy and practice of MoI in Asia is followed by studies of numerous polities in Asia Pacific: Bangladesh (Hamid, Jahan and Islam), Hong Kong (Poon), India (Bhattacharya), Indonesia (Zacharias), Japan (Hashimoto), Malaysia (Ali), the Maldives (Mohamed), Nepal (Phyak), Vietnam (Dang, Nguyen and Le) and Timor-Leste (Taylor-Leech). These studies are copiously referenced throughout the current volume. A point of difference is that Hamid et al. are concerned with MoI generally rather than EMI specifically (though many of the chapters do examine English-medium educational contexts), and their focus is confined to non-Anglophone contexts. The majority of chapters explore primary- and secondary-level contexts rather than higher education and therefore provide a complementary contribution to the current work.

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[3] The papers from this volume are also available in the February 2013 special edition of *Current Issues in Language Planning*.

Similar in focus and scope to the current volume is Kirkpatrick and Sussex's 2012 collection, *English as an international language in Asia: Implications for language education.* The book outlines the characteristics of English as an Asian language and the range of roles which English plays across Asia, encompassing Malaysia, Indonesia, China, Japan, Sri Lanka and others. While the first section of the collection is dedicated to issues of language education policy, the chapters in the other three sections also address non-pedagogical aspects of language use: ELF, the language-culture interface, and the interactional norms of English users in Asia. Like the Hamid et al. work, it is largely confined to primary and secondary contexts rather than tertiary education, thereby complementing this volume.

A book which charts similar territory comes from Doiz et al. (2013). Their edited collection *English-medium instruction at universities: Global challenges* explores the pedagogical and methodological challenges of EMI implementation at universities in a variety of social, political and linguistic contexts. Their focus is largely Europe, with forays into the US, Israel, Hong Kong and South Africa. Another work dealing with a similar theme is Jenkins' (2013) *English as a lingua franca in the international university*. Jenkins examines the functions and status of ELF in global higher education. She problematizes the prevailing ideology of 'appropriate' English language usage (invariably a standard/native variety) to which university management and academics hold and which informs policy and practice at most Anglophone and non-Anglophone institutions. The work explores English language policies and practices at international universities.

Haberland et al.'s (2013) collection *Language alternation, language choice and language encounter in international tertiary education* explores the interplay between English and other languages in a range of bilingual and multilingual educational contexts. The chapters tease out some of the factors characterising successful bilingual and multilingual learners. Although the subject matter overlaps to some extent with the current book, Haberland et al.'s focus is on bi- and multilingualism rather than EMI, and is also largely concerned with Europe, though educational contexts in China and Japan are also described.

Finally, we make mention of a special journal issue on the topic of EMI published by the *International Review of Applied Linguistics* in 2014. It presents a series of case studies in order to critically examine the role of EMI in terms of the challenges and opportunities for developing English skills for the global society. Its focus is not specifically on Asia Pacific, but several studies do investigate that area: Lei and Hu examine the effectiveness of EMI in raising Chinese undergraduate students' English language competence; Taguchi investigates the process of pragmatic socialisation in EMI courses in Japan; and Mahboob demonstrates how genre-based approaches may be applied to online language and literacy teaching to support the needs of English as an additional language (EAL) students at EMI institutions in Hong Kong.

6 Aims and Scope of the Book

This collection is deliberately broad in scope, intending to address a range of EMI issues for a variety of stakeholders including: government or institutional policy-makers; educators or researchers in international education; practitioners or specialists in CLIL, content-based language teaching (CBLT) or EAP; and academics and researchers in teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) or ELF.

The book explores a variety of polities in the Asia-Pacific region, which is defined for our purposes as the countries of East and Southeast Asia, South Asia and Oceania. Represented in this collection are Australia, Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan and Vietnam. In our view, any discussion of EMI in Asia-Pacific needs to encompass both Anglophone and non-Anglophone contexts. EMI is a feature of most if not all Australian tertiary institutions, for example, since almost all learning activities are conducted solely in English. And because around one fifth of the Australian higher education sector's overall cohort are fee-paying international students (OECD 2015), there is a large population who use English as an academic *lingua franca* (Björkman 2013; Jenkins 2013) to communicate with each other and with domestic (home) Australian students.

Beyond this introductory chapter, the volume offers a collection of fifteen further chapters divided into two broad sections: Part 1 provides nine chapters focusing on EMI policies and practices in various contexts in Asia-Pacific (Nguyen, Walkinshaw and Pham; Kim; Mahboob; Humphreys; Hino; Bolton and Botha; Perrin; S. Moore) while the six chapters in Part 2 continue to provide overviews of the respective country profiled, while also shifting the emphasis to the classroom and the 'lived experience' of key internal stakeholders, i.e. instructors (Fenton-Smith, Stillwell and Dupuy; Trent; Dewi) and students (Heugh, Li and Song; Ishamina and Deterding; P. Moore).

6.1 Part 1

Kirkpatrick opens the discussion by noting the exponential increase in EMI offerings in the region. He describes recent developments in contexts including Malaysia, with its aim to be a regional education hub, and Myanmar as a counter-example. Kirkpatrick argues that EMI policy implementation is occurring without adequate planning or preparation for teachers and students (a theme we revisit in Part 2). A crucial insight in this chapter is that successful internationalisation is not the same as Englishisation (i.e. propagating an English-speaking world view). He therefore urges policy makers at national and institutional levels to ensure that language policies are coherent and systematic, involve all stakeholders in their development, and consider the bi/multilingual needs of such contexts.

Many of the issues raised by Kirkpatrick are recast by Nguyen, Walkinshaw and Pham within the context of Vietnam ("EMI Programs in a Vietnamese University: Language, Pedagogy and Policy Issues"). This chapter is highly representative of the current state of EMI in the region because it neatly captures the pressures exerted on the 'micro' by the 'macro' in policy and implementation. Vietnam now has an overarching governmental vision (the National Foreign Language 2020 project), but its trickle down to actual institutions has given rise to a variety of local challenges. This chapter profiles one long-standing public university in which the move to EMI has been encumbered by low English language entry standards, the lecturers' lack of expertise in English language instruction, and the expedient importation of unsuitable learning materials from overseas. However Nguyen et al. outline a range of feasible and practical strategies that could enhance the experience of EMI for all concerned in Vietnamese higher education, all of which are applicable elsewhere.

The situation in Korea, as elucidated by Kim in her chapter, "English Medium Instruction in Korean Higher Education: Challenges and Future Directions", has similarities with Vietnam, and the author is well placed to provide insight: Dr Kim is Associate Professor and Director of the EFL Program in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at KAIST (Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology), an institution that leads Korea not only in engineering but also in the scale of EMI reform. It controversially converted to full EMI-mode in 2006, mandating that all courses be taught in English, a point of significant national attention as outlined in this chapter. Korea is a very significant site of EMI research because so many institutions like KAIST have attempted major EMI innovation, to the extent, for example, that 30% of university classes in Seoul had switched to EMI by 2011. Kim's comprehensive overview of this context is an absorbing report on the background, developments, motivations and washback (good and bad) from this national education movement.

In the next chapter our attention shifts to a very different cultural context: Pakistan. Ahmar Mahboob's chapter, "English Medium Instruction in Higher Education in Pakistan: Policies, Perceptions, Problems, and Possibilities", makes the case that unlike many other countries, where EMI has only recently been cultivated to internationalise the higher education system and/or globalize the student body, Pakistan entrenched English long ago as the MOI for university education, and the choice was more political than commercial. He argues that post-independence Pakistan favoured English as a tertiary MOI despite a surfeit of indigenous languages to choose from because of its status as the mode of communication for national governance, and because the promotion of any one local language would risk the alienation of other linguistic communities, possibly threatening national unity. Ironically, however, English continues to disadvantage those students who enter higher education from regions and backgrounds in which English is not the MOI at primary or secondary level. Mahboob entertains, but rejects, the adoption of ‘Pakistani English’ to resolve this problem, instead suggesting that a genre-based EMI pedagogy is a possible way forward.

As if to illustrate the point made earlier by Rigg (2013), Knagg (British Council 2013) and others that EMI is continually evolving and undergoing redefinition across different national contexts, we next turn to a study of EMI in an Anglophone nation, Australia. In her chapter, “EMI in Anglophone Nations: Contradiction in Terms or Cause for Consideration?”, Humphreys revisits the very meaning of “EMI”, questioning whether the concept can only be applied in non-Anglophone contexts. Her view is that it should not, primarily because Anglophone nations (e.g. Australia) have ramped up their international student intakes to such an extent that many credit-bearing courses comprise significant (even majority) numbers of students for whom English is an additional language. Given this fact, one may ask whether three or more years spent in an English medium degree program in an Anglophone country actually improves ELP, both objectively (as indicated by empirical evidence) and impressionistically (as indicated by employers’ perceptions). Humphreys’ findings on these measures are sobering for Anglophone higher education, and run counter to the accepted wisdom that academic English is best acquired via study in countries where English is the L1.

In his chapter, “The Significance of EMI for the Learning of EIL in Higher Education: Four Cases from Japan”, Hino explores the role of EMI for learning EIL in Japanese higher education. He outlines the current state of EMI in Japanese universities against the backdrop of government initiatives such as the Global 30 Project and the Super Global Universities Project, which aim to boost the profile of Japan’s top institutions by (among other things) increasing the number of programs and courses taught through EMI. His focus then shifts to several localised case-studies which highlight the variable shape of EMI in Japan’s tertiary classrooms: overseas students in Japan on an exchange program taught through EMI; a course comprising equal numbers of Japanese and overseas students learning and communicating through EMI; a class of Japanese students taught by an English-speaking instructor; and a course where all participants are Japanese but English is the sole medium of instruction. Hino draws on these data to champion a *lingua franca* model for learning/using English, rather than a ‘native speaker’ model. He also argues that interactive skills in EIL are developable in any authentic educational milieu, regardless of linguistic diversity.

The next chapter, “English as a Medium of Instruction in Singapore Higher Education”, shifts the focus to a historical and contemporary overview of the state of EMI in Singapore, whose higher education institutions have long conducted learning through EMI. Bolton and Botha first trace the steps in Singapore’s history which led to the use of English as an educational medium post-independence, foregrounding the role played by the colonial language policies of earlier times. They then turn to the contemporary context, describing the current state of EMI in Singaporean universities and polytechnics (with an illustrative focus on one national institution) and exploring the political and economic underpinnings of current language policy in Singapore higher education. What stands out is the pragmatic foresight of Singapore's government in the post-independence years: the language which they mandated as the medium of instruction in HE has since become the primary means of communicating with Singapore's many regional and international trading partners.

The following chapter, "Language Policy and Transnational Education (TNE) Institutions: What Role for What English?", is important because it brings together two booming strands in international education: EMI and transnational education. Until now, such discussions have been largely missing in the EMI literature. TNE is defined as education "in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based" (UNESCO/Council of Europe 2000). Perrin overviews the challenges faced by institutions delivering EMI in a TNE environment, including the need to create and adopt a workable language policy. The chapter therefore documents one of the first institutional language policies to be created and implemented at a university in mainland China. The institutional research undertaken prior to implementing the policy involved over 700 stakeholder participants via surveys and interviews, from which a framework for the ensuing policy was developed around six key themes: the language of (i) learning and teaching, (ii) assessment, (iii) research, (iv) recruitment, (v) administration, and (vi) social/daily life. Findings emphasized the need to consider the variety of English used, whilst recognizing the importance and status of the host country's first language.

The final chapter in Part 1 draws on Stephen Moore's experience of tertiary education in Cambodia, where he established a Bachelor of Education program in teaching English as a foreign language at a major Cambodian university. His focus in "A Case Study of Assessment in English Medium Instruction in Cambodia" is assessment practices in EMI, an under-researched area. This case study is situated in the institution where Moore was previously employed; he details the assessment practices utilised in several English-medium programs and highlights the pedagogical challenges of implementing them, including issues of teacher agency, learner engagement, assessment for learning and quality control, among others. In doing so, he foregrounds concerns which are part and parcel of establishing and delivering an English-language educational program in a developing country.

6.2 Part 2

The following three chapters discuss EMI in tertiary education from the point of view of instructors, the front-line stakeholders who must enact any EMI policy decision. Relatively limited attention has been given to their experiences and attitudes in the literature to date. Fenton-Smith, Stillwell and Dupuy's study of this topic in their chapter, "Professional Development for EMI: Exploring Taiwanese Lecturers' Needs", uniquely spans two contexts of praxis: Taiwan, where the EMI institution is located, and the USA, where the overseas professional development opportunity to enhance their EMI teaching skills was to be delivered. It examines the preparatory work undertaken to ascertain the pre-program attitudes of participants on EMI as policy (both institutional and national) and practice. From this critical starting point, Fenton-Smith et al. offer insight into the likely necessary elements for an effective PD program for such a cohort. The chapter also raises a key question that those delivering PD to instructors may need to grapple with: How to strike a balance in the delivery of such programs between realistic and the idealistic desired outcomes, and the need to deal with any conflicting perceptions. This chapter conveys a refreshingly positive attitude from the instructor stakeholder perspective, while cautioning that rigorous and principled instructor support will increasingly be required as EMI provision grows.

The next chapter, "Being a Professor and Doing EMI Properly isn't Easy: An Identity-Theoretic Investigation of Content Teachers' Attitudes Towards EMI at a University in Hong Kong", continues the focus on the views of university teaching staff, this time in the Hong Kong higher education context. Proposing a framework to understand teacher identity, Trent reveals the dominant discourses that constrained and enabled the academic staff in his study to negotiate multiple identities, including 'academic economist', 'researcher', and 'teacher'. The qualitative data describe the challenges that Economics and Finance academics experienced in constructing their preferred identities in an EMI environment and how they negotiated such challenges via 'the discourse of rationality' and the 'discourse of possibility'. Trent considers implications for policymakers wishing to afford greater agency to academic staff in the identity construction, critical to both their capacity and willingness to implement EMI policies.

The third chapter to analyse EMI through the prism of those who deliver it is Dewi's study of Indonesia ("English as a Medium of Instruction in Indonesian Higher Education: A Study of Lecturers' Perceptions"), situated in a country that recently announced a large-scale ambition to shift to EMI across its higher education sector, as mentioned earlier. The intriguing thesis at the heart of this paper is that of "positive imperialism"—the idea that English can be readily recognised by local actors (e.g. university lecturers) as imposed by outside powers ("the West"), but agentively coopted by those actors and turned to their own advantage. This notion is explored through data gained via a questionnaire and interviews with thirty-six Indonesian EMI academics, and the results indicate that English is viewed by them as a tool for (among other things) international advancement, positive identity formation, and curriculum improvement.

The final three chapters in this volume are devoted to the theme of multiple language use in EMI classrooms. This topic is the site of a shift in thinking vis-à-vis learning and using English as an additional language: while a traditional EFL paradigm would view code-switching and mixing as interference errors from the L1, they may be recast in an EMI paradigm as bilingual resources to be exploited in the classroom. In that vein, Heugh, Li and Song ("Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the Teaching of and Through English: Rethinking Linguistic Boundaries in an Australian University") explore the role that code-switching and translanguaging play in teaching content through English in Australian tertiary contexts. (Similar to Humphreys' chapter, Heugh et al. interrogate an Anglophone rather than non-Anglophone EMI environment.) They outline a systematic pedagogical shift at their institution from a conventional EAL approach toward a multilingual one which supports translanguaging in the teaching of content through EMI to students from a range of linguistic backgrounds. Their study, which examines the writing proficiency of Chinese-speaking international students studying in Australia, emphasizes the correlation between students' written proficiency in Chinese and that in English, as well as identifying a relationship between their metalinguistic expertise in translation and proficiency in their home language. These findings promote a shift from a monolingual objective in teaching (both of and through) English to a multilingual objective.

Ishamina and Deterding's contribution to the volume ("English Medium Education in a University in Brunei Darussalam: Code-Switching and Intelligibility") continues the theme of students using multiple languages in an EMI tertiary context by considering the use of code-switching among university undergraduates in Brunei. The primary research in this chapter investigates incidences of misunderstandings arising from the use of Malay that occurred when Bruneian students were talking in English to non-Bruneians in informal settings. The study found that most instances of code-switching did not lead to serious breakdowns in communication. The authors conclude that code-switching does not interfere with the successful implementation of EMI at tertiary level in the Bruneian context, and (in contrast to some chapters in the volume) note that the use of English is unlikely to undermine the dominant use of the local language, Malay, in tertiary education or Bruneian society more generally.

Paul Moore extends the multilingual theme along similar lines in his chapter, "Unwritten Rules: Code Choice in Task-Based Learner Discourse in an EMI Context in Japan", though his context is formal and task-focused rather than informal. His study probes code-choice among Japanese university students during classroom oral presentation tasks. Like Hino's chapter, Moore's study is anchored in the context of Japan's Global Universities Project and similar initiatives aimed in part at boosting students' English proficiency and propagating EMI in Japanese HE. Such initiatives tend to emphasize second language use, disparagingly casting first language use as 'interference' or 'negative transfer' (Barnard and McLellan 2013). The value of Moore's study therefore is its examination of L1 use through a benefit rather than a deficit prism: he provides insight into how and why Japanese learners of English draw on their first language as a resource for constructing their additional language in a classroom milieu.

7 Concluding Remarks

As we will see, the chapters in this volume (like much other literature on EMI) acknowledge that the adoption of EMI is not value neutral and can have unintended consequences. The authors cite desired positive impacts such as the stimulation of internationalization, an improved institutional profile, bi/multilingualism, educational benefits, increased mobility for graduates and university staff, and financial return. Yet there is also undeniable evidence that EMI's impact can be negative for both teachers and students—what might be termed 'the gap in the EMI promise'—and for the status of local languages as modes of communication in academic contexts. It is too simplistic to say that EMI in higher education is a good or bad thing—those judgements rightly belong to local actors in the first instance, and this volume delivers no definitive 'party line' one way or the other. What we do know is that EMI is a phenomenon that necessarily occurs in situ in response to particular pedagogical, political, economic and social forces. On a practical level at least, it is the manner in which EMI is implemented, and the policy communications and processes underlying that implementation, which determine the success or otherwise of the eventual outcome (conceding, however, that 'success' is an ideologically loaded term). Hence, the *raison d'etre* of this book is to describe the range of ways EMI has been interpreted and implemented by polities throughout Asia Pacific, foregrounding the issues and challenges that have emerged, and providing EMI stakeholders at all levels with a critical overview of current thinking, scholarship and practice.

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Part I

The Languages of Higher Education in East and Southeast Asia: Will EMI Lead to Englishisation?

Andy Kirkpatrick

Abstract There has been a striking increase in the number of universities in the Asian Pacific region that are moving to offer courses and programmes through English as a medium on instruction. In this chapter I shall first review this increase by describing in some detail recent developments in the use of EMI in higher education in Malaysia and Myanmar. I shall then provide a brief summary of developments in EMI in selected other countries of the region. I shall critically discuss the motivations for this move to the adoption of EMI and argue that, in most cases, the move to implement EMI has been undertaken without adequate planning and without adequate preparation for teachers and students. I shall then consider the possible implications of this move to EMI for staff and students and for languages other than English. I shall conclude by proposing that universities need to embrace an inclusive language education policy in adopting EMI courses. I shall argue that EMI policy cannot be successfully adopted by considering EMI in isolation from other languages and without appropriate and adequate planning and preparation. In so doing, I raise some issues of concern with the notion of the definition of the 'English' in EMI and in 'English only' policies. Universities who have adopted EMI policies and programmes need to (i) take into account the use of English as a lingua franca and (ii) to ensure that the policies clearly identify and encourage bi/multilingualism in the university.

Keywords English medium instruction (EMI) · Medium of instruction (MOI) · Englishisation · Multilingualism · Higher education · English as a lingua franca

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1 Introduction

The increase in the number of English medium of instruction (EMI) courses and programmes offered across Europe (Maiworm and Wachter 2002; Wachter and Maiworm 2008) is being replicated, although not yet to the same extent, across higher education institutions (HEI) across East and Southeast Asia. The main motivation for the increase in EMI courses in European HEIs was stimulated by the Bologna Declaration of 1999 through which a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) was established. The main aim of this was to encourage universities across Europe to ensure that their degree structures converged so that student and staff mobility across the universities could be guaranteed. The success of this 'convergence' can be seen in the numbers of students who have undertaken at least part of their degrees in universities other than the ones in which they were initially enrolled. For example, under the Erasmus scheme some 3 million students have taken advantage of cross-border education. Staff mobility is also common, with 300,000 staff teaching in different universities (Lek 2014).

The major factor which has allowed this extent of staff and student mobility has been the increase in the provision of EMI courses. English has become the academic lingua franca of these programmes leading one scholar to note that 'it seems inevitable that English, in some form, will definitely become the language of education' (Coleman 2006, p. 11). Phillipson agrees saying that 'What emerges unambiguously is that in the Bologna Process, internationalisation means English-medium higher education' (2009, p. 37).

While it has been noted that the countries of Northern Europe and Scandinavia have been the main drivers of the move to EMI and that this has influenced Nordic scientific terminology (Hultgren 2015), this is not to say that similar developments are not being seen in the countries of southern Europe (Doiz et al. 2013). In a recent international conference in Spain, Jorge Sainz, the general director for university policy in the Spanish Ministry of Education was quoted as saying '…we are working to internationalize our universities. We are trying to promote the courses we offer in English and ensure the quality of both materials and language taught' (Rigg 2013, n.p.).

Phillipson has serious concerns about this move to EMI. He warns that the move to EMI will result in adopting English ways of thinking. 'How can one go along with the use of English without exposing oneself to the risk of being anglicized in one's mental structures, without being brainwashed by the linguistic routines?' (2006, p. 68–69). This prospect has also been noted by scholars in Australia: 'Internationalization has become little more than an entrenchment of the English language as an instrument of power and of an English speaking world view as the only legitimate perspective through which the world can be viewed and interpreted' (Trevaskes et al. 2003, p. 5). In short, does internationalization lead to Englishisation? (Kirkpatrick 2011).

In this chapter, I shall first review the spread of EMI courses and programmes in HEIs in East and Southeast Asia and then consider the implications of this spread for the questions raised above. Two recent developments which are encouraging a Bologna-like move to ensure degree programmes converge will be noted here. The first is that the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) group of countries agreed at its 2012 summit to seek ways in which to facilitate staff and student mobility across the universities of the region. The second is that the ASEAN Universities Network which comprises some 30 universities in the countries of ASEAN is also seeking to encourage staff and student mobility across the universities of the network.[1] There are many other motivations for developing EMI programmes including the desire for universities to rise in the global ranking scales and to earn student fees, and these will be discussed further below.

In the review of the increase of EMI programmes and courses in East and Southeast Asia, I shall start with a relatively in-depth review of developments in Malaysia, as this represents an interesting example of how an Asian nation is attempting to set itself up as an education hub, and the associated tension that arises between global and local imperatives, namely the 'perceived need for English for international ambitions through the internationalization of higher education and the need to preserve the local language' (Ali 2013, p. 75). I next review recent developments in EMI in Myanmar after providing a brief overview of the context. I have chosen to discuss Myanmar as it provides a counter-example to Malaysia. I shall then provide examples from a selection of other Asian settings before critically evaluating these developments. I shall conclude by offering some proposals which might ensure successful implementation of EMI programmes. These proposals will stress how essential it is to consider English in its multilingual contexts in these Asian HEIs. To paraphrase Ernesto Macaro, Director of EMI Oxford: Centre for Research and Development on EMI, we need to accept the inevitability of this increase in EMI programmes but to observe them with a critical eye and to try and exert a positive influence on the implementation of these programmes wherever possible (2015). The types of questions that need to be borne in mind when implementing EMI programmes include:

1. To what extent does a coherent national and/or institutional policy exist and, if so, how are staff and students informed of these polices and what role, if any, did they have in developing these policies?

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[1] The participating universities in the ASEAN Universities Network (AUN) are: Universiti Brunei Darussalam (Brunei Darussalam); Royal University of Phnom Penh, Royal University of Law and Economics (Cambodia); Institut Teknologi Bandung, Universitas Airlangga, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Universitas Indonesia (Indonesia); National University of Laos (Laos); Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Universiti Putra Malaysia, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Universiti Utara Malaysia, University of Malaya (Malaysia); Yangon Institute of Economics, University of Mandalay, University of Yangon (Myanmar); Ateneo de Manila University, De La Salle University, University of the Philippines (Philippines); National University of Singapore, Nanyang Technological University, Singapore Management University (Singapore); Burapha University, Chiang Mai University, Chulalongkorn University, Mahidol University, Prince of Songkla University (Thailand); Can Tho University, Vietnam National University, Hanoi, Vietnam National University, Ho Chi Minh City (Vietnam).

2. Does the move to EMI affect students and staff for whom English is an additional language, and, if so, in what ways?
3. Do staff receive any training/professional development to prepare them for teaching their content subjects through English and, if so, what is the nature of this training?
4. What are the beliefs/feelings of staff and students to this increase in EMI and are these beliefs/feelings elicited and listened to?
5. How does the move to EMI affect the roles and value accorded to languages other than English as (a) languages of education and pedagogy and (b) as languages of scholarship and in what ways?
6. What 'English' is the 'E' in EMI taken to be? Is it held to be a native speaking variety of English or is the use of English as a lingua franca understood, accepted and/or encouraged?

2 EMI in Malaysia

In Malaysia (pop. 30 million), there is a great deal of linguistic diversity. The major groups include the Malays and indigenous population, known as *bumiputra* ('sons of the soil') who make up more than 60% of the population. 26% of the population are Malaysian Chinese and about 8% are of Indian ethnicity. English-medium education has had a long history, although since Malaysian independence from the late 1950s onwards, a primary focus of government language policy has been the promotion of the national language, Bahasa Malaysia, not least in education (Gill 2006). In 2002, the Malaysian government decided to re-introduce English as a medium of instruction for maths and science from the first year of primary school. This policy was, however, abandoned after a study showed that children, especially those from poorer backgrounds and from more remote rural areas, were not coping. There was also found to be an inadequate number of maths and science teachers who were able to teach these subjects through English (Gill 2012). This push to teach maths and science through English was linked to then Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir's desire to see Malaysia become an education hub and the announcement in 1991 of *Wawasan* 2020 (i.e. Vision 2020). This spurred the establishment of EMI programmes in private universities and it was also the Prime Minister's wish to get EMI accepted as the medium of instruction for science, engineering and medical degrees in public universities. However, his plan was thwarted by Malay nationalists who insisted on retaining the national language, Bahasa Malaysia, as the MoI (Ali 2013). This led to problems as graduates from the public universities, who are in the main ethnically Malay, were graduating monolingual in Malay, while graduates from the EMI private universities, who are typically of Chinese and Indian ethnicity, graduated multilingual including high proficiency in English, making them far more employable than their monolingual Malay counterparts from the public universities. This is worth noting as the reasons for introducing EMI are typically associated with goals of internationalization, but here we see a strong local motivation for EMI provision, local employability. As a result of this discrepancy between the linguistic value and, thus, employability of graduates from public and private universities, the Ministry of Higher Education ruled in 2005 that public universities must use EMI in the teaching of science and technology, starting with first year students in 2005/6.

There are now 20 major public universities in Malaysia and more than 100 private institutions, and a number of branches of overseas universities. There are also a number of local private universities including those established by public utility corporations such as the national telecommunications agency, the electricity board and Petronas, the national oil company (Gill and Kirkpatrick 2013).

Despite the initial opposition to the use of EMI in public universities, the promotion of *Wawasan 2020* and the Education Act of 1996 which allowed for the use of EMI in private universities, led Malaysia to become one of the earliest Asian countries to develop transnational private higher education opportunities for its citizens and to also develop the nation as a regional hub of education (Gill 2004, p. 140). Indeed Malaysia provided higher education opportunities in English as far back as the 1980s. This was when Malaysian educational entrepreneurs responded to a sudden local need for cheaper international degrees by developing a system whereby students did two years at a Malaysian private college and then through "credit transfer" could enter the third year of EMI universities in the Anglosphere (Australia, the United States and the United Kingdom, for example). Based on this model, they then went on to initiate "twinning programs" ("1 + 2" and "2 + 1") with British and Australian universities in the late 1980s (Gill and Kirkpatrick 2013).

In a study which investigated how EMI policy was introduced and implemented at one public university in Malaysia, Ali (2013) looked at the issue at three levels, namely: the macro level (national policy); the meso level (university documents); and the micro level (actual stakeholders). She found that there was no explicit reference to EMI policy as such in any of the documents. For example, at the national level, the current National Higher Education Action Plan makes no explicit statement about MoI policy. The document does note that the use of English is to be encouraged, especially in science, mathematics and technical subjects and also urges universities to strengthen their students' English proficiency to meet 'the goals for a quality workforce needed by the country, and for the internationalization of the universities' (Ali 2013, p. 81). At the meso-level, Ali examined university documents such as the Policies and Codes of Practice in Teaching and Learning for Diploma and Bachelor Programmes (PCPTL) in which there is a section entitled 'The Policy on Language Instruction in Teaching and Learning'. The advice given here is ambiguous. The policy equivocally states that the official MoI of the university is Bahasa Malaysia. But it then goes on to say that 'Languages of instruction, other than Bahasa Malaysia, can be used with permission of the respective faculty, but that in such cases students must be given the opportunity to be assessed in Bahasa Malaysia'. The policy also states that when there are international students in the classroom, EMI becomes the de facto policy. As Ali points out, apart from the reference connected with international students, this document makes no explicit reference to EMI but, at the same time, legitimates its use. This has caused confusion at the micro-level as her interviews with staff indicate. One staff member reported that, as EMI was ‘natural’ in science and engineering, ‘we have to teach a lot of our subjects in English’ (2013, p. 84–85). Another said ‘The university is changing and therefore lack of policy becomes much more glaring… we now need a good [language] policy’ (2013, p. 87).

It is clear, therefore, that the university does not have a coherent language policy with regard to EMI. It is also clear that any policy that has been developed has been developed top-down without any consultation with staff or students. The result is great confusion among the stakeholders. As part of her conclusion, Ali quotes the recommendation made by the Language Planning scholar Dick Baldauf nearly 20 years ago. I repeat this quote here as it encapsulates all that is not currently being done, with the exception of a small handful of cases, in the implementation of EMI programmes across HEIs in East and Southeast Asia.

> The advantage of university language, literacy and communication policy approach to tertiary literacy is that it can be more than the sum of its parts. It can stress language problems are not just issues for students, but for staff, and that there are not only problems to be solved, but cross-cultural understandings and information to be gained. Ultimately, HEIs will be most successful in dealing with language literacy and communication issues if these matters are defined and supported at the top (‘top-down’), provided for through expert assistance where necessary but contextualized across the HEI’s curriculum by individual university staff. That is, policy needs to be developed in consultation with and have the commitment of those working most closely with the students (‘Bottom-up’) (Baldauf 1997, p. 4).

Having briefly reviewed the situation in Malaysia, I now turn to Myanmar.

3 EMI in Myanmar

The current language policy in Myanmar is for EMI to be used in all HEIs and this therefore presents an extreme case of an EMI policy being enforced top-down without attention to the real situation on the ground. In terms of its history with English, Myanmar is unique among ASEAN nations. Even though it was formerly a British colony, its period of self-imposed isolation under the dictatorial rule of U Ne Win (1962–88) has meant that English has long since ceased to have any institutional role. The role of English in Myanmar is thus more akin to an EFL setting. In Kachruvian terms, it is an expanding circle country rather than a typical post-colonial outer circle country.

Myanmar is Mainland Southeast Asia’s largest country (Callahan 2003) and is an ethnically and linguistically diverse country, with a population of about 50 million. Accurate figures are hard to come by, but estimates of the number of languages spoken vary from 70 to more than 100 (Watkins 2007). The 1931 census identified 135 ethnic groups ‘in most cases identified by and with the language spoken by each group, although not always accurately’ (Sercombe and Tupas 2014,

p. 148). This categorisation of 135 ethnic groups was re-introduced by General Saw Maung at the time of the State Law and Order Council (SLORC) (Callahan 2003). It is generally agreed that there are 8 major ethnic groups: Bamar, Chin, Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Mon, Rakkhine and Shan (Djite 2011). The three main language families represented are Tibeto-Burman, Tai-Kadai and Mon-Khmer. About 70% of the population are L1 speakers of Burmese. Mon has 8 million speakers and Shan has 6 million (Sercombe and Tupas 2014). Arakanese, Chin, Jingpho and Karen also have more than half a million speakers each (Callahan 2003). There are scripts for several of the indigenous languages including Mon, Shan, Karen, Kachin, Chin and Llahu (Djite 2011, p. 8; Hlaing 2007).

From independence in 1948, the language policy has promoted Burmese and the 1947 Constitution states that ‘the official language of the Union shall be Burmese’ (Djite 2011, p. 45). The use of English was permitted—and taught as a subject from Grade 6 and as a medium of instruction for Maths and Science in Grades 10 and 11, but there was no specific mention of indigenous languages (Sercombe and Tupas 2014). The 1974 Constitution reiterated the place of Burmese as the official language, and Article 152 reads: ‘Every citizen shall have the right to education. Burmese is the common language. Languages of the other national races may also be taught’ (Sercombe and Tupas 2014, p. 156). The 1974 Constitution therefore gave ethnic minorities the right to teach their own languages, but this was later removed and Burmese again became the sole language of education. In 1992, Burmese was again mandated as the language of instruction in schools at all levels (Djite 2011, p. 47). The 2008 Constitution proclaims that every citizen ‘has the right to freely develop the literature, culture, customs and tradition they cherish’, although Burmese remains the sole medium of instruction in schools, with the exception of the teaching of Maths and Science at Grades 10 and 11, where English is the MoI (Djite 2011, p. 49). English was also made the MoI for higher education (Djite 2011).

It was the failure of one of U Ne Win’s daughters to be accepted into university in England because of her poor English that led to a re-think of the Burmese-only language policy and the revival of English. Despite the government’s apparent wish to revive English, however, this has proved to be a difficult task for a number of reasons. First, at least one generation of Burmese has not studied English. Second, the 1988 coup saw the schools and universities closed for several months and the removal of all foreign teachers. Third, the period from 1988 under the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) (later renamed the State Peace and Development Council or SPDC) has also seen frequent disruptions to schools and universities, including their regular closure for significant periods of time. These disruptions have meant that education as a whole suffered under the SLORC regime. Fourth, many educated Burmese who speak English have left the country. There are thus very few qualified and proficient English teachers left in the country. Finally, resources and materials are poor. The role of English in Myanmar is thus restricted to the elite and to a small number of domains, mostly involving NGOs and aid programmes. The recent opening of Myanmar to foreign businesses has increased the need for English, and this need is also reflected internationally with Myanmar’s recent more active involvement with ASEAN.

In Myanmar at present the focus is on the Myanmar language, the language of the majority, and English, which is currently introduced as a subject from Grade 1 and as the language of instruction for science and maths in Grades 10 and 11. The languages of Myanmar are not, generally speaking, taught systematically. As a native speaker of Mon, Yen Snaing reports that at school everything was done in the Myanmar language. He was only able to learn Mon secretly and unofficially in a local monastery, but he is not literate in Mon and feels orphaned from his mother tongue (Yen 2015). As indicated above, the MoI for all HEIs is English. This is unlikely to lead to Englishisation in Myanmar, however, for two major reasons: first there is a serious shortage of lecturers who are able to lecture in English; and second, very few of the students have adequate proficiency to be able to learn and study content subjects in English (see also Nguyen et al. this volume). As Drinan notes in her account of English language provision in Myanmar (2013, p. 8).

> Using English as a Medium of Instruction (MoI): this is fundamentally not working for teaching Maths and Science as few teachers can use English, let alone, teach another subject in English. Students are not learning or understanding important concepts in Maths and Science. They merely remember the technical terms in English for the tests. Most teachers use a mix of Myanmar (for explanation) and English (for technical terms). However even if they were taught totally in Myanmar, students would still find understanding concepts difficult because of the teacher-centred methodology. If English is going to be used as a MoI, teachers need training and support in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL).

While Drinan is here talking about the school system, the situation is exacerbated at the tertiary level. Teaching remains teacher-centred and students ‘learn’ by rote without developing any understanding of what they are memorising.

Myanmar, given its unique historical links and severance with English, probably represents an extreme example of where EMI has been introduced without any consultation with stakeholders, without consideration of the English language proficiency of teachers or students and without acknowledgment that resources are scarce, if not non-existent. There is little danger of the internationalization of education, exemplified by the insistence of the use of EMI in all HEIs, leading to Englishisation in this context. While Myanmar may be an extreme case, comparable situations have been described elsewhere. For example, the authors of a recent review of medium of instruction policies across ten countries in Asia concluded that, ‘at the macro policy level, there seems to be a simplistic understanding of MOI as a cheap solution to complex language problems for achieving overly ambitious politico-economic goals and that this leads to less than ideal MOI implementation illustrated by teachers’ and students’ struggles as policy actors at the micro level’ (Hamid et al. 2013, p. 1).

4 EMI in Other Selected Settings in Asia

A number of chapters in this volume describe the situation in several Asian HEI settings including Indonesia, Taiwan, Korea and Brunei. Here I add a brief review of the situation in The Philippines, Japan, and China, including Hong Kong.

The Philippines has some 90 private universities listed on the relevant web page (eduphil.org, 2011). These are all EMI universities. Perhaps the most prestigious university in the Philippines is The University of the Philippines at Dilman, a state university. Some years ago, in an attempt to promote the national language, Filipino, as a language of education and research, the university experimented with offering courses through Filipino and encouraging staff to publish in Filipino. The unpopularity of the policy among both staff and students led the university to abandon the Filipino policy, however, and revert to English medium. As Martin (2014) points out, the dominant role of English in the leading universities of the country is deeply embedded in the educational system, and unlikely to change, despite the recent move to mother tongue-based multilingual education at the early primary school level (Kirkpatrick 2011). Nevertheless, although English is unchallenged as the formal language of instruction, Tupas (2007) points out that code-mixing and switching is a ubiquitous reality throughout the whole of Philippine higher education. In general terms, however, internationalisation has meant Englishisation and the corresponding removal of Filipino as a language of education and scholarship.

Japan is also embracing international education, although internationalisation in the Japanese context tends to mean that it wants the world to better understand what it means to be Japanese (Kirkpatrick 2014). The Japanese Government introduced the Global 30 Project, which was designed to attract international students to Japan to study in one of 30 universities. The website announces that 'With the introduction of the "Global 30" Project, the best universities in Japan are now offering degree programs in English. The aim of the Global 30 project was to attract 300,000 international students; to date, however, results have been disappointing, with less than 22,000 international students enrolled in 2011. Indeed the low numbers of international students has led to the recent abandoning of the Global 30 Project, which also drew criticism as many of the EMI programmes were exclusively for international students and excluded local Japanese students. (McKinley 2015). The Global 30 Project has been replaced by the Super Global Universities Project under which 13 of Japan's top universities have been given extra funding to help them compete internationally and a further 24 universities have been identified whose role is to show Japan in a more global light. In a study at one of the 13 'Super Global Universities' McKinley (2015) looked at three EMI programmes, namely English Studies, Liberal Arts and Green Science. Funding for the Green Science major was extremely generous as the programme had 11 students with 8 full-time staff members, a model that can hardly be viable in the longer term. The Liberal Arts major was criticised by staff as being a second rate American programme instead of being Japan's leading international programme. Judging by this example and the failure of the Global 30 Project, the future of these international EMI programmes in Japan looks bleak.

China's University and College Admission Systems (CUCAS) lists EMI courses offered by Chinese universities (http://www.cucas.edu.cn) and it is clear that Chinese universities are increasing the number of EMI courses which they offer. As long ago as 2001, the then Premier Zhu Rongji, said that he hoped all classes (at his alma mater, Tsinghua University's School of Economics and Management) would be taught in English, as China needed to be able to exchange ideas with the rest of the world (Gill 2004).

In addition to the several 'foreign' universities setting up in China, offering their programmes through English, of which Nottingham University in Ningbo is a good example, many local universities are seeking to grow their international student numbers by increasing their EMI programmes. While the most prestigious universities may have the staff—and be able to recruit international staff—to be able to deliver programmes through English, there remain concerns. For example, even at Beijing University,[2] while many are proud of the introduction of bilingual and EMI courses, some lament the reduction of Chinese-medium courses. One sociology professor felt that students do not have enough knowledge of the subject in Chinese and that teaching in English would only undermine their grasp of the subject (Hayhoe et al. 2011, p. 123).

The prestigious East China Normal University in Shanghai is also increasing its EMI programmes. The university's goal is to attract 5000 international students to live on campus and for 10% of courses to be 'taught bilingually' (Hayhoe et al. 2011, p. 204), although it is not clear what 'taught bilingually' means in practice. The longer term goal is to develop 100 courses taught in English.

In Hong Kong, the government's aim is for its citizens to be trilingual (in Cantonese, Putonghua and English) and biliterate (in Chinese and English). This laudable aim is undermined by the fact that six of the eight government-funded universities are English medium. This, naturally enough, has led parents to demand EMI in secondary schools and this has resulted in more content classes being taught in English classes in secondary schools and a corresponding decrease in the number of content classes being taught in Chinese. Hong Kong therefore exemplifies how a top-down macro-level policy promoting a trilingual and biliterate citizenry can be undermined by meso-level university language policies (Kirkpatrick 2014). This can also be seen, even at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (CUHK) which was founded in 1963 with the express purpose of providing Chinese medium education. However, the desire to rise in the university rankings led the university to internationalise and, to do this, introduce a wide range of EMI courses. This move was challenged by students on the grounds that it ran counter to the University's charter. The courts ruled in favour of the university arguing that a university had the right to choose its MoI (Li 2013).

Despite these moves to increase the number of EMI programmes it is offering, the CUHK has recently, however, established an initiative designed to promote the use of Chinese as a language of scholarship in an attempt to counter the hegemony of academic English (Li 2015). To date, 32 universities across China have signed up to this initiative in a sign that, at least in the case of Chinese, the local language is to be promoted as a language of scholarship and education (http://std.stheadline.com/yesterday/edu/1119go04.html). The only Hong Kong government-funded tertiary institution—the private universities are all EMI—which has developed a language policy that fits with the government aim of trilingualism and biliteracy is the Hong Kong Institute of Education (HKIEd) (see also Kirkpatrick 2014). The way the policy distinguishes between the medium of instruction (MOI) and Classroom Language (CL) is worthy of note (Xu 2014, p. 218).

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[2] Also referred to as Peking University.

> The MOI, to be adhered to strictly in all undergraduate and postgraduate programmes, bears on the following: (a) the course outline, including synopsis, aims and objectives, main assigned readings, teaching and learning activities, and course intended learning outcomes; (b) formative assessment in writing, including major assignments and quizzes; and (c) summative assessment such as the final exam. Accordingly, all assessed activities of an EMI course should be in English, while those in a CMI course should be in Chinese.
>
> 'Classroom language' (CL) refers to the language of interaction between teacher and students and among students in the classroom (lectures, tutorials, labs and so on). While the CL of an EMI course is English by default, a CMI course may be conducted in Cantonese or Putonghua, subject to the teacher's preference after considering all relevant factors, such as the students' language backgrounds and abilities.
>
> Subject to the moment-by-moment classroom learning and teaching needs, the teacher of a CMI or EMI course may find it necessary to switch to some other language(s). It should be noted that classroom code-switching, which is typically driven and justified by students' enhanced learning outcomes, do not constitute a breach of the Institute's new LLT policy.

There is not space here to discuss the policy in detail (but see Xu 2014), but the HKIEd's new language policy is worthy of note for a number of reasons: first, uniquely among Hong Kong's universities, it dovetails with the government's overall language policy and promotes trilingualism. This serves to demonstrate just how essential it is that a national or regional language education policy is coherent across all levels of the education system. A language policy that ignores or has no legislation over just one part of the overall system is almost certain to fail. This is well exemplified by Hong Kong where the majority of universities are allowed to adopt EMI-only education. Second, it recognizes the multilingual make-up of staff and students and has tailored the language policy to try to meet their needs. In this, it allows code-mixing and sees peoples' use of their available linguistic resources as natural (see also Gu 2013). Third, the policy also recognises the continual developmental nature of language proficiency and thus recognises the importance of continual language support. Finally, while stressing the importance of English, the policy also promotes both Cantonese and Putonghua and thus reflects a respect for Chinese as a language of education and scholarship.

To date in this chapter, I have discussed in some depth the situation with regard to EMI policy and provision in HEIs in Malaysia and Myanmar and given a brief sketch of the situation in the Philippines, Japan and China, including Hong Kong. As the study of the developments within a single university in Malaysia has shown (Ali 2013), the settings are characterised by diversity with different universities enacting different policies. However, it is possible to draw a conclusion, albeit a general and overall one, of what is happening by returning to consider the six questions raised earlier. In the concluding section of this chapter, I turn to these and provide tentative answers to the questions.

5 Discussion

1. To what extent does a coherent national and/or institutional policy exist and, if so, how are staff and students informed of these polices and what role, if any, did they have in developing these policies?

Very few countries reviewed in this chapter have developed coherent language education policies at the national level. Most appear simply to have decided that EMI is somehow a good thing which should be implemented as widely as possible, with no consideration for the situation on the ground with regards to key issues such as the relative language proficiency of staff and students, the availability of adequate and appropriate materials and the overall feasibility of the policies being implemented. Myanmar represents the most egregious case but, even in Malaysia, where English has played an institutional role for decades, the policies are unclear at best with no guidelines as to how they are to be implemented at the university level. In no instance, with the exception of the Hong Kong Institute of Education, have key stakeholders been consulted about these top-down policies.

2. Does the move to EMI affect students and staff for whom English is an additional language, and, if so, in what ways?

It is clear that, in many cases, staff and students simply do not have the necessary levels of proficiency in English to teach and learn content subjects in English. For example, the introduction of EMI across all higher education institutions in Myanmar is likely to lead to the continuation of rote learning and the implementation of a textual translation method as staff and students alike struggle to use English as a medium of instruction.

3. Do staff receive any training/professional development to prepare them for teaching their content subjects through English and, if so, what is the nature of this training?

No systematic training or development of staff in how to combine language and content appears to be being offered in any of the HEIs reviewed here. It should be noted, however, that other chapters in this volume report that stakeholders are more engaged in the implementation of EMI (see Fenton-Smith et al. this volume).

4. What are the beliefs/feelings of staff and students to this increase in EMI and are these beliefs/feelings elicited and listened to?

As far as can be determined, no systematic survey of staff and student feelings or attitudes to the increased use of EMI has been conducted at the university or national level. Stakeholders are presented with a ‘policy’ and expected to implement it with no training or preparation.

5. How does the move to EMI affect the roles and value accorded to languages other than English as (a) languages of education and pedagogy and (b) as languages of scholarship and in what ways?

The move to EMI has sidelined the use of local languages as languages of education. This is particularly evident in places such as Myanmar and the Philippines. But where the levels of staff and student proficiency in English are low—as is the case in Myanmar, for example—Englishisation is unlikely to take place. Rather, as noted by Drinan above, the EMI class actually becomes a textual translation class whereby staff translate the English textbooks into Burmese or where the students memorise by rote English expressions, without any real understanding of what they are memorising. Where levels of English proficiency are relatively high, however, as in the Philippines for example, there is little doubt that English has replaced Filipino as the major language of education and knowledge dissemination at the HEI level.

6. What 'English' is the 'E' in EMI taken to be? Is it held to be a native speaking variety of English or is the use of English as a lingua franca understood, accepted and/or encouraged?

There seems to be implicit acceptance that the 'E' in EMI is a native speaker standard. No policy, with the exception of the Hong Kong Institute of Education's, makes any mention of the role of English as an academic lingua franca or demonstrates any understanding that all language learning is developmental and that students (and staff) will need continual support. And only the HKIEd policy recognises the multilingual nature of the universities in question and allows, indeed encourages, the use of the linguistic resources of both staff and students in teaching and learning. Generally speaking, however, it is assumed that the 'E' in EMI means a native speaker variety of English and that EMI policy is a monolingual policy through which only English will be used in teaching and learning. This is the case despite decades of research that testifies to the presence of code-mixing and the multilingual nature of teaching and learning in multilingual contexts (for a recent summary see Barnard and McLellan 2014).

6 Conclusion

In the opening section of the chapter I paraphrased Ernesto Macaro's view that 'we need to accept the inevitability of this increase in EMI programmes but to observe them with a critical eye and to try and exert a positive influence on the implementation of these programmes wherever possible'. It would seem that the implementation of EMI in many of the cases outlined above would suggest that much needs to be done if these EMI policies are to be implemented successfully. First and foremost, language education policies need to be developed at the national and institutional level. These policies need to be coherent and involve stakeholders in their development. They need to address several key issues, namely:

> How can we be sure that the levels of English proficiency of both staff and students are adequate enough to be able to handle the learning and teaching of complex cognitive subjects through the medium of English?

> How can we be sure that we have fully consulted key stakeholders in the development of any language education policies? How can we be sure that the policy is actually being successfully implemented?
>
> How can we ensure that staff and students are able to use their linguistic resources in fulfilling teaching and learning tasks through the medium of English? In other words, what systematic use of languages other than English can be allowed/encouraged in order to help learning and teaching through English (Swain et al. 2011)?
>
> How can we ensure that staff and students receive adequate and ongoing training and development both in English itself and, for staff, in the teaching of content subjects through English?
>
> How can we ensure that local languages are not sidelined from education and, instead, are developed as languages of education and scholarship?
>
> How is the 'E' in EMI to be defined and understood? Is it to be a native speaker variety of English or is the use of English as an academic lingua franca to be acknowledged and supported? It would seem essential that the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) is acknowledged and supported in all multilingual settings.

Unless and until Ministries of Education and universities develop language education policies which are framed by the consideration of these key issues, then it seems unlikely that the implementation of EMI can be successful. This very lack of success will mean that, in many cases, internationalisation will not lead to Englishisation, other than by default. Successful internationalisation will require the adoption of systematic and coherent EMI policies that recognise the multilingual nature of the respective settings by recognising the role of English as an academic lingua franca and by encouraging the use of local languages in teaching and learning and as languages of education and scholarship.

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EMI Programs in a Vietnamese University: Language, Pedagogy and Policy Issues

Huong Thu Nguyen, Ian Walkinshaw and Hiep Hoa Pham

Abstract English medium instruction (EMI) programs, where discipline content is taught through English, have been mandated in a number of Vietnam's universities as part of the government's National Foreign Languages 2020 project and their Higher Education Reform Agenda. The aim is to promote international exchange, increase revenue, raise the quality and prestige of educational programs, and provide a well-qualified, bilingual workforce for Vietnam's rapidly-developing economy. Three main types of program are delivered: those from overseas institutions that are delivered onshore by overseas staff; overseas programs taught under franchise by local staff; and domestic programs that are informed by offshore curricula but modified for local requirements. But as with many Asia-Pacific countries, Vietnam's EMI drive has been beset with issues at the macro- (governmental), meso- (institutional) and micro- (classroom) levels. Policy on EMI is mandated and regulated in an ad hoc fashion; institutions struggle to adapt programs designed in Anglophone countries to local requirements; classroom academics wrestle with increased preparation loads, the limits of their own English language proficiency and that of their students. This chapter examines these issues, providing illustrative detail through a case study of EMI implementation at a Vietnamese higher education institution. Recommendations are then made for improved implementation and practice.

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1 Introduction

English medium instruction (EMI) programs have been mandated in a number of Vietnam's universities. In pragmatic terms, the move could be considered a prudent one on the part of the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) and the institutions involved. The considerable demand in Vietnam for high-quality education and for learning English (Le 2011; Tran et al. 2014) means potentially high enrolments and replenished institutional coffers (Wilkinson 2013). Vietnamese higher education institutions (HEIs) are brought into line with other Asian institutions implementing EMI programs and/or courses (see chapters in this volume by Ishamina and Deterding, Hino, and Kim, among others), opening the door for students from other countries to study in Vietnam and vice versa, and boosting the profile of institutions as multilingual and internationally-focused (Dearden 2014). Potentially, it assists in creating a well-educated, English-speaking workforce to propel Vietnam's rapidly-developing economy, an important capacity given Vietnam's membership of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), and its 2006 entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) (Pham 2014).

The problem is that as elsewhere in Asia-Pacific (Ali 2013; Toh 2014) and worldwide (Dalton-Puffer 2012; Kamwangamalu 2013; Phillipson 2010), EMI implementation in Vietnam's HEIs has been beset with issues of conceptualisation at the policy level, and implementation at the institutional and classroom levels. This chapter examines how Vietnam's MOET policy mandating EMI in certain sectors of Vietnam HE is operationalised in institutions and classrooms, highlighting apparent issues and challenges at each level. Illustrative detail is provided through a qualitative case study of EMI implementation at one Vietnamese HEI, comprising interview data collected from students and academics in EMI programs, as well as executive-level managers. (English translations are by the authors.) Implications of these findings for practice are then considered.

This chapter employs a language-in-education planning (LEP) framework of analysis. LEP refers to any type of language planning that takes place through education (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997, 2005). Education is a powerful driver of language change (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997); a key way to apply a language planning policy is through stipulating a medium of instruction (MOI), since educating learners solely in a particular language may impact (for better or worse, according to the prestige of the language) their social, academic, occupational and economic prospects (Tollefson and Tsui 2004). We apply the LEP framework here to three interconnected education-related foci: macro- (national), meso- (institutional), and micro- (individual) level (Kaplan and Baldauf 2005). At a *macro* level, governments stipulate a particular MOI in selected tertiary institutions; at a *meso* level, institutions plan for implementation of the prescribed MOI; and at a *micro* level, academics and students use the mandated MOI for classroom interaction. In practice, however, the translation of such a policy from one level to another is rarely smooth because top-down policy often fails to take sufficient account of meso- and particularly micro-level actors (Ali 2013; Hu et al. 2014; Pearson 2014).

Having considered EMI in Vietnam's HE sector as exemplifying LEP, we now outline the role of English as MOI at Vietnamese tertiary institutions.

2 Outline of EMI in Vietnam

Developing foreign language proficiency—particularly English—has long been key to Vietnamese human capital development (Pham 2014), such that English is now the primary foreign language in Vietnam for communication, education, trade, science and technology (Goh and Nguyen 2004). To further promote English capability, the Vietnamese government promulgates the National Foreign Language 2020 (NFL2020) project, mandating five core objectives by 2020: (1) establishing a proficiency framework compatible with the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR); (2) implementing compulsory English language education from Grade 3; (3) instituting English as MOI for maths and science in upper secondary schools; (4) improving English teachers' English language proficiency (ELP) and understanding of language pedagogy and language acquisition; and (5) delivering programs in English at selected universities (Government of Vietnam 2008a).

Our focus is on the last of these. NFL2020 encourages Vietnamese HEIs to implement and deliver EMI programs to improve students' ELP. The initial strategy called for most HEIs to offer programs in English by 2015 (Nguyen 2010), though the timeframe has since been extended. The introduction of EMI in Vietnamese HE can be traced back to the early 1990s, featuring the mushrooming of collaborative programs between Vietnamese and partner HEIs from overseas at post-graduate level. For example, the first English-taught program was established in 1992 in a Master of Business Administration program between Hanoi National Economics University and some universities in France. After a decade, EMI was offered for under-graduate level programs, again in collaboration with overseas partners. For example, Hanoi University of Science and Technology was the first Vietnamese HEI to offer a bachelor-level EMI program in Information Technology in cooperation with Australia's La Trobe University in 2002.

EMI is principally implemented in Vietnam through cooperation of varying forms with offshore organizations and institutions, primarily in English-speaking countries such as Australia, the UK and the USA, as well as some European countries where English is an established lingua franca. This cooperation model is founded on and reflects Vietnam's national Higher Education Reform Agenda (HERA), which supports collaboration with overseas institutions as key to the

Table 1 EMI programs in Vietnamese HE system

Types of EMI programs	Program nature	Degree conferred	Program nomenclatures in Vietnamese HE
Foreign programs	Offshore	Foreign degree	Joint programs
	Franchising	Local degree	Advanced programs
Domestic programs	Locally-developed with reference to foreign programs	Local degree	High quality programs

development and internationalisation of Vietnamese HE (Government of Vietnam 2005).

The types of EMI programs delivered at Vietnamese HEIs can be broadly divided into foreign and domestic programs. The former are founded on formal cooperation with offshore institutions, while the latter are internally produced. Table 1 gives a brief description of the current programs offered by Vietnamese HEIs.

Foreign programs *(Chương trình Đào tạo Nước ngoài)* can be defined as intellectual cooperation agreements with overseas institutions to deliver academic resources and activities onshore, including degree programs, curricula, materials, texts and assessment (Nguyen 2009). Foreign programs are intended to expose Vietnamese students to offshore knowledge and practices, and to educate them to the standard of the cooperating institutions. Another goal is to provide them with English language content, since 'English is the language that is perceived to carry essential linguistic capital. […] Proficiency in English gives individuals social status and enhanced career prospects, in their home countries and internationally' (Rassool 2007, p. 408).

Two sub-types of foreign programs exist: offshoring and franchising. Offshore programs (Altbach 2004) are partnerships between local and offshore institutions, known as Joint Programs (JPs) or *Chương trình Liên kết* in Vietnam (Government of Vietnam 2012). Joint Programs are designed and accredited by overseas universities, and delivered at Vietnamese campuses by external staff. Overseas qualifications are awarded upon completion. A student may thereby undertake a degree program from an overseas institution without leaving Vietnam. An example is the bachelor program in banking and financial management between the Banking Academy of Vietnam and the University of Sunderland in the UK. To date around 230 JPs are licensed (VIED 2015).

Franchising programs are slightly different: modified versions of overseas educational programs are delivered under agreement with offshore (largely US and UK) institutions. Local degrees are conferred (Altbach 2004). Known locally as Advanced Programs (APs) or *Chương trình Tiên tiến*, these are part of MOET's project to increase ties between local and foreign institutions for capacity building for Vietnamese HEIs (Duong 2009; Government of Vietnam 2008b) and higher international rankings. An example is the undergraduate dual-degree program in

Agricultural Economics and Finance, which is jointly delivered by Hue University's College of Economics and Sydney University's School of Economics. Currently, 27 APs are delivered by Vietnamese HEIs.

Domestic programs are developed, administered and delivered by Vietnamese HEIs. These draw on the syllabus, content and assessment of overseas programs, but are situated within the structure and the objectives of MOET's HE curriculum framework. They are termed High Quality Programs (HQPs) or *Chương trình Đào tạo Chất lượng cao* (MOET 2014). Programs of this type are attractive in Vietnamese HE for their international cachet and their affordability relative to studying abroad. HQPs were introduced by some HEIs in response to a governmental directive in HERA to exercise institutional autonomy (Pham 2012), which compelled them to rely more on tuition fees as a revenue source (Government of Vietnam 2005). HEIs now have increased autonomy to raise tuition fees for HQP enrolments (MOET 2014). Currently, 21 HEIs in Vietnam are operating 55 HQPs.

However, as mentioned at the outset, implementing EMI policy is 'fraught with difficulties and challenges' (Hamid, Nguyen and Baldauf 2013, p. 11). The following sections outline some of these at the policy, institutional and classroom levels.

3 Policy Issues

The governmental reforms outlined earlier are a mandate for HEIs to promote EMI, and to forge links with overseas institutions with the goal of internationalisation and boosting the quality of study programs offered. But evidence suggests that reforms mandated at macro-level have not translated to effective policy or practice at the (meso-) level of individual institutions (Ali 2013; Hu et al. 2014). The primary disconnect appears to be between macro-level policy and institutional capabilities and requirements. For EMI policy to be successfully implemented on micro levels, a number of conditions have to be met, including access (who are the learners, what are the entry requirements), personnel (who are the teachers, what types of training are needed), resources (how will the program be resourced), curriculum, materials and methods (what is included in the curriculum, what materials will be used, what pedagogical approach is appropriate), community (does the program reflect the needs of the wider community) and evaluation (how to evaluate the program and its learning outcomes) (Hamid, Jahan and Islam 2013; Kaplan and Baldauf 1997; Le 2012). The extent to which Vietnam's higher education sector has addressed these issues is a matter for critical examination.

In terms of regulations, the initial development of JPs was unregulated until 2012 (Nguyen and Shillabeer 2013), leading to 'degree mills' (Altbach 2004) with issues of institutions' intake outweighing delivery capacity, resulting in massive enforced close-down of many foreign programs (Linh 2015). In the same vein, the introduction of HQPs in HEIs was not guided by any formal document. Only when their popularity increased was a document regulating tuition fees for HQPs issued (MOET 2011), followed in 2014 by a more comprehensive policy document (MOET 2014). Even in the updated document, many guidelines are too general to lead to informed practices. In that manner, macro policy does not allow sufficient time and preparation for institutions to implement the new MOI policy. This issue reflects the lag between institutional development and government regulation in Vietnam.

Another issue is the unstandardised nomenclature of EMI-based programs: the difference between 'advanced' programs and 'high quality' programs, for instance, may be unclear to laypersons. Quality is also a concern: the proliferation of poor-quality collaborative programs with unlisted overseas partner institutions has made prospective enrolees dubious about the value of such programs (Linh 2015).

Moreover, a further issue of nomenclature arose as the government used the label 'Mass Education Program' (*Chương trình Đào tạo Đại trà*) to describe Vietnamese medium instruction (VMI) programs as distinct from EMI-based JPs, APs and HQPs, thereby demarcating between the 'masses' who take VMI programs and the small elite who study in EMI programs (see Hamid and Jahan 2015), and potentially stigmatising VMI program enrolees.

4 Institutional Issues

To better understand how EMI has been operationalised at a meso- and micro-level, and the issues that have subsequently emerged, we now refine our focus to a case study of EMI implementation at an HEI in Vietnam. E-University (a pseudonym) is a well-established public HEI offering business-related programs at undergraduate and postgraduate level. Founded in the early 1960s, E-University has three campuses in Vietnam's major cities. Like many Vietnamese tertiary institutions, it is a single-discipline university in the Soviet style, though there has been some recent diversification in programs on offer. E-University was granted institutional autonomy in 2005, able to open new programs to cater for the shifting demographic of local and international enrolees. With this remit, E-University has offered offshore JPs and franchise APs, as well as locally-developed HQPs, since 2006, and currently delivers two each of offshore and franchising programs and four local English medium programs. These programs were established concurrently with the existing VMI programs as an institutional initiative to improve education quality and promote internationalisation. Yet numerous issues have plagued the implementation phase of the various EMI programs, hindering the institution's stated objectives of quality education and internationalisation. We here highlight four such issues, relating to institutional policy on English language at entry, the challenge of implementing imported curricula, the poor ELP of some students and staff, and some teachers' unfamiliarity with EMI-focused pedagogy.

4.1 English Entry Requirements

It is axiomatic that students need to possess sufficient ELP—and not simply general but academic competence—to successfully negotiate an EMI program (Kırkgöz 2009). Those who are not highly proficient in the MOI will struggle to acquire academic content knowledge (Doiz et al. 2013). Yet many Vietnamese HEIs have set the ELP bar low (Duong 2009). E-University, whose ELP testing mechanism was TOEIC, required candidates to score only 500 (out of 950) for entry to its EMI programs. This is problematic on several levels. First, TOEIC is ill-suited for the purpose, being primarily a test of business English (ETS 2014); TOEFL or IELTS, which are tailored to academic skills, would be a more appropriate measure (see Graddol 2006). Second, a TOEIC score of 500 denotes an intermediate-level user (Council of Europe 2014), able to use English for day-to-day purposes but not possessing the linguistic skills to manage academic study (Cots 2013). So there are questions about the preparedness of some E-University students to study in an EMI setting, since any deficiencies in their ELP will impact directly on learning outcomes (Cho 2012). Additionally, E-University may suffer from appearing to compromise quality (i.e. successful learning outcomes) for quantity (i.e. higher enrolments in the more expensive EMI programs to offset cuts in HE funding), reflecting Wilkinson's (2013) assertion that universities may be motivated by economic rather than educational considerations in implementing EMI programs (see also Hamid et al. 2013 and Toh 2014).

4.2 Challenges in Implementing Overseas Curricula

Several issues of 'fit' have resulted from instituting curricula that were designed in other countries for sometimes dissimilar purposes. E-University asserted that curricula for JPs (which are offshore programs delivered locally) were deployed unmodified. For overseas-franchised APs and locally-designed HQPs, 70–80% of the curriculum drew on programs imported or adapted for overseas partner institutions with the remainder reserved for locally-designed courses, including compulsory Vietnamese medium political education. One university executive promoted an EMI-based HQP program as being

> developed in reference with the curricula of top universities in the UK. […] The outstanding feature is the integration of international elements. Graduates from our faculty can take exams for international certificates such as Chartered Financial Analyst (CFA). (Executive, E-University)

Yet local implementation of overseas curricula is far from straightforward. Data from E-University highlighted the mismatch between the content and aims of imported curricula and the cultural, linguistic, commercial and politico-economic context of Vietnam. One issue was that the content of some offshore and franchising programs seemed irrelevant to students intending to join Vietnam's workforce (e.g. psychology courses in a business program). The inclusion within a particular discipline program of courses which might be considered ‘peripherally important’ is a function of the multi-disciplinary tradition of many US colleges, but is not a feature of Vietnamese HE, where a focused and unified course of study is more usual (Steiner-Khamsi 2014). A second concern was that the course content imported was sometimes highly jurisdiction-specific (Leask and Bridge 2013) and of limited applicability to the local context. One E-University academic noted: ‘The downside of using US or UK textbooks is that all cases are about the US or UK market. I have to integrate examples from the Vietnamese market.’ This issue concerned E-University students intending to work in Vietnam’s rapidly-expanding business or financial sectors, since much of the knowledge gained in APs ‘clearly reflect the American curricula’ (Duong 2009, p. 81) and would have little relevance to them. The third difficulty related to resourcing, a common bugbear in EMI implementation (Dearden 2014; Le 2012; Wilkinson 2013); specifically, there were few English language materials for the local (Vietnam-related) components of the courses for the locally-produced HQPs. Curriculum developers were required to translate Vietnamese medium materials to English, a task complicated by time pressure, the developers’ varying academic ELP and the untranslatability of certain discipline-specific terms in Vietnamese.

4.3 Students’ ELP

English language proficiency is a crucial predictor of students’ success in English medium academic study (Humphreys this volume). Yet, as Sect. 4.1 mentions above, students in E-University needed only average ELP to be admitted to EMI programs—JPs, APs or HQPs—and some were admitted at an even lower level. A student commented:

> We think English proficiency is the prerequisite for our learning in EMI program but I know that many students didn’t meet the English requirement and still got in the program. (Year 3 student, International Business)

Predictably, many students in E-University’s EMI programs struggled with lectures, reading materials, writing assignments, interaction with teachers, and in-class multi-party exchanges. As a result, English was, at best, an intermittent medium of instruction. An academic observed, ‘They might ask me a question in Vietnamese, I answer in English. They clarify some points in Vietnamese and I continue my explanation in English.’

In such circumstances, good practice dictates that learners should receive additional English language support (Breeze 2014). However, students at E-University were unimpressed with the English language support available to them:

> I don’t think the English lessons we have in this university are helpful to our disciplinary study in EMI context. We need to be confident when speaking. Many friends told me that

> they had the knowledge to answer teachers' questions but they didn't dare to do so because they weren't confident to say it in English. (Year 3 student, Business Administration)

One support-related issue is that the English curriculum undertaken by most students enrolling in EMI programs was not a targeted curriculum tailored to the specific requirements of the EMI programs but a truncated version of a broader general English proficiency development program for VMI students, based primarily on a packaged business English textbook series. It was therefore geared toward professional needs rather than academic study, addressing areas such as marketing, organisation, leadership, business vocabulary and discourse strategies (e.g. negotiating), rather than the skills needed to manage academic study in English.

4.4 Academics' ELP and EMI Pedagogy

Having discussed students' language proficiency, we now address that of academics in APs and HQPs. Academics teaching in an EMI setting must simultaneously balance competence in their discipline, competence as an educator, and competence as a user of English as an additional language (Wilkinson 2013). Discipline and teaching competence requirements will not be dissimilar to those for teaching in an L1, but language competence—specifically, teaching content through the medium of a second language—is more of a concern. Academics teaching on EMI programs at E-University were expected to hold or obtain post-graduate qualifications from English-speaking countries, which it was assumed would qualify them to teach in English in an EMI setting. The reality was often different, as an academic observes:

> Both academics and students are non-English speakers. Therefore, when students listen to their academics teaching in English, they have double difficulty in comprehending the lectures. Academics can't present all their knowledge to the students and students can't understand what the academics teach them. I think language barrier is the biggest constraint of EMI programs (Academic).

Lecturers found they often did not have recourse to the techniques they employed in VMI programs to clarify meaning and enhance comprehension (see Hu et al. 2014; Tatzl 2011; Thøgersen and Airey 2011 for similar issues elsewhere). In compensation, some academics employed code-mixing/switching to aid comprehension (Alenezi 2010), though this drew complaints from some students: 'Lecturers mix between English and Vietnamese in a random way when teaching. It makes me lose concentration.' Other academics implemented the EMI policy more rigidly, lecturing solely in English, which led to issues of decoding language-specific discipline terminology:

> I have difficulty in understanding business concepts in Vietnamese even though I understand them in English. I think I will be working in Vietnam so I need to know what is going on in the Vietnamese market and how the news is related to what I have learnt. I have to ask my friends for these (Year 3 student, Finance and Banking).

Furthermore, some EMI academics struggled with their mandate to raise students' English language competence in addition to teaching content. An academic said:

> I myself do not mark [i.e. comment on] students' use of English in their assignments. I do not have linguistic knowledge to do that. I only read to understand their answers and I may comment on their use of terminology but not grammar or linguistic features. That is a problem for EMI academics now. We do not have the [linguistic] expertise (Academic).

Herein lies one of the quandaries of EMI education: discipline academics are cast as 'surrogate language teachers' (Toh 2014, p. 314) as well as conveyors of advanced knowledge. But language teaching and academic lecturing are two very different skill-sets, and in any case, many discipline academics view language teaching as outside their remit (Airey 2012): they see themselves as scholars in their field, rather than language experts. There are also workload considerations (Hu et al. 2014): overloaded Vietnamese lecturers (Brogan 2007) seldom have time to create extra or entirely new materials in the L2.

5 Moving Forward: Recommendations

Our discussion of EMI implementation in Vietnamese HEIs, coupled with our case study of one such institution, foregrounds several issues and challenges. In exploring some options for moving beyond these, we stress that each institutional context is unique—financially, pedagogically, logistically, and in terms of the institution's overarching goals and objectives—and that caution should be taken in extrapolating from one specific context to HE more broadly. Below are some preliminary recommendations concerning policy, institutional implementation and classroom practice.

At the macro-level of policy, it is clearly helpful for a detailed roadmap and timeline for implementation of an EMI program to be negotiated well in advance, in consultation with all involved parties—MOET, local HEIs and, ideally, potential overseas partner institutions. The consultative process could also benefit from advisory input from faculty-level academics with experience and expertise in implementing and managing EMI programs. The inter-level disconnect would thereby be reduced by mutual dialogue, unimpeded sharing of information and other resources and, crucially, expert bottom-up feedback throughout the process.

At the institutional level, several proposals are worthy of consideration. Firstly, programs and materials imported from overseas institutions often need substantial reformulation and/or supplementation to fit the requirements of the local institutional and workplace context (Tran et al. 2014), rather than uncritical wholesale adoption (see Leask and Bridge 2013). The process of adaptation would occur in consultation (and collaboration) with the involved partner institution, to ensure that the original learning aims of the program/materials are not distorted and that accreditation is not compromised. This process would precede the program's launch, rather than occurring ad hoc later. The relevance of non-content-related (e.g. political or ideological) materials in imported programs might also be reviewed. Secondly, stringent language testing standards and procedures are crucial for ensuring that enrolling students have adequate linguistic competence to manage a course of study in EMI. Empirical evidence suggests that students with insufficient ELP may fail to either increase their language proficiency or master their discipline studies (Cho 2012; Humphreys this volume). Conversely, implementation of appropriate testing standards and procedures benefits both students and institutions: students with higher ELP on entry to EMI programs may experience less language/study-related stress, achieve higher academic outcomes, and are more likely to develop their language proficiency (Joe and Lee 2013); universities, by extension, may enhance their reputations through producing high-quality, bilingual graduates.

We also propose that additional academic and English language development resources should be available to students already enrolled in EMI programs to support their language and academic skills. We will briefly outline two options which have been employed in tertiary contexts elsewhere. One is individual academic writing consultations wherein students bring draft assessment items from their discipline courses to a specialised language and academic skills tutor for feedback on structure, style and lexico-grammar (Chanock 2000). These have proven useful in some contexts because they are learner-driven and specific to individual students' requirements (Chanock 2000, 2002; Walkinshaw et al. 2015). Another option is academic language and learning skills courses which are tailored to specific disciplines rather than generic English for Academic Purposes offerings. These would be credit-bearing, semester-long courses delivered concurrently with students' EMI degree courses (Fenton-Smith et al. 2015). Both options have the advantage of running in tandem with, and therefore in immediate support of EMI courses which students are already taking. Like any externally-founded approach, method or resource, however, their suitability needs to be assessed with regard to the local pedagogical and institutional context, and modification (where warranted) rather than uncritical acceptance is key to their successful implementation.

Finally, Vietnamese academics deployed in EMI settings may benefit from language and pedagogical support. The language support might include targeted individual consultations to provide feedback on linguistic aspects of course materials. Another option is workshops to improve specific language skills (e.g. pronunciation, flagged by Vietnamese learners of English as an issue for teachers (Walkinshaw and Duong 2014). Pedagogical support might take the form of seminars on EMI-related pedagogical approaches such as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). (For further ideas see Ball and Lindsay 2013; Fenton-Smith et al. this volume.) As a long-term investment in EMI implementation, HEIs could offer financial and/or workload support to academics to study for a TESOL certificate, diploma or degree. Such support helps ensure that the dual goals of content teaching and language development can be realised in the EMI classroom (Klaassen 2008; Vu and Burns 2014).

6 Conclusion

Overall, despite the best efforts and intentions of MOET, participating institutions and chalkface practitioners, implementation of EMI in Vietnam's tertiary institutions has been beset by many of the same issues that have plagued the tertiary sector in other countries (Dang et al. 2013). Our E-University case study provides an illustrative example of these. There is a potential backlash: macro- and meso-level stakeholders risk criticism for appearing to treat EMI as a 'cheap solution to complex language problems for achieving overly ambitious politico-economic goals' (Hamid et al. 2013, p. 1) without taking sufficient account of the complex requirements for successful implementation.

Clearly, if Vietnam's EMI programs are to yield at least some of the desired results in terms of internationalisation, institutional prestige, revenue and human capital, then thorough, informed planning and piloting are crucial, along with ongoing and transparent communication among all involved parties. And once in place, there is a clear need for ongoing support resources for both students and academics to manage the complex and manifold language and academic skills requirements inherent in EMI education.

We conclude by calling for further research into EMI in Vietnam's HEIs. Vietnam's educational research culture is promising but nascent (Pham 2006), and there is much to be learned about how English is employed there as an MOI, how its effectiveness can be reinforced, the advantages and drawbacks inherent in its implementation, and the likely outcomes in terms of language proficiency development, content learning, and employability upon graduation. We look forward to further exploration of this dynamic and important area.

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English Medium Instruction in Korean Higher Education: Challenges and Future Directions

Eun Gyong Kim

Abstract Korean universities started offering English-medium instruction (EMI) classes in the 1990s, and the number has significantly increased since the Korean government began providing financial support for universities in the mid-2000s. This paper attempts to examine the past, present, and future of EMI in Korean higher education using document analysis of an extensive volume of research papers, newspaper articles, books, and internet sources on EMI in Korean tertiary education. Documents related to the Korean government's official EMI policies were also collected and analyzed. The paper discusses why and how the Korean government initiated and supported EMI implementation in Korean universities, why and how universities have adopted and implemented EMI policies, professors' and students' perceptions of and attitudes toward EMI, and what are considered desirable EMI methods for Korean university students. The paper concludes with some remarks about future directions that Korean universities are likely to take in relation to EMI.

Keywords Korean EMI · Korean EMI policy · Korean higher education · Korean college students

1 Introduction

English-medium instruction (EMI) in Korean higher education has dramatically increased since the Korean government began providing financial support for universities, adopting an EMI policy in 2004 (Byun et al. 2010). By the year 2011, 30% of all classes offered by universities in the Seoul metropolitan area and 10% of those in other areas were conducted in English (Kim 2011d). This paper attempts to

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examine the past, present, and future of EMI in Korean higher education by addressing the following three questions:

1. Why was EMI introduced to Korean higher education?
2. What is the current state of EMI in Korean higher education?
3. What are the future directions that EMI in Korean education is likely to take?

To achieve these aims, information on EMI in Korean universities and the Korean government's EMI-related policies has been sourced from a variety of English and Korean academic databases, including RISS, the largest provider of academic data in Korea (http://www.riss.kr/), and ProQuest, a U.S.-based electronic publisher. I have also searched the online libraries of Korean national and private organizations that deal with national policies, including the Korean Educational Development Institute (https://www.kedi.re.kr/), the National Knowledge Information System (https://www.nkis.re.kr:4445/), the Policy Research Information Service & Management (http://www.prism.go.kr/), and the Korea Development Institute (http://www.kdi.re.kr/).

2 The Introduction of EMI into Korean Higher Education

Korean universities started offering EMI classes in the 1990s, and the number has significantly increased since the mid-2000s. Several factors have contributed to this development.

2.1 Benefits of EMI for Individual Students

English is a means of communication in a wide variety of fields including trade, banking, and technology and in governmental and international organizations. Through EMI, college students can enhance their English skills while acquiring subject knowledge by being exposed to English over relatively longer periods. By learning their subject knowledge in English, students are trained to become professionals who can work in diverse workplaces or are prepared for academic careers where English skills are required. Korean university students have recognized these benefits and taken advantage of EMI opportunities.

2.2 Government's Globalization of Higher Education

The Korean government took on the globalization of its educational policy at the beginning of the 1990s, and such attempts were accelerated by a series of international undertakings, including Korea's attainment of Organization for Economic

Cooperation and Development (OECD) member status in 1996 (Park and Song 2013). In the 1990s, the government loosened the regulations for international student admissions. In 2004, it launched a university support program called the Study Korea Project with its main goal to attract international students. It provided financial assistance to universities offering EMI classes and Korean language training programs. This government support has led to a drastic increase in the international student population in universities, from 4682 in 2001, to 22,526 in 2005, and to 49,270 in 2007 (Byun and Kim 2011). In 2006, within two years of introducing the Project, the number of EMI classes offered by universities grew to 2.2%, of the 410,000 total courses (Byun et al. 2010).

2.3 Universities' Globalization Efforts

Along with the government's thrust, there have been several driving forces for the globalization of Korean universities. Leading universities have shown keen interest in improving their places in the international and domestic rankings. International ranking agencies, such as Quacquarelli Symonds (QS) and Times, and domestic newspapers, such as the JoongAng Daily and Chosun Daily, conduct surveys and publish their evaluation results annually. In order to climb up in their rankings, universities have adjusted their policies and strategies to fit the evaluation criteria. The JoongAng Daily in particular has been highly influential in propelling universities to pursue the implementation of EMI. In 2006, the newspaper adopted an index of internationalization as a major evaluation category, and the index includes the proportion of EMI classes as a subcategory (Kym and Kym 2014; Lee and Hong 2015; Park and Song 2013).

Another impetus for the globalization of Korean universities, which includes the Englishization of the curriculum, is the need to recruit international students to offset the continuous decline in the number of Korean entrants due to the nation's falling birthrate (Park and Song 2013). Universities have engaged in vigorous recruitment efforts, and such efforts have paid off. The number of degree-seeking international students has increased by 4.8 times during the last decade, from 11,121 in 2004 to 53,636 in 2014, taking up 2% of the student population in higher education (Chung et al. 2014; Education Development Cooperation Team 2015).

Another reason for universities' aggressive recruitment of international students and the government's support for it is to narrow the gap between the numbers of inbound and outbound students. In 2004, the ratio between the degree-seeking Korean students overseas and that of foreign students in Korean higher education was 9.5:1 (105,893 vs. 11,121), and in 2014, the ratio was reduced to 2.6:1 (140,560 vs. 53,636) (Education Development Cooperation Team 2015).

Moreover, Korean universities have sought to establish international dual- or joint-degree programs and other international collaboration programs, for example, the CAMPUS Asia Program with Japan and China and the Industrialised Countries Instrument—Education Cooperation Program (ICI-ECP) with EU member countries (Park and Song 2013). In addition, several top-notch universities, e.g., Korea University, Yonsei University, and Ewha Womans University, have established special liberal arts colleges, where all classes are taught in English, in order to attract international and English-proficient domestic students. All these globalization endeavors by Korean universities necessitate the implementation of EMI. That is, EMI has emerged as a major tool to strengthen the global competitiveness of Korean universities.

3 The Current State of EMI in Korean Higher Education

EMI was introduced to Korean higher education toward the end of the 1990s, and universities have actively pursued it since the mid-2000s, as discussed previously. The proportion of EMI classes in university classes doubled or tripled between 2005 and 2010: 4–15% at Seoul National University and 6–29% at Yonsei University (Kim et al. 2006; Pae 2011; T'ak 2011). As of 2010, universities in the Seoul area were providing EMI in 20–40% of all classes: 40% at Korea University, 34% at Kyung Hee University, 29% at Yonsei University, 26% at Sogang University, 20% at Chung-Ang University, and 15% at Seoul National University (Pae 2011). In 17 major universities nationwide, 13.6% of all their classes (6892 of 50,590) were conducted in English (Chang et al. 2011).

A survey study of 42,673 undergraduate students demonstrates that the percentages of EMI classes among the major courses that they took were 13.83% in 2011, 17.67% in 2012, 15.97% in 2013, and 14.90% in 2014, and on average they were taking 0.9 EMI courses (13.4%) out of 6.7 courses per semester (Yu et al. 2014). Another survey of almost 2000 university students shows similar results: in the spring of 2012, 55% of the students were taking EMI classes, and one out of the six courses that they were taking were EMI classes (Lee and Hong, 2015). The largest number of EMI classes that the students took were in the field of engineering, followed by humanities and social sciences and natural sciences.

Universities have taken various measures to facilitate the expansion of EMI classes. Korea University, for instance, has introduced a requirement that students must take 5–10 courses in a foreign language—more precisely, in English—before graduation. Also, all newly hired professors must teach all their courses in a foreign language or English for three to five years after employment (So 2014b). In other words, for the purpose of expanding EMI, universities are hiring scholars who are capable of teaching in English and requiring students to take EMI classes. Universities have also provided financial incentives and allowed reduction of teaching hours to the professors who offer EMI (Kim 2010; Kim 2011a).

Engineering schools have led the trend in Korean higher education possibly due to the field's dependency on the English language for knowledge acquisition and communication with researchers and engineers around the world. In 2006, Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), the most reputed engineering school in Korea, adopted an all-out EMI policy that dictated all courses be conducted in English. The school's move generated wide media coverage and was highly influential in promoting EMI in Korean higher education. By 2010, Pohang University of Science and Technology (POSTECH) was offering 88% of undergraduate classes and 95% of graduate classes in English (Cho 2012). Two relatively new engineering schools, Gwangju Institute of Science and Technology (GIST) and Ulsan National Institute of Science and Technology (UNIST), have offered all their classes in English since their establishment in 1992 and in 2009, respectively (Yu 2011). Both GIST and UNIST are now taking further steps by declaring the adoption of a campus-wide policy of English as an official language (Chong 2015).

4 Problems and Challenges for EMI in Korean Higher Education

Korean universities' implementation of EMI has been highly controversial, and an assortment of issues have been raised but not yet settled.

4.1 University Rankings and Undemocratic Processes

There have been consistent criticisms that universities have driven the expansion of EMI in order to climb up university rankings. Taking an authoritarian approach to EMI implementation, universities have not consulted students and professors nor given proper consideration to their language and teaching capabilities for EMI. A university administrator admitted, "…EMI does not cost much compared to that of hiring foreign professors or that of raising the number of foreign students. It is an easier way to attain higher university ranking,… the most cost effective scheme with the highest degree of efficiency" (So 2014b).

Universities' heavy-handed approach to the implementation of EMI has backfired. In the (northern) fall of 2014, the student councils of nine universities in Seoul declared the rejection of JoongAng Daily's university ranking system. They rejected it on the grounds that it applies the same standards without due concern for students' academic or intellectual growth. The student council of Korea University pointed out EMI as the most problematic, saying:

> Who has caused the current painful situation for both professors and students? JoongAng can't be free of responsibility because it has taken into account schools' percentages of EMI classes in its evaluation without considering… students' course satisfaction and…the educational effects of EMI… (So 2014b).

The student council of Dongguk University also spoke out:

> Today Dongguk has achieved the highest place in the [JoongAng] university ranking in its history because the school received highest marks in the index of internationalization.

> The school has expanded EMI classes recklessly, and the students are forced to attend EMI classes… (So 2014a).

Earlier, an incident that shocked the nation occurred at the engineering school that had aggressively pursued EMI. In the spring of 2011, four undergraduate students at KAIST committed suicide, and this sent a shock wave through Korean universities and society in general as the tragedy took place in one of Korea's most reputed universities (Lee 2011; Lim 2011). The school had introduced a mandatory EMI policy in 2006. The school's rigid implementation of the policy was partly blamed for the students' deaths as many believed that the policy worsened the level of stress that the highly competitive students were already feeling under the school's rigorous environment (McDonald 2011; The Korea Times 2011). In the fall of 2011, the school eased its EMI policy, and students have been able to take more courses in Korean (Kim 2014; Sharma 2011).

4.2 Students' Insufficient English Ability for EMI

Learners' English proficiency is an important factor that determines the outcome of EMI (Johnson and Swain 1994; Stryker and Leaver 1997; Swain and Johnson 1997). Johnson and Swain (1994) contended that the development of language proficiency is important in late immersion programs. In early immersion programs, where young learners at age five or six begin receiving intense L2 instruction, the L2 and concepts develop at the same time. However, in late immersion programs, the language develops after the concepts, so instruction related to language structure is necessary. In their study of the effects of EMI on students in a Hong Kong high school, Marsh et al. (2000) demonstrated that EMI classes that require a higher degree of English proficiency had adverse effects on the students and recommended that only students with fluent English skills should be given EMI.

Studies of Korean students in EMI classes have confirmed the importance of students' English proficiency for successful EMI. Less than 30% of students feel that they understand over 80% of EMI (Cho and Hwang 2013; Lee and Hong 2015; Yu et al. 2014). Park (2006a) and Jin and Shin (2011) report that students with insufficient English ability showed low levels of academic achievement in EMI classes. Moreover, students' insufficient English ability is chosen as the most significant reason that they do not prefer EMI or they feel difficulty in EMI classes (Cho and Hwang 2013; Hwang 2013), and students believe that the improvement of their English ability will enhance the quality of EMI classes most (Kim et al. 2012). Professors agree that students tend to have inadequate English ability for EMI. Kang and Park (2004a), for instance, report that about 90% of the engineering professors they surveyed felt that their students had insufficient English ability for EMI and that students' most problematic area was listening comprehension. In short, students' learning is significantly limited in EMI classes because of their language ability.

4.3 Professors' Insufficient English Ability for EMI and Frequent Use of Korean

In EMI classes, Korean professors tend to experience difficulties due to limited English proficiency (Kang and Park 2004a; Oh and Lee 2010b). A political science professor of a university in Seoul remarked (Moon 2012):

> I received my PhD in the United States and have taught for more than 10 years. But I have to admit that I can convey only 70 to 80% of my knowledge when I lecture in English. If the professors who earned degrees in Korea or other non-English speaking countries are required to lecture in English, serious problems are bound to arise in the course of delivering knowledge and information. Students are in a more awkward position. No matter how hard they study, students who complete their secondary education in Korea will not be able to understand more than half of the lecture. Taking the limits of the teachers and the students into account, no more than half of the study material will be properly delivered with this structure.

A student attending the college of engineering at another university in Seoul describes the different linguistic approaches that his instructors took in EMI classes (Ho 2010):

> There is a professor who uses 'you know' a hundred times within an hour of class. There is another one who mixes Korean and English as he is not used to using English. Yet another professor openly tells his students from the first day of class that he is going to use Korean as it is difficult to deliver lectures in English. Additionally, there is a professor who switched to Korean in the middle of the semester after using English in the beginning.

EMI instructors' English skills have improved as the universities hire English-speaking scholars; nevertheless, the professor's and student's descriptions above still reflect what is going on in many of the EMI classes in Korean universities. Most faculty members in Korean universities are Korean nationals. As of 2013, only three Korean universities had over 30% of foreign scholars in their faculty (Editorial Office 2013). One recent study shows that 36.6% (631 out of 1728) of the surveyed professors reported that they used Korean in 50% or more of their instruction, which can hardly be called EMI (Lee and Hong 2015).

Instructors' frequent use of Korean in EMI classes has been a subject of grievances among international students. At one engineering university, international students complained that they were not allowed to enroll in certain courses so that the courses could be taught in Korean. They further alleged that some instructors refused to use English and continued their lectures in Korean in supposedly EMI classes, and that Korean students asked questions in Korean to which the instructors answered in Korean (Yun 2014). Yet at another engineering school, where all the classes are conducted in English, international students expressed low levels of tolerance about the use of Korean in class and displayed frustration at the lack of interaction with the instructor and with other students (Kim et al. 2014). Along with students' insufficient English ability, the lack of instructors' sufficient English skills has been deemed another main culprit for ineffective EMI in Korean universities.

4.4 Hindering Students' Knowledge Acquisition

The most critical problem for EMI in Korean higher education is possibly the extent to which it interferes with students' pursuit of academic depth. A large number of studies have demonstrated that EMI has a negative impact on students' learning (Joe and Lee 2013; Kang et al. 2007; Kang and Park 2004a; Lee et al. 2013; Roh 2012; Shim 2010; Son 2000; Yun 2009). It is shown that students are opposed to EMI on the grounds that current EMI classes are ineffective, in that they may improve English ability but they hinder the learning of subject matter (Kim 2011b). Joe and Lee (2013) demonstrate that despite their high levels of English proficiency compared to other major students, medical students had highly negative perceptions of the effects of EMI on their learning of major subjects. Oh and Lee (2010b) show that the professors surveyed felt that being unable to deliver their knowledge of major fields to a satisfactory level was the most crucial problem for EMI.

Kym and Kym (2014) argue that "it needs to be clearly understood that the ultimate goal of an EMI program is for students to acquire both the content and language, not sacrificing one for the other." If one makes an argument that EMI in Korean higher education has to be dropped immediately, interfering with students' learning and preventing them from developing academic depth will be the most valid, convincing reason.

4.5 Lack of Interaction and Inadequate Teaching Methods for EMI

Korean students in general are not as interactive as those from the Western educational systems. In the EMI settings in Korean universities, however, students have an even lower degree of class interaction (Ha 2011; Kang et al. 2007). Yu et al. (2014) report that over 47% (10,115 of 21,419) of the students surveyed participate in less than 40% of class activities in English. Furthermore, studies have shown that instructors are not well-versed in EMI methods. They seldom provide linguistic feedback on students' work, which would be helpful for the improvement of students' English skills, and students do not feel that EMI classes are well managed (Hwang 2013; Kang and Park 2005; Yun 2009).

4.6 Lack of Empirical Data

Another critical problem is that empirical data that support the efficacy of EMI in Korean higher education are scarcely available. Universities have expanded EMI aggressively, but the expansion has not been accompanied by clear, positive, measureable outcomes. Some studies report the positive effects of EMI on students' language learning (Kang et al. 2007; Oh and Lee 2010a; Park 2007; Shin et al. 2014), but far more studies show the results that are undecided, debatable, or negative about the effects of EMI (Cho and Hwang 2013; Han et al. 2010; Hwang and Ahn 2011; Kang and Park 2004b; Kim et al. 2012; Lee and Hong 2015).

In addition, the majority of these studies are survey studies that depend on students' personal opinions and perceptions. Moreover, the studies that attempted to obtain empirical data, for example, comparison of test scores before and after EMI, had their own limitations, including failure to control the other factors that may influence the test scores, short-term experimentation, and/or small sample sizes (Park 2007; Shim 2012). In addition, there have been few studies on the effects of EMI on the acquisition of subject knowledge. To come to the point, universities' ill-considered expansion of EMI without the basis of systematic analysis of it must be cautioned against.

5 Suggestions and Recommendations for the Improvement of EMI in Korean Higher Education

Despite numerous critical issues, it appears that the Korean government, universities, and students still believe in the importance of, and need for, EMI (Cho and Hwang 2013). The following are possible solutions for the problems that have been raised.

5.1 Voluntary Participation in EMI

The unilateral implementation of EMI that requires professors and students to participate regardless of their specialties, preferences and capabilities has been a source of various problems in relation to EMI. Such practices must be discarded if EMI is to be successfully established in Korean higher education. Students and professors should be able to choose EMI after consideration of their own language capabilities and preferences. In addition, the uniqueness of different majors should be considered in universities' implementation of EMI (Byun et al. 2010; Maeng et al. 2011; Yoon 2008).

5.2 The Establishment of Effective Support Systems

The lack of sufficient English ability on the part of students and instructors is probably the most serious problem for EMI in Korean higher education. To resolve this, an English for academic purposes (EAP) or prerequisite English language program must be in place to help students be prepared for EMI (Cho 2012; Cho and Hwang 2013; Hwang 2013; Kang and Park 2004a; Kim 2011b; Kim et al. 2012; Lee 2014; Oh and Lee 2010b). Kim and Shin (2014) discuss in detail the need for an English language center, where systematic English language training and services are provided for groups of both students and professors. Such a center may provide testing to evaluate the English levels of students, needs analysis to identify the specific issues affecting students and professors in EMI classes, and individualized linguistic assistance where required.

For specific faculty support programs, overseas English language programs where professors can further develop their English skills (see Fenton-Smith et al. this volume), linguistic support from English language experts or EFL professors, and workshops and video training on EMI methods have been proposed (Cho 2012; Kim 2014; Kim and Shin 2014; Maeng et al. 2011; Oh and Lee 2010b; Shin and Choi 2012; Yun 2009). Reave (2004) discusses various types of collaboration between major-subject faculty and English language faculty: partnership, team teaching, communication modules, expert feedback, and communication across the curriculum. Communication modules, usually worth one credit, are added to major courses. In communication across the curriculum, English language instruction is given throughout the student's coursework. Furthermore, it is found that the more EMI experience an instructor has, the higher teaching efficacy she or he develops; therefore, a faculty support system should encourage more professors to be involved in EMI and render effective assistance to those starting EMI (Shin et al. 2014; Vinke et al. 1998).

5.3 The Establishment of an Adequate Classroom Environment

For effective EMI, i.e., to accelerate English acquisition and content learning, a number of studies point out the importance of diversifying teaching methods, different from those for Korean-medium instruction (Cho and Hwang 2013; Hwang 2013). Lee (2014) argues for the need to change from instructor-centered to student-centered teaching. Maeng et al. (2011) suggest creating multimedia, project-based classes, using open courseware developed by international institutions, and facilitating students' interaction through peer work and group work. Park (2006a) draws attention to sheltered instruction, e.g., the instructor's staying on the same topic for 15–20 min, to lend assistance to those with insufficient English ability. Instructors may adopt various other strategies to help students adjust to EMI classes: speaking slowly and repeating, providing meaning negotiation, and code-switching (Cook 2008; Lo and Macaro 2012).

Several studies have emphasized the importance of prior learning or flipped learning, through which students learn part of the lesson or obtain background knowledge in advance so that they can have a better understanding of the lesson. This is an effective instructional scheme as it encourages students to learn concepts and terms related to the main lesson in advance. Being familiar with content beforehand may offset students' insufficient English ability and increase their course satisfaction (Kim et al. 2012; Kym and Kym 2014; Lee 2014). Furthermore, maintaining the optimum class size is recommended for active class interaction. Smaller-size classes make it easier for the instructor to provide feedback on students' work as necessary and provide explanations or assistance to individual students in need (Cho and Hwang 2013; Hwang 2013).

5.4 Introducing EMI to Students in Later Years

For EMI to be more effective, studies of Korean students have indicated that it should be introduced to students in the final year(s) of study. In their first and second year, students need to build a solid foundation for their learning by acquiring basic knowledge of their major areas through courses offered in Korean (Hwang 2013; Kang and Park 2004a; Lee 2014; Yu et al. 2014). Park (2006b) reports that the levels of students' course satisfaction were inversely proportional to the numbers of first-year students in classes. The study shows that the freshmen struggled more in EMI classes than the older students did. Currently, as most of the Korean students have insufficient English skills for EMI, enhancing their basic knowledge of major areas in Korean-medium classes is desirable and necessary for effective EMI.

5.5 The Attainment of Empirical Data on the Effects of EMI

Studies of EMI in Korean higher education have largely depended on survey studies that inquire into students' and professors' opinions. Empirical data of the benefits of EMI for language acquisition and content learning have been sporadic and inconsistent (Byun et al. 2010; Lee 2014). For example, complaints and controversies surrounding the use of Korean in EMI classes abound, while other studies have shown the necessity of its use (Hwang 2013; Kang and Park 2005; Kim 2011b). Lee (2010) reports that 68.9% of the surveyed students, attending a regional university, preferred the use of Korean in EMI classes and that 78% of them supported using English and Korean in different ratios according to students' school years, for example, 20:80 in second year and 50:50 in fourth year. Lee (2014), however, cautions against the frequent use of Korean in EMI classes and suggests offering separate classes for students with English fluency and international students. In brief, there are criticisms against the use of Korean in EMI classes, while there are studies that have argued for its use. It is evident that more systematic approaches to the use of Korean must be taken on the basis of empirical data. In the same vein, empirical data on the improvement of students' English ability and content learning through EMI in Korean university settings must be sought and made available if EMI is to remain as a solid teaching method in Korean higher education.

6 Conclusions

Korean universities have been faced with a wide range of problems in their implementation of EMI. Some believe that it should be abandoned because of the considerable harm that it has caused, such as its interference with students' learning. Despite negativity, however, EMI in Korean higher education is only likely to expand.

One reason for this is that the globalization of higher education is rapidly underway and higher education has surfaced as a massive market, with an estimated value of 300 billion US dollars (Kim et al. 2013). Institutions from different countries are entering into international agreements for joint or collaborative programs, overseas branch campuses are being established, and e-learning programs are in demand. Keeping pace with this development, the Korean government is likely to continue taking measures to strengthen the global competitiveness of its universities. The Korean Ministry of Education, for instance, has announced its plan to launch the Study Korea 2020 Project in order to increase the number of international recipients of government scholarships and diversify the national origins of international students in Korean universities (Chung et al. 2014). As the globalization of universities accelerates, the need for EMI is likely to increase.

Moreover, in this era of globalization, it is important to enhance the global competency of Korean students. More students are becoming internationally engaged through exchange programs, internships at foreign organizations, and the like. The internationalization and Englishization of the curriculum including the offering of EMI classes will strengthen their global competency and English capability and help them to be prepared for international activities. Furthermore, as discussed previously, the number of Koreans entering universities has been in decline as a result of the falling birthrate. Starting in the year 2018, the capacity of university enrollments will exceed the total number of high-school graduates (Chung et al. 2014; Kim 2011c). In order to survive and attain financial stability, universities will continue to aggressively recruit international students. To accommodate the international population on campus, it will be necessary to internationalize the educational systems, including the Englishization of curriculums.

Until now, Korean universities have concentrated on the quantitative expansion of EMI, overlooking some of the critical problems that it has. It is hoped that in the future they will be earnestly engaged in making improvements so that students' learning is not hindered, but enhanced through EMI. Mok (2007, p. 437) suggests that universities reflect on the following questions before they move forward with their internationalization endeavors:

- For whose benefit should higher education be internationalized?
- For what purpose should higher education be internationalized?
- Why should internationalization be adopted as a major agenda for contemporary universities?
- Does internationalization matter to students and other stakeholders in the society?

The same questions must be asked and answered by those involved in the implementation of EMI in higher education in Korea.

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English Medium Instruction in Higher Education in Pakistan: Policies, Perceptions, Problems, and Possibilities

Ahmar Mahboob

Abstract This chapter provides an overview of some of the core issues in English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in higher education (HE) in Pakistan. After contextualising EMI within the larger medium of instruction debate in the country, the chapter critically reviews some of the relevant findings from three major studies on attitudes towards languages in Pakistan. The chapter then evaluates the impact of EMI on academic performance by looking at current research on students' language backgrounds, students' English language proficiency, and research publications by Pakistani academics. The findings of this assessment suggest that the current EMI policies in HE do not enable all students in HE and might actually perpetuate the socio-class variations in the society. Next, the chapter discusses the role of language within EMI and considers what type of 'English' is appropriate within a HE context. Finally, the chapter looks at one project that successfully supported students' English language and literacy skills as an example of how some of the issues discussed in this paper may be redressed. In summary, this paper critically analyses the status and use of EMI in HE in Pakistan and suggests some ways to move forward.

Keywords English medium instruction (EMI) · Higher education · Pakistan · SLATE project

1 Introduction

English in Pakistan has been and arguably will remain the primary medium of instruction (MOI) in institutions of higher education (HE) for the foreseeable future. While there have been some changes in government policies towards MOI in schools since the creation of Pakistan in 1947 (see e.g., Rahman 1996; Mahboob 2002), the role of English in HE has remained relatively consistent (see, e.g.,

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Mansoor 2005; Irfan 2013). This does not, however, imply that the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in Pakistani universities is not uncontroversial. There are numerous issues in EMI in HE in Pakistan and some of these will be discussed in this chapter. In order to do this, this chapter will discuss the current MOI policies in HE in Pakistan and critically discuss current research on language attitudes and perceptions. The chapter will end with some ideas about how the issues identified may be redressed.

However, before we begin, it needs to be noted that while EMI, especially in the context of higher education, has been on the rise in many parts of the world (see, e.g. Doiz et al. 2013; Taguchi 2014), the situation of EMI in Pakistan is different. One of the main reasons for the recent surge in EMI globally (and specially Europe) is the adoption of policies of globalisation and internationalisation of (higher) education (e.g. the Bologna process in Europe). However, in the context of Pakistan, the presence of EMI is a result of historical processes rather than deliberate decisions to globalize or internationalise its education system (although these arguments are made in support of maintaining EMI, see, e.g. Khan 2015). English has been a core part of the educational and government structures of the region for over a century before the country was established. In such a context, the local debates are not simply about how EMI can be improved, but rather what language(s) should be the MOI. The orientation of the recent research on EMI can be, in contexts such as Pakistan, perhaps counterproductive because it takes EMI as a given and does not engage with broader issues of MOI which are of concern to the local populations (see also Hamid's 2013 review of Doiz et al. 2013). To avoid this limitation, this chapter will start with a discussion of EMI issues in Pakistan within a broader MOI debate.

2 Contextualising EMI Policies in HE

English was introduced to South Asia when the British started developing influence in Mughal India under the guise of the British East India Company. The use and prestige of English grew from that point on. As the Mughal Empire—and the use of Persian as the language of arts, sciences and governance—was neutralised and India became part of the British Empire, English became integrated into the legal, educational, and other systems of the country. Since gaining its independence from the British in 1947, Pakistan has followed a three-language policy: Urdu as the national language, English as the official language, and one language recognized for each province (Canagarajah and Ashraf 2013; Mahboob and Jain 2016). This policy has also been adopted in education, where schools are either English medium, Urdu medium, or, in the case of some schools in Sindh and KP, use the provincial language as the MOI. In the context of universities, however, the primary language of instruction is English across the country (in some departments in certain universities, especially in undergraduate programs in arts and humanities, the MOI may be Urdu).

The choice of maintaining English in Pakistan was both a pragmatic and a political decision. It was pragmatic because it was the language used in government and higher education before independence; the language had already been developed to function in these contexts; and people were already familiar with it in those contexts. And it was political because, in the absence of another local language that served all the functions that English did, selecting another language would (and did—see, e.g., Mansoor 1993) potentially suppress other languages and alienate speakers of those languages.

Pakistan has a linguistic diversity of 0.802 on Greenberg index (Lewis et al. 2016). This number, which is calculated based on the population of each language as a proportion of the total population, suggests that a large number of people do not share their first or heritage language. With over 70 ethno-linguistic groups and only a handful of them used in educational contexts, many feel that the use of a few selected languages poses challenges to literacy and educational development of their children (see, for example, Rahman 1996). This adds further fuel to political conflicts, many of which are grounded in the differences in the socio-economic conditions between various ethno-linguistic and regional groups of people across the country.

Thus, English, partly for political and pragmatic reasons, and partly for a lack of will and effort, has remained a prominent part of the educational context of Pakistan. Today, according to the Ministry of Education (Ministry of Education 2009, p. 71; while dated, these are the latest statistics available), 68.3% of government schools use Urdu as the MOI; 15.5% educational institutions in Sindh use Sindhi as the MOI; 9.5% use other languages (Pushto, Balochi, Arabic etc.), and 10.4% use English as the MOI. While precise statistics for private schools are difficult to procure, estimates based on reports from ASER (2012), Coleman and Capstick (2012), Mansoor (2003) and other sources suggest that over 70% of private schools across Pakistan use EMI. Furthermore, as pointed out earlier, most universities in Pakistan use English as the MOI for the majority of the subjects taught (especially in post-graduate and STEM[1] programs). Variations in the MOI at the school level suggest that students entering HE are likely to have varying levels of proficiency in English. The limited number of government EMI schools and the extensive use of EMI in higher education signals a certain degree of misalignment between the government schools MOI policy and the HE MOI policies.

Researchers working in this area (e.g., Bari 2013; Rahman 2010) argue that maintaining English as the MOI in the private and elite schools, while using Urdu (or the provincial language) in the majority of government schools, disadvantages students from lower SES (socio-economic status) backgrounds and perpetuates current socio-economic class differences. They point out that students from higher

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[1] STEM = Science Technology Engineering Mathematics.

SES backgrounds have access to better English language education and other resources, which leads to better performance at universities and hence gives them access to better jobs and resources, whereas students from lower SES backgrounds do not have access to good English language education and are largely excluded from these opportunities.

The issue of differential access to English language and its consequences is recognised by the Government of Pakistan as well and is addressed in Sect. 3.5, Overcoming Structural Divides, of the National Education Policy (NEP); however, instead of providing support to and through local languages, the NEP further promotes and reinforces the position of English. The underlying assumption in the NEP is that structural divides can be overcome by giving all students access to English. Policy action 3, Sect. 3.5, of the NEP states:

> Ministry of Education in consultation with Provincial and Area education departments, relevant professional bodies and the wider public, *shall develop a comprehensive plan of action for implementing the English language policy in the shortest possible time, paying particular attention to disadvantaged groups and lagging behind regions* [emphasis added] (Ministry of Education 2009, p. 28).

In addition, policy actions 4–8 state:

> 4. The curriculum from Class I onward shall include English (as a subject), Urdu, one regional language, mathematics along with an integrated subject.
> 5. The Provincial and Area Education Departments shall have the choice to select the medium of instruction up to Class V.
> 6. English shall be employed as the medium of instruction for sciences and mathematics from class IV onwards.
> 7. For 5 years Provinces shall have the option to teach mathematics and science in English or Urdu/official regional language, but after five years the teaching of these subjects shall be in English only.
> 8. Opportunities shall be provided to children from low socio-economic strata to learn English language (Ministry of Education 2009, p. 28).

This policy promotes the adoption of English, first as a subject, then as an MOI in schools. As for universities, it should be noted that the NEP does not specifically discuss the MOI issue in higher education at all. This is perhaps because, unlike MOI issues in school education, EMI in HE is not a debated or contested issue in Pakistan. It is assumed that the primary MOI in HE is and will remain English (Rassool and Mansoor 2007).

Habib (2013) notes that language policy decisions for schools are based on parents' demands and the assumption that students need to learn English and learn about science and mathematics through English because English is the language of knowledge-production in these fields. In order to understand this notion better, we will now look at some of the research on preferences for MOI in Pakistan.

3 Perceptions Towards Language and MOI in HE

In this section, we will first review three major studies published since 2000 that provide quantitative data on attitudes towards MOI in HE in Pakistan: Mahboob (2002), Mansoor (2005), and Irfan (2013). Respondents in all three of these studies show a consistent pattern of support for the various languages: Urdu and English are recommended as the two possible choices for MOI in schools; English is recommended as the MOI for HE by the majority of respondents; and there is little support for the teaching/learning of indigenous languages, specially in the context of HE. Thus, a review of these studies corroborates Habib's (2013) observation that the current MOI practices in Pakistan reflect stakeholders' beliefs. However, as we will discuss later in this section, there are a number of issues with all three of these studies, which should lead us to question their validity and use in support of or justifying the current HE MOI policies in the country.

3.1 Three Studies on Language Preference and MOI in HE in Pakistan

3.1.1 Mahboob 2002

In his study, Mahboob (2002) surveyed freshmen students and staff at a large public university in Karachi, Pakistan. The respondents were enrolled in an English language course for freshmen, which was a required subject. A total of 315 students with a range of majors were enrolled in the English language classes during the semester in which data were collected and the students were asked to complete the questionnaire on a voluntary basis. 245 students (approximately 78% of the population taking the course) completed the survey. In addition, the ten English language instructors teaching these courses were also asked to participate in the study. No statistically significant differences were found in responses given by the teachers and the students and therefore the two groups were combined for the purposes of this study.

Table 1 summarizes the findings from Mahboob (2002). Table 1 shows that 76% of the respondents showed a preference for English as the MOI in primary schools; 94.4% stated that it should be the MOI in high schools and at the university level. In contrast, only 65.4% stated that Urdu should be the MOI in primary schools; 37% stated that it should be the MOI in high schools; and 26.5% stated that it should be the MOI at the university level. Of the informants who spoke a language other than Urdu as their first language, only 10% stated that their first language should be the MOI in primary schools, 4% stated that it should be the MOI in high schools, and none of the informants said that it should be the MOI in universities.

Table 1 MOI preferences in Mahboob (2002)

Question	Number of respondents	Yes	No
Is it important to study English?	255	252 (98.8%)	3 (1.2%)
Should English be the medium of instruction for primary education?	250	190 (76%)	60 (24%)
Should English be the medium of instruction for high school education?	248	234 (94.4%)	14 (5.6%)
Should English be the medium of instruction for university education?	250	236 (94.4%)	14 (5.6%)
Is it important to study Urdu?	254	227 (89.4%)	27 (10.6%)
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for primary education?	246	161 (63.1%)	85 (34.6%)
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for high school education?	246	91 (37%)	155 (63%)
Should Urdu be the medium of instruction for university education?	245	65 (26.5%)	180 (73.5%)
Is it important to study your first language (other than Urdu)?	50	22 (44%)	28 (56%)
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for primary education?	50	5 (10%)	45 (90%)
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for high school education?	50	2 (4%)	48 (96%)
Should your first language be the medium of instruction for university education?	50	0 (0%)	50 (100%)

Table 2 MOI preferences in Mansoor (2005)

	Students (n = 2160)	Teachers (n = 121)	Parents (n = 63)
Regional Language (%)	12.30	17.40	12.7
Urdu (%)	48.70	41.30	71.40
English (%)	90.80	88.40	96.80

3.1.2 Mansoor 2005

Mansoor (2005) reports on a survey of 2136 students, 121 teachers and 63 parents across public and private sector HE from all the capital cities of Pakistan. As such, this is one of the largest published surveys of attitudes and perceptions towards languages in education in Pakistan. The relevant results from this study are summarized in Table 2. These results do not separate between the levels of education.

Table 2 shows that, once again, the respondents showed strongest support for EMI, followed by Urdu, and then regional languages. The results also showed that, as compared to the teachers and students, a noticeably larger number of parents supported Urdu as an MOI, but not regional languages. Finally, Table 2 shows a higher level of support for regional languages in comparison to Mahboob (2002), but these numbers are still weak in comparison to Urdu, and especially English. The results of Mansoor's study also provide evidence that there is a preference for English as MOI across the three categories of stakeholders surveyed.

3.1.3 Irfan 2013

In a more recent study, Irfan (2013) explored the perceptions and attitudes towards EMI of 451 post-graduate students and 35 teachers in Master of Education programs in two public universities in Lahore, Pakistan. In both these universities, the undergraduate programs in education use Urdu as the MOI whereas the postgraduate (MA) programs use English as the MOI. Some relevant findings from Irfan's study are presented in Table 3.

In Table 3, once again, we see overwhelming support for the use of English in HE (92.5% of the participants either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement: "English language is essential for Higher Education in Pakistan"). This number is comparable to that reported in the other two studies summarized earlier. In addition, this study included questions that explore the use of and perceptions towards English and Urdu in the particular contexts of the participants. The results show that only about 66.5% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the use of English in an MA education program (the program they were enrolled in). Furthermore, the results suggest that, regardless of the official policy, the actual programs are bilingual in Urdu and English: respondents stated that both English and Urdu are used as MOI and that they use both of these languages (and more often Urdu) when interacting with teachers. In fact, more respondents stated that they used Urdu with their teachers than English.

In summary, the selected results from Irfan's study presented here show that while English may be perceived to be the most preferred language of instruction in HE in the survey, this preference does not necessarily imply that participants want EMI in their own context; and, even where they do, the actual institutional practices may be multilingual. In addition to the data discussed above, Irfan's study also

Table 3 Some relevant data from MA education students' preferences for MOI in Irfan (2013)

	Strongly disagree (%)	Disagree (%)	Agree (%)	Strongly agree (%)
English is essential for HE	2.20	1.30	28.20	64.30
English should be used as MOI in MA education programs	8.85	9.70	40.80	25.75
English is used as MOI in my program	4	24.60	39.20	17.30
Urdu is used as MOI in my program	2.90	20.80	42.60	12.60
Using English with teachers	14.20	37.50	20.60	4.70
Using Urdu with teachers	2.20	11.10	49	25.30

looks at the question of ‘which English’ (cf. World Englishes) should be used in HE in Pakistan—an issue that will be taken up in a later section of this chapter.

Building on Mahboob (2002) and Mansoor (2005), Irfan’s (2013) study provides a more in-depth view of the issues and practices in two specific programs in Pakistan. However, as will be discussed below, all three of these studies have some serious limitations making the validity of their use in supporting or developing language in education policies questionable.

4 Issues with Current Research on Attitudes Towards MOI in Pakistan

While the results of the current surveys of attitudes towards EMI and other MOI in HE in Pakistan appear to be consistent, there are at least four serious issues with these studies.

1. All three of the studies are based on data collected from students at universities; missing in these studies are the views of those who did not or are unable to attend universities.
2. All three of the studies collected data using instruments written in English; missing in these studies are views of participants who may not have literacy in English.
3. All three of the studies are based on data collected in major urban centers; missing in these studies are views of people who are not based in urban centers.
4. None of the three studies explore the performance of the students in their current programs; missing in these studies is a discussion of how the current MOI policies affect students’ performance and achievement.

Since the data for these three studies were collected from students and teachers at institutions of higher education in English and in urban centers, where a majority of subjects are taught through EMI and where English is more prevalent than in the rural settings, it is not surprising that many of the respondents think that English is extremely important in and relevant to HE. In many ways, the data for these studies come from those ‘already converted’. There is a need for research that explores the views of those who are not in the universities, don’t have literacy skills in English, and are not based in major urban areas, to get a more holistic view of the issues. Research sourced from a more representative sample of the Pakistani population can help identify the problems with the current policies and practices and lead to thinking and actions that enable greater participation of the Pakistani population in HE. The selection of participants in the studies reviewed above skews the findings and thus (perhaps falsely) reinforces the current HE policies and practices in Pakistan.

At this time, there appear to be no studies that provide a comprehensive review of attitudes towards EMI and other MOI in HE in Pakistan. This is a gap that needs to be addressed as this research can provide a broad-based analysis of people's beliefs and attitudes towards languages across Pakistan and help develop a stronger language-in-education policy.

5 Problems with EMI in Pakistan

A review of the current literature on MOI in HE in Pakistan helps identify two critical issues that need further discussion: EMI and academic performance, and which English in EMI.

5.1 EMI and Academic Performance

At present there appear to be no published statistical data that specifically looks at the relationship between EMI and academic performance in Pakistan. However, there are a few indirect and secondary indicators that suggest that a large majority of students (and staff) have difficulty in dealing with EMI in HE in Pakistan. Below, we will discuss three of these: students' language backgrounds, students' English language proficiency, and research publications by Pakistani academics.

5.1.1 Students' Language Backgrounds

As pointed out earlier, close to 90% of the public schools in Pakistan use a language other than English as the MOI; however, most universities—public and private—use English as the primary MOI. This reflects a misalignment between the school and HE language-in-education policies and implies that a large number of students who enter EMI universities in Pakistan come from a non-EMI background (and have limited English language proficiency).

Current studies that provide demographic data of HE students largely support this observation. In addition, data show some differences across various institutions of HE in at least three dimensions: major/department, location/ranking of university, and private/public-status of university. For example, in Irfan's (2013) study, which was carried out in the Faculty of Education (which has relatively low prestige in Pakistan) at two universities in Lahore, approximately 80% of the students came from an Urdu medium background. In Mahboob's (2002) study, which was based in one of the most prestigious universities in Karachi, 75% of the participants came with an EMI background. However, this number fell to less than 20% for the Department of Islamic Studies. This suggests that departments with higher status attract more students from an EMI background. In addition, there are also differences between private and public universities. Mansoor (2003) reports that 65% of the students in private HE institutions have an EMI background, as compared to 40% in public HE institutions.

These differences in students' MOI background have implications for their performance. As noted in Mahboob (2014a), students who come from a non-EMI background into an EMI university and have low English language proficiency are unable to fully understand the lectures or the readings assigned to them. These students also have difficulty in doing their assignments and in completing writing tasks (see also Rassool and Mansoor 2007; Din 2015).

5.1.2 Students' English Language Proficiency

Mansoor (2003) reports that of the 1928 students in her survey, the average English language score was only 47/100. The detailed English language scores of the students in her study are given in Table 4.

Students' English language scores in Table 4 shows that while there are some differences between public and private HE institutions, the average English language score in both types of institutions is quite low. This result is not surprising for at least two reasons. First, as discussed earlier, a large proportion of the students entering universities come from a non-EMI background and therefore have limited English language proficiency. Second, there are only limited, if any, resources available within the universities to provide appropriate English language and literacy support to the students (Shamim 2011).

The problem with students' low English language and literacy abilities is something that the Higher Education Commission (HEC), Pakistan, is aware of and is trying to address. In personal communication, Prof. Atta-ur-Rehman (April 8, 2011), the founding director of HEC, wrote:

> Unfortunately, many students at universities across Pakistan today do not have the academic literacy that allows them to fully realize their intellectual potential. Students struggle to engage with the academic material in their courses because of their limited English language academic skills… This may lead to three negative consequences: it may encourage rote-learning; it may lead to plagiarism and cheating; and it may result in students failing or getting low marks. This may also have negative consequences for students beyond their university life when they are unable to find appropriate jobs in their field and/or perform effectively in their professional environments.

Table 4 Students' English test scores (Mansoor 2003)

Scores (%)	Public (%)	Private (%)	Both (%)
Total students	1250	678	1928
<33	32.4	14.9	26.2
33–50	32.0	24.9	29.5
50–70	30.5	37.9	33.1
70–80	4.7	17.1	9.1
80 and above	0.4	5.2	2.1
Mean score	43.0	54.5	47.0

In order to compensate for students' low English language proficiency, some faculty members disassociate the relationship between content and language and only focus on 'factual' or 'content' knowledge and ignore language. In discussing this issue in a recent study of the relationship between language and assessment in a rural HE context in Pakistan, Din (2015) includes the following quote from one of his participants:

> As far as students' writing is visible and understandable at this level it's ok for me because that's what I expect from them. It is not necessary that they are expert in language and know grammar well. Grammatical mistakes do not matter in communicating ideas. The course I teach is not supposed to make them expert in language (p. 143).

This separation of language and content is a false dichotomization because content cannot be separated from language: content (and meaning) is construed and represented through language and the choice of language impacts what is understood by the readers/listeners. The inability of the students to develop field/discipline specific language abilities impacts both their ability to learn from and contribute to their discipline (for a detailed discussion of this, see Dreyfus et al. 2016).

Another common strategy used by teachers to compensate for the English language limitations of their students is to code-switch. Mahboob and Jain (2016) provide a review of research on bilingual education in Pakistan (and India) and note that (a) there is a dearth of research on bilingualism in Pakistan (Jabeen 2010), (b) the research that does exist, focuses on stakeholders' attitudes and perceptions towards code-switching (Gulzar 2010a, b; Gulzar and Qadir 2010; Tariq et al. 2013), and (c) this research advocates for the adoption of bilingual education in Pakistan (Raja 2014).

Both of these strategies (dichotomization of language and content, and use of code-switching) are also found in other countries with similar situations—see, for example, Flowerdew et al. (2000) and Mahboob (2014b) for comparable observations from Hong Kong. In addition to these two strategies, other strategies reported in the literature include a 'dumbing down' of material and assignments, and use of multiple-choice or short answer type questions in assessments. As a result of these practices, students are able to navigate through their university life with only limited use of English and do not necessarily develop their English language literacy during their stay at the University.

Research (e.g. Mansoor 2003, 2005) also indicates that it is not just students who have low English language proficiency, but many of the faculty members also have similar problems. Many of the staff members are graduates from local universities and had language related problems during their own student lives, not unlike their current students. This situation often creates a cycle where students, with low English language skills, 'manage' to graduate and become faculty members and teach another group of students with similar language problems. This perpetuates language-based academic problems in HE and impacts, amongst other things, academic research productivity.

Current studies also suggest that there is a socio-economic dimension to students' English language proficiency and that students coming from higher SES backgrounds (who typically attend elite private EMI schools) have a much higher English language proficiency than those from lower SES backgrounds. For example, Shamim (2011) drawing on Shamim and Tribble (2005), states that there is a "positive correlation of high family income with students' higher levels of proficiency in English" (p. 8). She also points out that "in students' assessment of their current language skills, as used in the academic domain, the upper group was about twice as heavily represented in the categories of 'good' and 'excellent' compared to the lower third of the population" (p. 9). This observation is also supported by a more recent study by Manan and David (2014) carried out at one of the top-ranked engineering universities in the province of Baluchistan. This study shows that of the 162 participants in the study (76% of whom studied in private EMI schools), about 67% of the participants self-reported that they had 'good' understanding of English and 19% said that they had 'very good' understanding of English.

The findings from these studies suggest that students who come from privileged backgrounds tend to have higher English language proficiency scores, get admitted to the better institutions of HE in the country (all of which are in urban centers), and do relatively well in them. In contrast, students from lower SES, who have weaker English language proficiency, are admitted to less prestigious departments and/or universities. Thus, in many ways, English reinforces the socio-economic class variations in the society by giving different opportunities to students from different backgrounds. It is this reinforcement of the socio-economic class variations through education (and especially EMI) that has led researchers such as Khattak (2014), Rahman (2004), and Shamim (2011) to label the current educational system in Pakistan as 'linguistic' and 'educational' apartheid. In the words of one respondent in Mansoor's (2005) study:

> … we are talking about Higher Education but 70% of our population live in rural areas and whose parents also are not literate… nobody cares about that 70% of the population. In the 8th Grade 90% (of the) students fail just because they cannot pass the English subject. Then when they reach matriculation level 90% or 80% (of the) students fail because English is compulsory. If English compulsory was not there, the students might have studied further… (p. 252).

5.1.3 Research Publications by Pakistani Academics

A third indirect indicator that may shed some light on the possible impact of EMI in HE in Pakistan is an evaluation of research publications from Pakistani universities.

The Higher Education Commission (HEC) of Pakistan uses the ISI Web of Knowledge (including Science Citation Index (SCI-Expanded), Social Science Citation Index (SSCI), and Arts & Humanities Citation Index (A&HCI)) databases for monitoring the quality of research outputs in Pakistan. In addition to ISI ranked journals, HEC also recognizes some of the locally published journals, but all of these journals must be published in English, or, minimally (in case of certain subjects) publish abstracts in English.

While the number of publications coming from Pakistan has increased in recent years, they are still quite low, as will be seen below. One potential reason for this (in addition to other reasons such as research training, access to resources, infrastructure and support, etc.), based on informal discussions with academics and administrators at Pakistani universities, is the low English language proficiency of staff and students at the universities. The limited English language proficiency of the PhD students as well as the academic staff makes it difficult for them to write in ways that conform to the norms of their discipline or meet the specific genre requirements of the journals.

While the HEC gives serious weightage to ISI, a review of the ISI database shows that of the 14,000 journals included in the ISI listing, only 11 are published in Pakistan—all of them in STEM. There are no social sciences journals published in Pakistan on the ISI list even though, according to the HEC website, the largest category of PhD students graduate with a degree in social sciences.

Based on data available on the HEC website (which are not current for all indicators), there were 163 HEC recognised institutes of HE in Pakistan in 2014; there were 34,444 faculty members (26.6% of whom had PhDs) in 2012–2013; and Pakistan produced 11,846 PhDs between 2002 and 2014. At the same time, there was only a total of 7966 publications from across the country in HEC recognized journals in 2014; this implies that the average number of publications per faculty member in 2014 was approximately 0.23. While this number is low, it does reflect a gradual increase in the number of publications in Pakistan over the years: e.g., while only 69 universities had any publications at all in 2008 and 5 had more than 100; this number increased to 82 universities with at least one publication and 12 with 100 or more publications in 2010.

In the only study that I could find on research productivity in Pakistan, Musthaq et al. (2012) evaluate the research productivity of Pakistani universities in Health Sciences and note that the number of publications coming from Pakistan is considerably lower than the international standards. Arguing that research productivity is an indicator of the quality of higher education institutions, the authors concluded that Pakistani medical colleges are “imparting medical education way below the international standards” (p. 628). This observation is in alignment with our earlier discussion of the impact of low language proficiency on university teaching and learning.

With many students entering EMI HE with low English language proficiency, a lack of appropriate language and literacy support for the students within HE, and a generally low language and literacy profile of the academic staff, university teaching is often ‘dumbed down’ and ‘language’ and ‘content’ disassociated. This leads to students’ limited understanding of the relationship between language and (disciplinary) knowledge and impacts their performance within and beyond their university lives. One set of questions that arises from this discussion is about the nature of language and the relationship between language, (disciplinary) knowledge, and society. We will consider this next.

5.2 *Which English in EMI?*

As pointed out above, some academics in Pakistan disassociate ‘language’ with ‘content’ and believe that students’ language has little to do with their learning or use of content and disciplinary knowledge. Others, for example, Irfan (2013) argue that the problem lies with the emphasis on ‘British’ or ‘American’ English and that the solution would be to use ‘Pakistani English’ as the norm in education and assessment in Pakistan. However, as we will discuss in this section, both of these positions are problematic.

Irfan (2013) states that out of the 451 participants in her study, 79.6% either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement, ‘Your preference is for Pakistani English’, and 85.4% either agreed or strongly agreed with the statement ‘Your teachers speak Pakistani English’. Bolstered by these results, she argues that, “the description of the notion of World Englishes movement in language policies can be positively accommodating for the acceptability of Pakistani English (PakE) for academic and assessment purposes in universities” (p. 22).

While the position that Irfan takes is understandable, this is a highly complex issue. On the one hand, the use of PakE can help students in their immediate context; but, on the other hand, PakE will not enable students to read literature written in academic English published in other parts of the world; and, furthermore, their use of PakE in writing may limit their readership (and cause difficulties in publishing and contributing to international discussions). To understand this better, we need to develop a broad understanding of language variation and how it relates to educational issues. Given space constraints, I will only do this briefly and readers may want to look at Mahboob (2014b, 2015a, in press) and Mahboob and Lin (in press) for more detailed descriptions of the model presented below.

Mahboob’s framework of language variation is based on four dimensions along which language can vary: user, use, mode, and time. Of these, Mahboob uses the first three to develop the three-dimensional framework of language variation (Fig. 1). The ‘user’ cline of language variation can be based on ‘low’ vs. ‘high’ social distance. People who have low social distance (i.e. they have many shared social factors, e.g., age, education, ethnicity, family, gender, location, origin, religion, profession, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, etc.) may have unique ways of using language that reflect their relationship and this language may not always be transparent to others; when interacting with people with higher social distance, we tend to avoid the ‘local’ features of language as they may cause problems with communication. The ‘use’ dimension of the model can be understood in terms of how language varies whether we are engaged in ‘everyday/casual’ (e.g. talk about weather as an ice breaker) discourses or in ‘specialised/technical’ discourses (e.g. talk about weather at a climate change conference). ‘Modes’ of

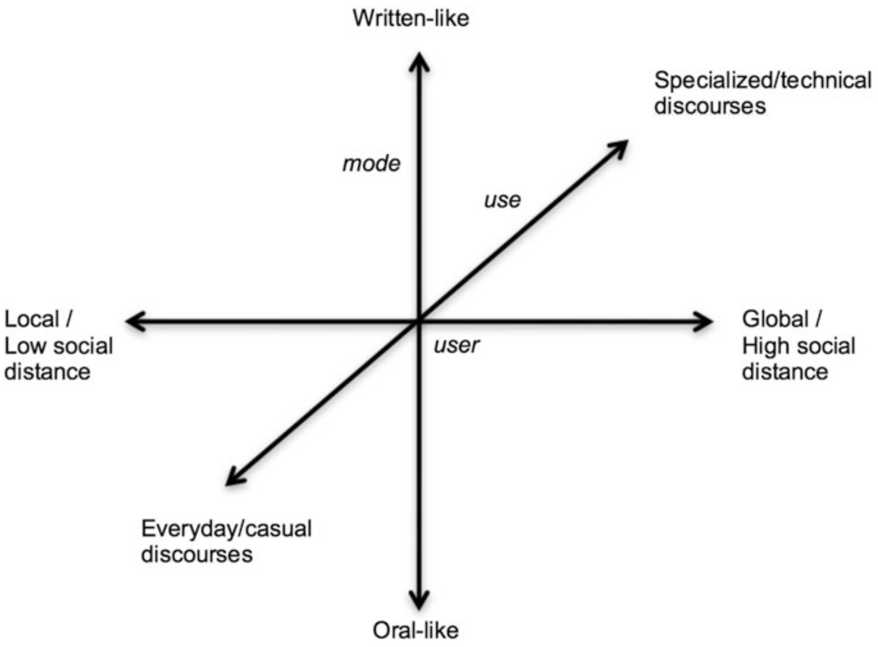
Written-like
Specialized/technical discourses
mode
use
Local / Low social distance
user
Global / High social distance
Everyday/casual discourses
Oral-like

Fig. 1 Mahboob's 3-dimensional framework of language variation

communication include aural, visual, and mixed channels of communication (multimodal). The fourth dimension, time, while very important to a study of language variation, is not considered as critical in its application to contemporary educational issues.

Mahboob's framework helps identify eight broad domains (Table 5), with each domain including a range of variations (or sub-domains), based on varying combinations of users, uses, and mode. Table 5 below lists the eight domains,[2] identifies areas of linguistic study that focus their research on that domain, and gives examples of where one might find such language.

Among other things, Table 5 indicates that what we may call 'Pakistani English' predominantly belongs to domain 1 and 2 (and perhaps to domains 3 and 4, but this is under-researched). This language is different from that of domains 7 and 8, which is used in higher education, academia, and research contexts. There is substantial variation within sub-domains of 7 and 8 depending on the specific focus and mix of the elements of the three dimensions of language variation. In addition, this model also points out that content (use) is construed through language and is not independent of the users or the mode. Given this understanding of how language varies

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[2] The ordering of the domains here is different than in earlier publications on this framework (Mahboob 2014b, 2015a). The mode dimension has been reversed here to reflect the primacy of oral language over written language.

Table 5 The eight (broad) domains of language variation

	Domains	Study in linguistics	Example
1	Local, oral, everyday	Dialectology, World Englishes	Family members planning their vacation
2	Local, written, everyday	Dialectology, World Englishes	Old school friends exchanging e-mails with each other
3	Local, oral, specialized	Anthropological linguistics; needs more attention	Members of an Aboriginal community talking about the local weather system
4	Local, written, specialized	Needs more attention	Newsletter produced by and for a community of farmers in rural Australia
5	Global, oral, everyday	ELF (English as a Lingua Franca)	Casual conversations amongst people from different parts of the world
6	Global, written, everyday	Genre studies; traditional grammar	International news agencies reporting on events
7	Global, oral, specialized	ELF; Language for specific purposes; genre studies	Conference presentations
8	Global, written, specialized	Language for specific purposes; genre studies	Academic papers

across different domains and sub-domains, the use 'Pakistani English' as the target language will not address the issues of language and literacy in the context of HE in Pakistan. In fact, it may further complicate the issue. Instead, what is needed is a pedagogy that recognizes students' local languages (domains 1 and 2) and helps them develop the language needed to succeed in global everyday (domains 5 and 6) and global specialised (domains 7 and 8) contexts (see also Mahboob and Lin in press).

6 Possible Directions

Previous research has listed a number of different recommendations that may help redress the current problems in EMI HE in Pakistan. These include, for example, improving quality of English education in schools (e.g., Din 2015); improving access to resources and infrastructure (e.g. Musthaq et al. 2012; Rassool and Mansoor 2007); providing appropriate language and literacy support for staff and students (e.g. Mansoor 2005; Shamim 2011); amending the language in education policies (e.g., Coleman 2010; Khan 2015); and resourcing and implementing these policies (e.g. Mahboob 2002). While all of these recommendations are important and need consideration, here I will describe some of my work with colleagues that developed a successful intervention project for a university in Hong Kong, which faced many issues that are similar to those described in this chapter. The purpose of sharing this is to provide a broad description of a project that was used to redress many of the issues observed in Pakistan and therefore to suggest a potential model that may be adapted in Pakistan (and other similar contexts). Given space constraints, I will only briefly introduce the project here and readers may want to look at Dreyfus et al. (2016) for a book-length description and discussion of this project.

The Scaffolding Literacy in Academic and Tertiary Environments (SLATE) project aimed to help non-English speaking background (NESB) undergraduate university students develop their English language and literacy needs at an English medium university in Hong Kong. The SLATE project incorporated aspects of genre theory (Martin and Rose 2008), sociology of education (Bernstein 2000), and socio-cultural theory (Vygotsky 1978). Genre pedagogies have drawn on Systemic Functional Linguistic (SFL) theory, which views language as a social semiotic system (Halliday 1978), that is, a resource for making meaning in social context from which notions of ideology and power are inseparable (Eggins 2004; Martin and Rose, 2003). Within genre theory, genres are defined as 'staged goal-oriented social processes' which function in society as institutionalized discourse (Martin and Rose 2003; Martin and White 2005). A central idea of using this understanding of genre in education, especially in teaching literacy and writing, is that learners of all socio-economic and cultural backgrounds must be taught these genres explicitly in order to succeed in society. Genre pedagogues argue that if standard genres (domains 5–8 in Mahboob's 3-dimensional framework) are not taught effectively to students, they will be unable to produce texts that are valued in global and academic disciplines and therefore not be able to fully benefit from educational experiences.

The SLATE team provided scaffolded support to their students by adapting the teaching learning cycle (Rothery and Stenglin 1994) to suit the needs of an online literacy support project. In developing this 'consultative cycle' (see Mahboob et al. 2010), students were first provided with models and notes about the nature of their assignments, with explicit references made to the type of language resources they needed to draw on in order to successfully complete their assessment tasks. This phase of the intervention was called frontloading (deconstruction). Students were subsequently asked to draft their assignments, and this drafting work was supported by the language coaches through a feedback process, called 'supported independent construction' (see Mahboob and Devrim 2013; Mahboob 2015b). In some courses, the SLATE team also experimented with online joint construction (Dreyfus and Macnaught 2013) between the frontloading and the supported independent construction phases. The students used the support provided to them in drafting and revising their work before submitting their final assignments to their lecturers. The lecturers then graded these assignments based on their disciplinary criteria. The expected result of this consultative cycle was a gradual and scaffolded development of students' discipline-specific language ability.

An evaluation of the SLATE project (Mahboob et al. 2013) showed that it achieved its intended outcomes—which were to provide embedded, discipline-specific language and literacy support to the students. The large majority of the students participating in the project found the support material and the feedback useful and used it to develop their academic language and literacy. These findings are very encouraging and show one way in which other courses and institutions may integrate the lessons learnt from the SLATE project in developing discipline-specific language and literacy needs of their students. In the context of Pakistani HE, such a project may be adapted to provide embedded language and literacy support to students (and staff?) to develop the skills necessary to better engage with and contribute to the academic and professional communities.

7 Summary and Conclusions

This chapter provided an overview of some of the core issues in EMI in HE in Pakistan. The chapter started off with contextualising EMI within the larger MOI debate in the country. It then summarized some of the relevant findings from three major studies on attitudes towards languages in Pakistan and identified four issues that question the validity of these studies. The chapter argued that in order to inform a broad-based and responsive language-in-education policy, we need new studies that provide a more comprehensive analysis of language attitudes and perceptions in the country. The paper then discussed two issues that arose out of a review of relevant literature. First, we evaluated the impact of EMI on academic performance by looking at current research on students' language backgrounds, students' English language proficiency, and research publications by Pakistani academics. The findings of this review suggested that the current EMI policies in HE do not enable all students in HE and might actually perpetuate the socio-class variations in the society. Next, we discussed the role of language within EMI and considered what type of 'English' is appropriate within a HE context. In doing this, we pointed out that what we need is a pedagogy that helps students develop a globally oriented language. Finally, we looked at one project that successfully supported students' English language and literacy skills in Hong Kong as an example of how some of the issues discussed in this paper may be redressed.

While this chapter identified and discussed a number of issues and problems in EMI in HE in Pakistan, it also showed that considerable effort and research is currently being undertaken to identify and address these problems. One measurable indicator of this is the sustained, albeit small, increase in the number of ISI publications coming from the country. This is a positive sign and suggests that some of the new policies and practices developed by HEC are working. What is needed is more sustained research, effort and dedication until HE and research in Pakistan reaches a tipping point.

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EMI in Anglophone Nations: Contradiction in Terms or Cause for Consideration?

Pamela Humphreys

Abstract The EMI literature has predominantly focused on non-Anglophone countries, leading to the implicit assumption that the use of English as the medium of instruction in traditional English-speaking contexts is relatively unproblematic. Yet the linguistic outcomes of EAL students with English as an Additional Language (EAL) in Australia, for example, have come under considerable scrutiny in recent years and been shown to warrant consideration. For this reason, this chapter problematizes the current definition of EMI, proposing a broader view. From this standpoint, this chapter first describes the policy discourse in the Australian context, and then summarises three areas of research evidence from Australian higher education in relation to (1) EAL students' linguistic outcomes, (2) the impact of such outcomes on employability, and (3) EAL students' views of English language proficiency. The chapter provides evidence that language improvement is not guaranteed over the course of an undergraduate degree program even in Anglophone contexts, and cautions higher education institutions (HEIs) against complacency. It concludes with implications and suggestions, particularly for HEIs in Anglophone EMI contexts, including the recommendation that English language proficiency be explicitly attended to as part of a University's core business.

Keywords English as a medium of instruction (EMI) · English language proficiency (ELP) · Higher education · Graduate outcomes · Graduate testing · International students · English as an additional language (EAL) · Language policy

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1 Introduction

English Medium of Instruction (EMI) is a growing phenomenon in higher education around the world as well as in the Asia-Pacific region specifically, as this volume and other literature clearly demonstrate (Dalton-Puffer 2012; Dang et al. 2013; Dearden 2014; Doiz et al. 2011, 2013; Jenkins 2014; Kirkpatrick 2014; Lei and Hu 2014; Taguchi 2014; Wachter and Maiworm 2008; Wilkinson 2013). However, as many nations have insufficient capacity in their tertiary systems, and the burgeoning middle classes have the disposable income to invest in education, there has been a move towards seeking qualifications from higher education institutions (HEIs) overseas (Education Intelligence 2014; Walker 2014). The international league tables are still largely dominated by HEIs in English-speaking countries and, correspondingly, four of the top six study destinations for overseas students are English-speaking: the USA, the UK, Australia and Canada. These countries therefore enjoy the dual advantage of offering well-regarded credentials and the highly sought-after commodity of English.

Similar to other English-speaking countries, international education in Australia has seen phenomenal growth in the last two decades (Marginson 2002, 2011) and its value to the economy hit a record high at almost $20 billion in 2016 (Department of Education and Training 2016a), making it Australia's largest export after natural resources. The higher education sector specifically has grown markedly over the same period, and around 40% of all visas granted are for this sector (Chaney 2013). Not surprisingly, then, Australian universities have become heavily dependent on international enrolments: by 2011, the average percentage of enrolments from the international market was over 21%, and some HEIs had student bodies comprising 45% international students (Chaney 2013). Nationally, 36% of all international students come from China (Arkoudis 2015) with large numbers also from India. In some individual programs or courses (especially Business and Management), enrolments of international students with English as an Additional Language (EAL) can be extremely high (Arkoudis 2015). Such absolute numbers and the relative distribution of EAL international students within degree programs brings its own set of problems, including the fact that EAL students can continue to live, study and work with others who speak their native language. This requires "creative solutions" (Gribble 2015, p. 11) and many institutions have therefore felt the need to develop mechanisms to provide opportunities for English language proficiency (ELP) to improve (Gribble 2015; Leask 2009).

2 EMI: Broadening the Definition

Ernesto Macaro, Director of EMI Oxford's Centre for Research and Development on EMI, suggested that "we do not yet know what EMI is" (Rigg 2013), and the definition is still being debated. It has been suggested that EMI is not monolithic but heavily context-dependent (British Council 2013; Madhavan Brochier 2016), and this exacerbates attempts to define it. Taken literally, the term could be said to refer to *any* context where the medium of instruction is English, and some scholars use the term quite readily in this broader sense such as Read (2015). Typically, EMI has been more restricted to mean “the use of English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English” (Dearden 2014), and the commonly accepted view is that EMI is a phenomenon that occurs in countries where English is *not* the L1.

Certainly, HEIs in Australia and other Anglophone nations are free from some of the more challenging aspects of EMI experienced elsewhere in Asia Pacific and documented in this volume, such as whether (or to what extent) EMI should be adopted, and whether there is capacity to deal with any ensuing policy change (Nguyen et al. this volume; Kim this volume; Dang et al. 2013). Nor do Anglophone nations experience the same degree of challenge related to the language levels of faculty staff (Ball and Lindsay 2013; Coleman 2006; Dalton-Puffer 2012; Dearden 2014; Fenton-Smith et al. this volume; Mauranen 2009; Piller and Cho 2013; Trent this volume), or the pedagogical implications of developing content in English rather than a local language (Ball and Lindsay 2013; Coleman 2006; Dearden 2014; Mauranen 2009). Anglophone HEIs are also arguably less hindered by any (perceived) lack of authenticity which may ensue from communicating in English in one’s home country with compatriot peers and/or faculty staff (Hino this volume). However, despite these apparent advantages, this chapter problematizes the narrow definition of EMI as referring solely to non-Anglophone countries and the false dichotomy that results from this for two key reasons.

The first is related to opportunities for exposure to the language. The expectation is that students travelling overseas to study in an Anglophone higher education destination will be immersed in an English-speaking environment and therefore have plentiful opportunity to improve their ELP both on- and off-campus. However, as the numbers in the previous section suggest, the reality is often at odds with this expectation: large cohorts of EAL international students in some courses can result in relatively little contact with local students as noted by Gribble (2015):

> Limited interaction with local students and the broader Australian community impedes international students from advancing their ELP, developing important cultural knowledge and creating local networks (p. 11).

Australian universities are (understandably) reluctant to set quotas of EAL students either for the institution as a whole or by degree program,[1] arguably due to the potential impact on revenue. Therefore, despite calls for the capping of overseas student numbers to reduce exposure to risk (Chaney 2013), it has remained largely demand-driven (Lane 2012). The net effect is that there are elements of Australian universities that differ little from an overseas EMI experience, which could, ironically, be eroding one of the value propositions of a tertiary education in an Anglophone context.

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[1] Quotas do exist in certain instances.

Another critical reason that the narrow definition should be problematized is related to student outcomes. While the size of the international cohort has grown in recent years, so too have concerns over the outcomes of EAL students, who make up the bulk of these international enrolments (Arkoudis 2014; Arkoudis and Doughney 2014; Murray 2015; Oliver et al. 2012). In Australia and other traditional Anglophone countries where the 'native speaker' is the dominant paradigm, the assumption has been that ELP outcomes of EAL international students take care of themselves. This is presumably based on the fact that a minimum language proficiency level is required for admission to degree programs, typically at around a proficiency level corresponding to the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) B2/B2+ or IELTS 6.0/6.5. The assumption of strong outcomes is probably also related to the fact that course content is delivered in English by expert user academic staff—either 'native speakers' or who have "functional proficiency" (Dunworth 2001, p. 166). However, research findings have debunked the automatic assumption of strong student outcomes as will be discussed later in this chapter.

This chapter therefore problematizes the current definition of EMI, which dichotomously divides higher education contexts where English is the medium of instruction into traditional Anglophone and non-Anglophone. From this broader definitional standpoint, this chapter describes the policy discourse in the Australian context to evidence the mounting concern around EAL student outcomes. Then, three areas of research evidence from the Australian higher education context are summarised in relation to (1) EAL students' linguistic outcomes, (2) the impact of such outcomes on employability, and (3) empirical evidence of EAL students' views of ELP. It concludes with implications and suggestions for HEIs, particularly in Anglophone EMI contexts.

3 ELP in Australian Higher Education

Much of the focus on the ELP of international students in the Australian higher education context can be traced back to the findings presented by Birrell, Hawthorne and Richardson (2006) in their report to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC),[2] which raised serious concerns about the language standards of international students not only when they gain entry to Australian HEIs but also when they graduate. Birrell et al. found that at least a third of the former Australian university students who were applying for Graduate Skilled Migration (GSM) to Australia in the period researched had provided English language test scores in their visa application that were lower than was required to *enter* most Australian university degree programs. This raised the question of how these graduates could have passed their university exams, and also what was occurring to English language ability during degree studies. This report and the ensuing debate therefore brought into question the previously held assumption that the credential alone was adequate evidence of graduating English language ability. The report concluded that many international students must enter institutions at language levels below the published guidelines, blaming pathway programs which do not require a formal test to prove proficiency before entry to the degree itself. Such non-test pathway programs have become increasingly common and, in some institutions, relatively few students meet the language condition to enter universities in Australia via formal proficiency tests (Oliver et al. 2012).

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[2] Renamed the Department of Immigration and Border Protection (DIBP).

As a result of mounting concern, in 2007, Australian Education International (AEI) commissioned the International Education Association of Australia (IEAA) to hold a national symposium related to the efficacy of policy and practice in the area of English language competence of international students in Australian universities. It was evident that the focus was shifting from predominantly front-end evidence to three key stages of the student lifecycle: entry, in-course and exit (Arkoudis and Starfield 2007; Hawthorne 2007; O'Loughlin and Murray 2007). For the first time, universities were being forced to seriously examine their support and practices for the entire student journey.

3.1 The Good Practice Principles for English Language Proficiency of International Students in Australian Universities

The aforementioned Birrell report and symposium were the catalysts for the development of the *Good Practice Principles for English Language Proficiency of International Students in Australian Universities,* which outlined the need to tackle the issue of ELP at an institutional level (DEEWR 2009). The set of ten Good Practice Principles (see Fig. 1) put the responsibility squarely on the institution for ensuring adequate language skills from enrolment to graduation, while also explicitly stating that additional responsibility resided with the student (see #3).

After their publication, universities in Australia attempted to amend perceived deficiencies in language abilities in a number of ways, and universities were said to be "under unprecedented pressure to up their game in respect of English language provision" (Murray 2010, p. 356). This is evident in the exponential increase in support for EAL students between 2008 and 2011 noted in a national audit (Barthel 2011). In this three-year period, for example, diagnostic post-entry language assessment (PELA) was widely adopted, increasing by 44% nationally, while integrated courses for credit focusing on academic language and learning increased by 54%.

The Good Practice Principles attracted criticism, however, because they were aimed solely at international students. Although the document stated that "the Principle holds equally for international students as for domestic students"

1. Universities are responsible for ensuring that their students are sufficiently competent in the English language to participate effectively in their university studies.
2. Resourcing for English language development is adequate to meet students' needs throughout their studies.
3. Students have responsibilities for further developing their English language proficiency during their study at university and are advised of these responsibilities prior to enrolment.
4. Universities ensure that the English language entry pathways they approve for the admission of students enable these students to participate effectively in their studies.
5. English language proficiency and communication skills are important graduate attributes for all students.
6. Development of English language proficiency is integrated with curriculum design, assessment practices and course delivery through a variety of methods.
7. Students' English language development needs are diagnosed early in their studies and addressed, with ongoing opportunities for self-assessment.
8. International students are supported from the outset to adapt to their academic, sociocultural and linguistic environments.
9. International students are encouraged and supported to enhance their English language development through effective social interaction on and off campus.
10. Universities use evidence from a variety of sources to monitor and improve their English language development activities.

Fig. 1 The good practice principles for international students in Australian Universities (DEEWR 2009)

(DEEWR 2009, p. 9), the full title of the principles[3] suggested otherwise, and the research literature raised concerns about this inherent tension (Harper et al. 2011; Murray 2010). A further issue was the fact that the Good Practice Principles were only suggestions of good practice and set no minimum level of ELP at any stage of academic study; they were therefore described as aspirational (Martin 2011) and a 'starter gun' rather than a 'silver bullet' (Barrett-Lennard et al. 2011).

3.2 *The English Language Standards for Higher Education*

Due to the above criticism, the English Language Standards for Higher Education were published in 2012 (AUQA 2012), turning six of the ten Good Practice Principles (#1, 2, 3, 6, 7 and 10) into standards. According to Martin (2011), this proposed conversion to standards "heralds an expanded understanding of the role of ELP in the higher education sector" (p. 21). The standards (see Fig. 2) underline the importance of ELP at entry, during and at exit of the degree program and the ethical responsibility of the institution ("provider") to support ELP at these key stages.

One of the key differences between the Good Practice Principles and the English Language Standards for Higher Education is that the latter refer to *all* higher education providers—not only universities—and to *all* students regardless of the labels 'international' or 'domestic'. Rather than an important graduate attribute, the

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[3] The Good Practice Principles for English language proficiency of *international* students in Australian universities.

1. The provider ensures that its students are sufficiently proficient in English to participate effectively in their higher education studies on entry.
2. The provider ensures that prospective and current students are informed about their responsibilities for further developing their English language proficiency during their higher education studies.
3. The provider ensures that resourcing for English language development meets students' needs throughout their studies.
4. The provider actively develops students' English language proficiency during their studies.
5. The provider ensures that students are appropriately proficient in English when they graduate.
6. The provider uses evidence from a variety of sources to monitor and improve its support for the development of students' English language proficiency.

Fig. 2 English language standards for higher education (AUQA 2012)

language had gained strength, now requiring HEIs to *actively develop*, *ensure* ELP and use *evidence*. Universities began to endeavour to meet such standards and they proved to be powerful incentives for change. For example, the Degrees of Proficiency project (Dunworth et al. 2013), funded by the national Office for Learning and Teaching, evidenced the uptake in academic language and learning support by institutions nationally.

3.3 The Government Focus on ELP in Australia

Since 2007, ELP has also received increasing attention in government reports. The 2008 Bradley Review (Bradley et al. 2008) noted that ongoing language support should be provided to international students, encouraging HEIs to "place a greater emphasis on the preparation of international students for the world of work and particularly for working in Australia" (Bradley et al. 2008, p. 103). In 2010, the Baird Review (Baird 2010) stated that "providers are not adequately considering the actual English language needs of a student to complete a particular course" (2010, p. 10). It recommended that providers ensure that "English language entry levels and support are appropriate for the course and, where relevant, the expected professional outcomes" (p. 11). A third key review was the Knight Review (Knight 2011), commissioned to re-consider visa policy for overseas students. It, too, made a number of recommendations to government related to international students, referencing language outcomes and noting that students themselves reported a decline in their proficiency over the course of their degree (Knight 2011). The Chaney Report (2013) also highlighted the importance of ELP for graduate employability.

A further driver for change has been the attitude of the Australian higher education regulator, the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA). The commissioner was quoted as saying that "admission standards were only part of the story and exiting competence was also a focus" and that this was a "major, decade-long, sector-wide issue" (Lane 2012). TEQSA has stated that providers must "demonstrate that students who complete the course have developed an appropriate level of English language proficiency through their studies" (TEQSA 2013, p. 22). There was widespread belief that the agency would introduce standards for ELP at entry and at exit to university programs, potentially utilising the English Language Standards for Higher Education as their basis. This has not yet eventuated. However, the importance of international education is certainly back on the national agenda in the form of the *National Strategy for International Education 2025* (Australian Government 2016) and the creation of a new Council for International Education, chaired by the Federal Minister for Education and Training (Department of Education and Training 2016b).

In a recent government-funded good practice report, Arkoudis and Doughney (2014) argue that ELP needs to become part of the core business of universities, defined and explicitly assessed as an integral component of the quality assurance framework, and within disciplinary learning. In a companion report, it was recommended that the responsibility for this should be distributed among university senior management, course co-ordinators, academics, and academic language and literacy advisors (Arkoudis 2014). In Australia, this is still not the case. Despite the considerable discussion, publications and high level reports cited above, EAL students in Australia can still graduate without their communication skills being assessed, including their ELP (Arkoudis and Doughney 2014) and the media continue to raise concerns about the quality of our EAL graduates (e.g. ABC 2015; Bolt 2015; Trounson 2011). The policy space in Australian higher education clearly demonstrates that the ELP of EAL graduates is of concern and on the national higher education agenda. It is to the evidence of such claims that we now turn.

4 The Research Evidence: ELP at Graduation

As a result of the above concerns, some HEIs have attempted to measure outcomes by testing ELP at graduation. Although exit testing is not currently widespread, there are limited examples from Australia, mirroring practices also trialled in Hong Kong and Taiwan (Berry and Lewkowicz 2000; Berry and McNeill 2005; Gan 2009; Gong 2009; Hsu 2009; Pan and Newfields 2011; Qi 2005; Qian 2007; Tsai 2009).

Three Australian universities have implemented exit testing in recent years, all using IELTS to provide evidence of their graduates' proficiency: Griffith University, the University of Queensland and the University of New England. The University of Queensland implemented the Graduate Exit IELTS Test in 2008, subsidising the test fee for both the General Training and Academic version (University of Queensland 2012a, b). Martin (2011) stated that graduates from this university should be aiming for IELTS 7.5, which "corresponds to current (bachelor) graduate attributes to convey ideas clearly and fluently in both written and spoken forms" (p. 74). It is not further articulated how this standard was determined or what percentage of graduates are attaining it. In 2012, the University of New England also commenced the provision of a free exit test for its graduates using IELTS Academic (University of New England 2012). No information or published research literature is available in the public domain from either of these institutions so outcomes and impact cannot be further commented upon.

Griffith University undertook initial internal research in 2007 supported by a grant from IELTS Australia (Humphreys and Mousavi 2010), and institution-wide voluntary and subsidised exit testing under the name IELTSgrads[4] was implemented in 2008 as one component of the broader Griffith English Language Enhancement Strategy (Griffith University 2015; English4grads n.d.). Outcomes from this initiative have been reported to University committees since its inception as well as studied in more detail in the author's doctoral thesis (Humphreys 2016). In this latter study of 564 undergraduate EAL students, Humphreys used IELTS (Academic) at graduation and Grade Point Average (GPA) scores to measure graduating linguistic and academic outcomes. She found the highest scores on average to be for Listening and the lowest for Writing. Where pre/post shift could be measured,[5] an increase in ELP over the course of an undergraduate degree program was found to be more likely than not, but only an average increase of 0.38 of a band score. This small improvement is similar to the findings of other studies (O'Loughlin and Arkoudis 2009; Craven 2012). Humphreys also found that a student is highly unlikely to do well academically when language skills are poor but, as might be expected, stronger English does not *guarantee* academic success. First language and, to a lesser extent, entry pathway showed systematic variability in outcomes: students with language backgrounds typologically distant from English such as Chinese, Korean and Vietnamese (Chan and Sylva 2014; Gu 2013; Skehan 2008), typically obtained statistically significantly lower scores on the linguistic measure than speakers of Indo-European and African languages, for example. Interestingly, this pattern was not repeated for GPA outcomes. Students from language backgrounds typologically distant from English did not obtain statistically significantly lower GPAs than EAL students who identified as English-speaking even though they were in the University database as EAL (e.g. some students from Malaysia, India or Africa). Academically (as measured by GPA), speakers of languages from the Indian sub-continent and African languages obtained lower scores. The implication appears to be that those from language backgrounds with the greatest distance from English are likely to benefit most from in-degree academic language support interventions. Humphreys cautions against stereotyping whole cohorts of students, however, as other factors were also found to be at play including motivation, agency and individual differences. Instead, she suggests that L1 should be taken as a legitimate explanation of increased potential challenge among a range of other factors. She recommends that HEIs endeavouring to maximise the ELP outcomes of their EAL students support those most at risk, while eschewing automatic (and potentially erroneous) assumptions which categorise entire groups of students based on their language background.

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[4] Renamed "English4grads" in 2016.

[5] Not all students had entered the University using IELTS scores so pre-tests results were not available for all students.

The University of Technology Sydney (UTS) and the University of Melbourne have both conducted ad hoc exit tests for research purposes and it is possible that other universities have undertaken similar research that remains unpublished, perhaps due to the commercial-in-confidence nature of such data. Craven's (2012) study of undergraduates at UTS found limited correlation between GPA and IELTS exit scores, though the sample was small ($n = 40$). Test score outcomes demonstrated strong variability, with the greatest average gains in Listening and Reading and non-significant gains in Writing or Speaking. Like Humphreys, she found that some students made no progress between pre- and post-testing and with no clear predictor for improvement, and she highlights the challenge of reaching CEFR C1 or IELTS 7.0. Despite these outcomes, all of the students in the study believed they *had* improved, distinguishing between what IELTS tested and their own view of ELP, though many commented that they were able to transfer skills they had acquired in their degree subjects to the IELTS test. Craven also notes the importance of student agency for ELP development.

O'Loughlin and Arkoudis (2009) also traced English proficiency of EAL students over the course of an entire university degree at Melbourne University with official IELTS test scores using a test-retest design. This study also found considerable variability in scores with some participants scoring below the requisite level to enter their degree program at graduation. The researchers conclude that improvement in ELP during degrees cannot be assumed, although undergraduates saw greater gains than postgraduates. Despite this, interview data with students revealed that even participants with no overall score gain believed their ELP had improved, perhaps in ways not measured by IELTS. The researchers again conclude that student agency is critical for development, and that improvement is related to the amount of support students seek within the university and contact with English outside of it.

One further study in the Australian context used the Diagnostic English Language Assessment (DELA) to investigate change in the writing skill over a three-year undergraduate degree. It found that, while fluency in writing improved significantly, accuracy, grammatical and lexical complexity as well as global scores for writing fell short of significance (Knoch et al. 2015). The researchers conclude from the interview data with students that this lack of improvement is likely due to the limited amount of extensive writing that students are required to produce during their degree programs, echoing a finding from the O'Loughlin and Arkoudis study. Limited feedback on such linguistic features was also noted as a contributing factor. The Knoch et al. (2015) study also reports that almost three quarters of the students in the study had expected their writing to improve, evidencing a mismatch between measurable and perceived graduating ELP, consistent with the studies cited earlier.

Other research has investigated ELP improvement over one year or one semester of study and report similar limited gains (Knoch et al. 2014; Humphreys et al. 2012; Storch and Hill 2008) and, overall, the extant literature reveals that, while some students do see score gain, there is no guarantee that improvement will occur during higher education studies (Benzie 2010). These findings are consistent with studies outside of the higher education context, which have shown that proficiency gains and "improvements seen in mean scores do not apply equally at all band levels" (Green 2005, p. 11). Indeed, research consistently shows that improvement occurs more easily at lower levels of proficiency, with IELTS 6.0 operating as a threshold or plateau level beyond which it is hard to progress (Craven 2012; Humphreys and Mousavi 2010; O'Loughlin and Arkoudis 2009). There is also consistent evidence in the broader literature of the role of student motivation and agency (Avdi 2011; Cotton and Conrow 1998; Light et al. 1987; Phakiti et al. 2013; Sawir et al. 2012).

Not everyone agrees that exit testing is the best method of measuring ELP at graduation, however (see Humphreys and Gribble 2013), and alternative means to evidencing the graduating ELP of EAL students' have been considered. Examples include articulating the standard graduates should reach in policy statements (University of Canberra 2012), though this alone will not impact outcomes. Others have developed frameworks of standards comprising incremental goals over the course of the degree program to scaffold and then evaluate development (Chalmers et al. 2010; Harper 2011). This approach has been lauded as it ensures ELP is integral rather than peripheral to disciplinary studies, making it part of the quality assurance process (Arkoudis 2014; Arkoudis et al. 2012), but it has also been identified as requiring institutional commitment, considerable resources and the training of academics (Humphreys and Gribble 2013). Capstone[6] courses in the final year of undergraduate programs have also been mooted as one way to evidence the culmination of learning (University of Canberra 2012), though this would require collaboration between discipline and academic language and learning experts if ELP was one component to be evaluated. Berry and Lewkowicz (2000) suggested a language portfolio which gathers evidence across the degree as an alternative to an exit test in the Hong Kong context. However, portfolios are time-consuming, difficult to rate in a standardised manner and may lead to academic integrity concerns. Another suggestion has been to build ELP into assessment criteria, with progressively higher expectations across degrees (Arkoudis 2014; Arkoudis et al. 2012; Arkoudis and Doughney 2014). This approach has the potential for positive washback but such a massive undertaking comes with several challenges as well as practical issues: identifying the skills and knowledge expected at each stage and for each discipline, the responsibility for writing the criteria, and ensuring consistent application of the standard by academics who are not experts in evaluating ELP.

There have also been calls in recent years in Australia and other Anglophone contexts for sustainable whole-of-university approaches to the embedding and evaluating of ELP within disciplinary learning in order to ensure strong outcomes (Arkoudis 2014; Dunworth et al. 2014; Gunn et al. 2011; Harper 2013; Kennelly et al. 2010; Murray and Nallaya 2014; Sheridan 2011; Wingate 2006). Additionally, there have been suggestions that all staff should have a responsibility for its development, distributed according to their role (Arkoudis 2014). Yet despite considerable in-degree support offered to EAL students (Dunworth et al. 2013, 2014), there is little evidence of institution-wide approaches to date in Australia or elsewhere (Fenton-Smith et al. 2015), and it has been suggested that a fundamental institutional shift of this nature might be stymied by the challenges of implementation (Dunworth et al. 2014; Wingate 2006). None of the above alternatives have therefore gained substantial traction to date.

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[6] A culminating course in final year.

In sum, the literature provides empirical evidence of less than optimal ELP outcomes of EAL graduates in Australian universities, despite all the advantages of studying in an Anglophone context. It also suggests challenges with identifying an appropriate means to evaluate it. In the next section, we consider whether—and to what extent—these outcomes are impacting EAL students beyond graduation.

5 The Research Evidence: The Impact of ELP on Employment Outcomes

There is a plethora of research indicating that English language competence is closely linked to the successful transition of Australian international graduates into the labour market (Arkoudis et al. 2009; Birrell et al. 2006; DEEWR 2009; Gribble 2015; Hawthorne and To 2014; Robertson 2011). Despite this, experts suggest that "few measures are in place to ensure that graduating students have attained a level of proficiency that employers will accept" (Barrett-Lennard et al. 2011, p. 103). Stappenbelt (2008) concurs, stating that:

> universities may not be doing enough to ensure that international students improve their English language levels to professional standards [and] it is a great disservice to international students if they were not enabled to develop adequate English language skills for professional employment in Australia by the time they graduate, should they so desire it (p. 116).

The findings of the Birrell Report (2006) discussed earlier resulted in a revision to the selection criteria for Graduate Skilled Migration (GSM), including increased English requirements because its critical role had been noted for both employment and migration (Hawthorne and To 2014). Poor employability outcomes for EAL graduates continue to be cited in the research in Australia (Gribble 2014; Hawthorne 2010; Hawthorne and To 2014; Humphreys and Gribble 2013) and elsewhere (Arthur and Flynn 2012; Atwood 2014; Li and Yang 2013). Indeed, expert demographers have found that no other single factor has greater statistical significance than language ability in determining early employment outcomes (Hawthorne 2010; Hawthorne and To 2014). A notable example from one study was that only 41% of international Business/Commerce undergraduates seeking employment in Australia were in full-time employment nationally compared to 91% of their domestic counterparts, with students from non-Commonwealth countries facing the greatest issues (Hawthorne and To 2014). This has been called the "gap in the post-study work promise" (Lawrence 2015). Concerns about the employability of EAL graduates in the professional workforce have led to the introduction of a number of measures in Australia designed to improve their outcomes, such as the government-funded Professional Year Program (Australian Government 2015). Arthur and Flynn (2012) document similar unmet employment expectations in Canada.

Employers both onshore and offshore indicate that they seek evidence of an EAL graduate's communication skills, including ELP as one component (Eurobarometer 2010; Graduate Careers Australia 2012; Gribble 2014; Hyland 2006). The same attributes are repeatedly cited as vital: strong written, interpersonal and verbal communication skills as well as evidence of teamwork skills (Arkoudis et al. 2009; BCA 2011; Blackmore et al. 2010–2012). In one study, over 70% of employers (both onshore and offshore) rated ELP and communication skills as the most important attributes whereas only 19% of international students rated ELP as a skill that employers were looking for, evidence of considerable mismatch in views between these two stakeholders' views (Arkoudis et al. 2009). In the view of employers, more needs to be done to improve such skills in Australian HEIs (Shah and Nair 2011; Whelan et al. 2010).

6 The Research Evidence: Student Views of ELP

As noted in the literature cited earlier, EAL students enrolled in Australian degree programs have reported expectations of linguistic improvement during their university degrees, though actual ELP outcomes (as measured by IELTS or DELA) have not generally found this to be the case (Craven 2012; Humphreys 2016; Knoch et al. 2014). Despite this, via focus groups (n = 37) and a survey (n = 281), Humphreys (2016) found that undergraduate EAL students *did* value English proficiency for their studies and beyond, and also viewed the responsibility for developing it to reside largely with themselves. It is reassuring that students, as the key driver of their language development, report acknowledging responsibility for their language development - at least at the research site in this study. This is consistent with the Good Practice Principles and English Language Standards for Higher Education noted earlier in this chapter, which indicated that some responsibility rests with the student. Even though there appears to be a mismatch between perceived and measurable ELP, motivation and acknowledgement of responsibility to improve are critical first steps. The challenge for institutions, then, is to *mobilise* such reported responsibility even in Anglophone EMI contexts. The study also found, critically, that stage of degree had an effect on motivation levels, with identifiable critical periods being first semester and penultimate semester. HEIs could capitalise on this by offering timed targeted interventions towards the beginning and end of undergraduate degree programs when students appear to be most receptive to input.

7 Recommendations

Although the literature calls for sustainable whole-of-university approaches to the embedding and evaluating of ELP within disciplinary learning (Arkoudis and Doughney 2014; Dunworth et al. 2014; Fenton-Smith et al. 2015; Gunn et al. 2011; Harper 2013; Kennelly et al. 2010; Murray and Nallaya 2014; Sheridan 2011; Wingate 2006), and the writer endorses such a view, this approach appears to have had little traction to date as far as can be ascertained in Anglophone EMI contexts. Australian institutions specifically appear not to have the appetite for such a large-scale response due to the commitment and degree of consultation that would be required to enact such change (Wingate 2006), and academics generally have little understanding of how to embed ELP in their teaching and learning practices (Arkoudis 2014; Dunworth and Kirkpatrick 2003). Since institutional commitment has been identified as one of three critical areas for ensuring ELP standards (Arkoudis et al. 2012), it is clear that recommendations need to be realistic in order to bring about such commitment. The following recommendations are therefore suggested:

Communicate to stakeholders

- Educate all stakeholders—especially students—about the value of ELP for academic success and employability in EMI contexts, including the value that employers place on ELP as part of communication skills more broadly.
- Educate students about typical ELP acquisition rates, even in Anglophone EMI contexts, and their responsibility to actively develop their language for improvement to occur.

Target support

- Capitalise on and activate student motivation/agency by targeting support in the critical periods of first and penultimate semester of undergraduate degrees.
- Support those most likely to be at risk, accepting challenges are due in part to L1, but without stereotyping cohorts.

Set and measure standards

- Set appropriate ELP standards for entry and exit in all EMI contexts.
- Ensure students are required to demonstrate linguistic competence at the set standard at designated junctures in order to graduate.

8 Conclusion

To date, EMI has tended to refer to contexts where English is not the L1. While HEIs in Australia and other Anglophone nations are certainly free from some of the more challenging aspects of EMI noted in other chapters of this volume, this chapter has shown that such HEIs still face a wide range of issues and, indeed, there is potentially a *larger* problem for Anglophone EMI contexts. Unlike non-Anglophone contexts, students attending HEIs in traditional English-speaking countries have high expectations of a transformative experience, including improvement in ELP. This chapter shows that ELP improvement may not occur and this raises the very real issue of whether a degree from an Anglophone HEI is therefore worth the cost.

This chapter traced the mounting concern and provided empirical evidence from the scholarly literature on the ELP and employment outcomes of EAL students in Australia. The assumption that EAL students in Anglophone contexts graduate with strong linguistic outcomes was problematized, and evidence was provided that language improvement is not guaranteed over the course of an undergraduate degree program. This means that HEIs in Anglophone nations should not be complacent due to their perceived inherent advantages. Rather, like non-Anglophone EMI contexts, they need to accept responsibility for developing EAL students' ELP, which needs to be explicitly attended to and part of a University's core business rather than assumed to occur by osmosis. The research suggests that the writing skill needs to be specifically targeted, and that more opportunities for extensive writing in undergraduate degrees in particular might lead to improved outcomes.

More positively, however, this chapter provided some evidence that EAL students in Australian universities appear to be aware of the importance of ELP for academic success and beyond graduation, and report being motivated to improve it at specific junctures of their program. While further research is warranted in this area with larger cohorts and comparisons with non-Anglophone EMI contexts, the available empirical evidence suggests that there are particular cohorts who would specifically benefit from academic language interventions, and that there are identifiable periods when students are more likely to be receptive to them. Should institutions heed these findings, positive changes to the ELP of EAL students in EMI contexts might result.

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The Significance of EMI for the Learning of EIL in Higher Education: Four Cases from Japan

Nobuyuki Hino

Abstract This chapter discusses how EMI (English-Medium Instruction) in higher education may help students to learn skills in EIL (English as an International Language), or global Englishes beyond the Anglophone frame of reference, by examining four actual university classes in Japan as a case study from East Asia. When EMI is now in vogue at many Japanese universities driven by the urge for globalization, it is clear that the "English" needed for those EMI courses is EIL, which may be also redefined as ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), rather than conventional Anglo-American English confined within native speaker norms. Drawing on action research, observations, questionnaires, and interviews for the four EMI classes, the present chapter argues that EMI in higher education can be significant for the concurrent learning of content and EIL (which the author terms CELFIL: Content and English as a Lingua Franca Integrated Learning), though in different ways depending on varied factors in each EMI course. While classes with a diversity of international and local students provide an optimal environment where interactive skills in EIL may be acquired in authentic situations, even those consisting only of domestic students can be useful for the learning of EIL if the instructors' English serves as models of EIL.

Keywords English as an international language (EIL) · English as a lingua franca (ELF) · Englishes · Content and language integrated learning (CLIL) · Content and English as a lingua franca integrated learning (CELFIL) · Content-based approach · Community of practice · Native-speakerism

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1 Introduction

The purpose of the present chapter[1] is to discuss the significance of EMI (English-Medium Instruction) courses in higher education for the learning of communication skills in EIL (English as an International Language), based on actual cases in Japan. Here, EMI refers to content instruction through the medium of English, excluding ELT (English Language Teaching) classes whose sole or primary aim is language education.

A key concept of this chapter, EIL, has been expressed in differing ways with varied emphases and orientations. In addition to the term “EIL” itself (Hino 1988, 2009; Matsuda 2012; Smith 1983), they include, among others, “de-Anglo-Americanized English” (Kunihiro 1970), “varieties of English at the post-Anglophone stage” (Kirkpatrick 2010), “World Englishes” (Jenkins 2003; Kirkpatrick 2007; Saraceni 2015),[2] “Global Englishes” (Jenkins 2015), and “English as a Lingua Franca” (ELF) (Jenkins 2000; Seidlhofer 2011). In the present discussion, these terms are used more or less interchangeably, bypassing subtle distinctions for the benefit of drawing a larger picture.

EIL is defined in this chapter as “varieties of English for international communication,” which function as a means of expressing the users’ own values that are not confined within the Anglo-American norms. With its representation of linguistic and cultural diversity, EIL transcends the conventional boundary between native and non-native speakers of English.

EMI at the university level has recently been in vogue across the world, reflecting the trend of globalization. Under these new circumstances, researchers have already been looking into the use of global Englishes in EMI courses from linguistic or sociolinguistic perspectives (e.g. Iino and Murata 2013; Jenkins 2014; Mauranen 2012). On the other hand, pedagogical analysis of EMI from the stance of EIL education has thus far been very limited, with a few exceptions such as Hino (2015) and Iino and Murata (2016).

As a case study from East Asia, this chapter will first illustrate the prospect that EMI will be a major element in higher education in Japan by briefly summarizing its social background and current status, followed by an investigation into four cases of university EMI classrooms to discuss their significance for the learning of EIL.

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[1] Some parts of this chapter are based on the author’s working paper, Hino (2014).

[2] This usage of the term “World Englishes,” with its international orientation, is different from that of the Kachruvian paradigm of World Englishes (Kachru 1985, 1986, 1997) with its intra-national emphasis.

2 EMI in Higher Education in Japan

As in most other domains of Japanese life, the use of Japanese has generally been taken for granted as the medium of instruction at universities in Japan. Against this strong sociolinguistic tradition, however, EMI courses in higher education are now on the rise even in this country of East Asia, mainly due to two background factors. Firstly, individual universities are making efforts to boost EMI for their own survival in response to the declining birthrate. Secondly, the Ministry of Education, the headquarters of the highly centralized education system of Japan, has launched a series of initiatives toward the globalization of Japanese universities which includes the promotion of EMI, most notably the "Global 30" project now succeeded by a further governmental scheme known as the "Super Global Universities" project.

In regard to the former factor, Mochizuki (2011) observes that "[i]nviting more international students from abroad is a make-or-break issue for universities to survive in a competitive environment where the domestic demand for enrollment is expected to decrease" (p. 19). Indeed, while not exactly an educational motive, this lingering social problem ironically points to a promising future for EMI in higher education in Japan. Though the financial necessity of attracting students from overseas is in fact one of the main reasons for promoting EMI in higher education in many countries (Shohamy 2013), the sharp decrease in the number of 18-year olds in Japan makes it particularly urgent for its universities to recruit international students.

As for the latter of the above two factors, 13 Japanese universities were selected by the government for the Global 30 project with the allocation of special funding, which in the words of the Ministry of Education "aims to promote internationalization of academic environment of Japanese universities and acceptance of excellent international students studying in Japan" through such measures as the development of "degree programs conducted in English."[3]

The government has also put up the headline "No Japanese Proficiency Required at the Time of Admission" on their website advertising the Global 30 project, praising those Japanese universities that have established degree programs in English as having "broken down the language barrier which was one of the obstacles preventing international students from studying in Japan."[4] It is thus clear that the expansion of EMI in higher education is nowadays a vital educational policy for the Japanese government.

An important fact from the perspective of the present chapter is that the objectives of the Global 30 project, including the promotion of EMI, have been explained by the Ministry of Education not only in terms of an improvement of service for international students but also with respect to the education of local students, as follows:

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[3] Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. http://www.mext.go.jp/english/highered/1326725.htm. Retrieved on March 28, 2014.

[4] Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. http://www.uni.international.mext.go.jp/global30. Retrieved on September 9, 2015.

> These selected universities aim to nurture internationally competent individuals by creating an academic environment where international and Japanese students can learn from one another and build lasting international bonds that will propel them into the international scene.[5]

This standpoint of the Japanese government has continued with one of its subsequent policies, known as the "Project for Promotion of Global Human Resource Development" since 2012. According to the Ministry of Education, it "aims to overcome the Japanese younger generation's 'inward tendency' and to foster human resources who can positively meet the challenges and succeed in the global field, as the basis for improving Japan's global competitiveness and enhancing the ties between nations."[6] These governmental goals have further led to the selection of 37 "Super Global Universities" in 2014, a project that goes on to promote, among other initiatives, EMI in higher education.

"Inward tendency" (*uchimuki-shiko*), which has even grown into a minor buzz-word in Japan, is usually interpreted to refer to the decrease of the number of young Japanese studying overseas. In this regard, the Ministry of Education is attempting to encourage more Japanese students to go abroad by offering EMI courses that are expected to help them prepare for academic study in foreign institutions.

Universities in Japan have in fact been making some tangible efforts recently to respond to the need for EMI. For instance, Osaka University, the author's affiliation, designated by the Ministry of Education as both a "Global 30" and "Super Global" university, has even developed self-study courseware entitled "Let's teach in English" for faculty members regardless of their fields of discipline who wish to, or find themselves in a position to, teach EMI classes.[7] The courseware, offered online, introduces professors to methods and activities recommended for teaching EMI classes with videos of actual EMI classes in various academic subjects in human, social, and natural sciences. While it may be possible to view this learning material as an introduction to Western or Anglo-American pedagogy rather than that of EMI, this major undertaking is a salient example of Japanese universities' serious commitment to EMI.

On the other hand, it should be also noted that Hashimoto (2013), from the viewpoint of critical discourse analysis (CDA), presents a more pessimistic view of the above policy of the Japanese government, pointing to the fact that in most national universities “enrollment through the Global 30 scheme is only available to international students” (p. 27). Although the present chapter takes up examples of Osaka University (a national institution) where many of its EMI courses are open to both international and local students, it will require further research to precisely grasp the extent of integration of international and domestic students in EMI at universities in Japan.

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[5] Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. http://www.uni.international.mext.go.jp/global30. Retrieved on September 9, 2015.

[6] Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. http://www.mext.go.jp/english/highered/1326713.htm. Retrieved on March 28, 2014.

[7] Osaka University. http://www.tlsc.osaka-u.ac.jp/elearning/gfd. Retrieved on September 9, 2015.

Lastly in this section, illustrating the fact that EMI courses are offered at various levels in Japanese universities today, EMI in higher education currently provided in Japan may be classified as the following six types[8]:

1. EMI universities: Universities dedicated to EMI in their entirety, with exceptions such as Japanese classes for international students. Akita International University is an example.
2. EMI departments: A school or a department where most courses are taught in English. The Faculty of Liberal Arts at Sophia University, for instance, has already been well-established as one such department.
3. EMI programs: Interdepartmental or intra-departmental programs for EMI. For example, Osaka University offers the International Program of Frontier Biotechnology at the Graduate School of Engineering, the International College as an undergraduate program in the fields of human science (such as psychology, education, and sociology) and technology, and the Short-term Student Exchange Program, among other EMI programs.
4. EMI curricula: Classes designated by the university for EMI, though in the absence of full-fledged EMI programs
5. EMI professors: Classes with instructors expected by the universities to teach in English, even without an official EMI curriculum. Historically, and most typically, many professors from Anglophone countries in the field of English literature have been fulfilling this role in teaching their content courses.
6. Voluntary EMI classes: Classes whose instructors choose to teach in English at their own discretion.

Discussions on EMI in higher education often concentrate on (1), (2), and (3), whereas less official, micro-level EMI classes (4), (5), and (6) tend to be left out of those discourses. However, though exact statistics are not available, the latter seem to constitute a fairly large portion of EMI practices in Japan, thereby deserving our serious attention. Among the four cases examined in the next section, all but the first belong to those informal EMI classes.

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[8] See Brown and Iyobe (2014) for a different taxonomy of university EMI in Japan.

3 The Learning of EIL in Four Cases of University EMI in Japan

The present section will look into four actual EMI classes at Japanese universities observed or experienced by the author. This is an early stage of an ongoing research project on the development of pedagogies for enhancing the learning of EIL in EMI situations, which draws on a new concept "CELFIL" (Content and ELF Integrated Learning) (Hino 2015, in press) based on the notion of CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning).

3.1 Methodology

This research is an open-ended inquiry into how EMI could help students acquire communicative abilities in EIL, including linguistic, sociolinguistic, interactive, and discursive skills (cf. Canale and Swain 1980). Qualitative methods have been employed, namely, class observation, video-recording of classes, open-ended questionnaires for students, audio-recorded interviews with volunteer students, and informal interviews with instructors. In the present discussion, no systematic coding procedure has been used for data analysis, partly because of the data's relatively small size.

3.2 Participants

Four EMI classes were chosen which reflect a variety of EMI situations in higher education, especially as to the identities of instructors and students. Their profiles are summarized in the Table 1.

By way of notation on the World Englishes terminology used in the table, largely drawing on the classic definitions by Kachru (1985), "the Inner Circle"

Table 1 Profiles of EMI situations

	Teacher	Students	Content	Level
1	International (Inner Circle)	International (Inner, Outer, and Expanding Circle) and local	Japanese literature	Undergraduate
2	Local	International (Expanding Circle) and local, plus a T.A. from the Inner Circle	Language pedagogy	Graduate (master)
3	International (Outer Circle)	Local	Area studies	Undergraduate
4	Local	Local	Language pedagogy	Undergraduate

refers to traditional Anglophone countries, “the Outer Circle” to many of the former colonies of the U.K. and the U.S. where English is used as a second language, while the concept of “the Expanding Circle” is applied to all the other countries where English is used as a foreign language or solely as a means of international communication. Though the three-circle distinction has its own limitations, it is nevertheless employed here partly in order to avoid the outdated dichotomy of native and non-native speakers (cf. Davies 2003; Walkinshaw and Duong 2012).

Classes 1 and 2 represent the types of student population often envisaged for EMI by EIL researchers (e.g. Gotti 2014) as well as by the Japanese Ministry of Education, that is, a mixture of international and local students. On the other hand, classes such as 3 and 4 are actually quite common in EMI at universities in Japan, where all or most of the students are Japanese. In both patterns, teachers may also come from abroad or from Japan. These factors closely relate to the nature of communication in EMI classes as to the authenticity or inauthenticity in the use of EIL, that is, whether actual international interaction takes place in the classroom.

Despite those variables, however, the present chapter argues that all of these four cases can be significant in their own ways for the learning of EIL with differing emphases.

4 Case 1

This is an undergraduate class in Japanese literature at Osaka University, a major national university in Japan. The course is offered in a two-semester or one-semester program for international exchange students known as OUSSEP (Osaka University Short-term Student Exchange Program), which is also open to domestic students. In my analysis, this class proved to be an excellent opportunity for students to experience authentic EIL interaction, while low enrollment by local (i.e. Japanese) students is regrettable.

The instructor for this undergraduate EMI Japanese literature class is a professor from the U.S., while a number of courses in OUSSEP are also taught by Japanese faculty members. The class consisted of approximately 30 students who were from Germany, the Netherlands, France, Finland, Mexico, Canada, Australia, mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, the Philippines, and Japan. The majority were not “native speakers” of English, embodying the sociolinguistic reality of World Englishes today where native speakers are a minority (Jenkins 2015; Kirkpatrick 2007).

When I observed the class in December, 2013, the use of small-group discussions, on an aspect of Japanese literature, appeared especially productive for the learning of EIL. Active exchange took place in all groups, among students from different countries, with the use of their own respective varieties of EIL.

There were two discussion groups involving local students—one group with two Japanese and two international students, and the other comprising one Japanese and three international students. In the former, at least one Japanese student was seen to actively engage in the discussion, as did her fellow national in the latter group. There appeared to be ample opportunities for experiencing interactional skills in EIL such as accommodation (Jenkins 2000, 2007) and negotiation of meaning (Seidlhofer 2009), as well as basic conversational techniques such as turn-taking. In this context, “accommodation” means to adjust one’s English to improve its intelligibility for his or her interlocutor, while “negotiation of meaning” refers to collaborative efforts to make sense of each other’s utterances through such moves as clarification request. While skills in accommodation and negotiation of meaning may be required in any communicative situation including interactions between Inner Circle members, they are of special importance in EIL communication where participants do not share a common cultural frame of reference.

This classroom is the kind of authentic EIL environment that is rarely found in ELT classes in Japan (Hino and Oda 2015). Here, students can learn EIL skills not in artificially simulated exercises but through real-life experience. In spite of the fact that this is a content course rather than a language course, it clearly has a lot of potential as a “community of practice in EIL” (Hino 2003, p. 67; cf. Lave and Wenger 1991), where students learn from one another through authentic interactions, gradually acquiring linguistic and sociolinguistic skills to function as members of the community of EIL users.

On the other hand, it is surprising that only three domestic students were taking this class. According to the professor, more Japanese students were enrolled at the beginning of the semester, but some gradually withdrew from the class. Though the exact reason for their withdrawal is unknown, the instructor speculates that their insufficient command of English was probably one of the major causes. The lack of proficiency in English is not specific to Japan, but is a common problem when including local students in EMI in higher education (Doiz et al. 2013).

5 Case 2

The next example of EMI in higher education is my own class in the Graduate School of Language and Culture at Osaka University, entitled “Education in Language and Culture,” which deals with issues of foreign language education. In 2013, the class had seven M.A. students, consisting of four from Japan and one each from Thailand, Laos, and mainland China, in addition to a Ph.D. student from the U.S. serving as a T.A. (Teaching Assistant). Despite the small class size, this was an ideal population for the learning of EIL with five different nationalities and also with a combination of one speaker of English as a first language and a majority of speakers of English as an additional language, representing the linguistic and cultural diversity of EIL.

This is an EMI class on my own initiative rather than an officially designated EMI course. Though the university has been trying to promote EMI, the department thus far has not set up an official EMI curriculum of its own. As a graduate course, the primary emphasis of the class is the subject matter, issues of foreign language education, but I also intend it to focus on language. One of my main goals for the class is to help students to be able to give presentations and to participate in discussions in English at international academic conferences in the near future.

For small-group discussions, the 2013 class was divided into two groups, each comprising two Japanese and two international students (with the participation of the T.A.), the members of which were changed every time. Participants in these small-group discussions practiced communication skills including accommodation and negotiation of meaning, while at the same time assimilating the academic content.

Particularly significant with this class is the fact that the presence of international students gives authenticity (in regard to EIL) even to interaction in English between Japanese participants. For example, when I posed a question on an issue of foreign language education, a Japanese student volunteered to state her opinion, which was followed up by another Japanese student with a spontaneous comment. Despite the fact that all three directly involved in this interaction were Japanese, there was nothing artificial about the use of English in this situation, when it is usually felt to be quite unnatural for Japanese to use English among themselves. The setting where international students were ready to join in the discussion at any time made a crucial difference.

The following excerpts from written comments by two of the Japanese graduate students indicate what they learned from their experience in authentic EIL interaction in class. Hereafter, all the English translations of Japanese narratives are mine:

> This class provides useful opportunities for interactions and practice in English as a lingua franca, including getting used to various accents. (In Japanese)
>
> Englishes spoken by classmates from Thailand, Laos, and China were sometimes difficult to understand due to such factors as stress and intonation. (In Japanese)

The above remarks show that some Japanese students perceived phonological aspects to be salient features of World Englishes. Along this line, one interesting point in the latter comment is its implication that the stress and intonation of the American student posed no difficulty in terms of intelligibility. In fact, with the dominance of American English in the teaching of English in Japan, the majority of Japanese students are particularly familiar with American English, while there are only limited chances to be exposed to other varieties of English. In other words, interactions with speakers of varieties of English in this class must have been a useful experience for the Japanese students to gain awareness in the diversity of EIL.

As for reactions from international students on their EIL experience in the same class, below are quotes from comments written by two of the students from Asia:

> The diversity of English in this class presents no problem for communication. I think this class reflects realities of World Englishes. (Student from Thailand. In Japanese)
>
> Regarding language use….they do not seem to go straight forward to the point. Perhaps, there are Asian or old Asian cultures…. (Student from Laos)

Both comments show that this class provides the students with useful first-hand experience in EIL communication. The former by the Thai student, which concurs with much research into the high international intelligibility of non-native varieties of English (e.g. Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Smith and Rafiqzad 1979), would give hope to some Japanese students who are not confident of their own English. The latter by the Laotian student offers an interesting cultural observation on sociolinguistic and discursive features of Asian Englishes, as it bears out the classic characterization of Asian arguments as spiral or non-linear (e.g. Kaplan 1966) which is nowadays vulnerable to criticism for being essentialist.

To supply an example of how students experience negotiation of meaning in EIL from my recent graduate class in 2015, below is an excerpt from an exchange between a Japanese and an Iranian student in a small-group discussion involving two Japanese, one Iranian, and one mainland Chinese student (July, 2015):

> J: If they want to use, if the Japanese students want to apologize, they can, but it's also important that Americans don't go ....*[inaudible].*
>
> I: Haha, you mean, letting the Japanese students know that?
>
> J: Know, and let them choose which way they could say.
>
> I: You mean, letting the Americans….ah….letting the Japanese students say "I'm sorry" in any case they want to? Is that what you are implying?
>
> J: It depends on who you are talking to, of course.
>
> I: I see. (J = Japanese student, I = Iranian student)

In this dialog, the Japanese student is talking about a communication problem between Japanese and Americans. The Iranian student attempts to clarify the point that the Japanese student is trying to make, with the use of "You mean ~?" This is an instance of negotiation of meaning in authentic EIL interaction.

The present example is particularly significant with respect to the fact that many Japanese students tend to rely on a straight form of clarification request "What do you mean (by ~)?", which places the onus on the interlocutors to provide clarification. This exchange with the international classmate gave the Japanese student a chance to learn by experience that suggesting a possible answer with the use of "(Do) you mean ~?" facilitates a smooth discussion.

6 Case 3

The third example is an undergraduate class in Asian Studies taught by a Singaporean academic at a public university in Japan. In my observation in December, 2014,[9] I found this class to be effective for the learning of EIL especially in light of the fact that it helped the students to recognize the value of World

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[9] This observation was carried out in cooperation with Setsuko Oda (Kinjo Gakuin University).

Englishes through interaction with a teacher from the Outer Circle, along with the content of his teaching which emphasized the linguistic and cultural diversity of Asia including varieties of English.

The class is a small-sized seminar with five Japanese students. In addition to his lecture, the instructor encouraged active discussions by frequently posing questions. Besides his expertise and enthusiasm as an educator, his input as a user of a postcolonial or Outer Circle variety of English, rarely found among university faculty members in Japan, provides the students with valuable linguistic and cultural experiences in receiving the kind of English that functions as a vehicle of non-Anglophone identities.

My questionnaire after the class observation included the question “In Japan, ‘English’ is usually associated with American English or British English. How do you feel about this class taught by a professor from Singapore?”(in Japanese). The following are excerpts from typical responses by two of the students, representative of the general sentiment among the participants:

> I find this class useful, partly because it challenges such a bias. (In Japanese. “Such a bias” refers to the bias mentioned in the question.)
>
> We already hear a lot about America and Britain, but I think it is more with Asians that Japanese are actually likely to encounter or work with….This class is very useful in getting accustomed to non-native English spoken by Asians, especially with a view to the cultural diversity of Southeast Asia including Singapore…. (In Japanese)

Actually, it was not always like this from the beginning. It took Japanese students some time to accept the professor who spoke a non-Anglophone variety of English unfamiliar to them. The scholar from Singapore recalls, in his own narrative, the time when he first started teaching at this university several years back:

> During the first few days of my appointment, I was welcomed into the university but when students heard me speaking in my Singaporean English accent, I could sense they felt uncomfortable. There were moments when my status as an English teacher was brought into question when some students complained to the Dean that they could not understand my English accent. (Ng in press)

The above quote describes the Asian professor’s struggle against persistent notions in Japan of native speakers as the benchmark for appropriateness and the ideal model to emulate (Honna 2008) before establishing his position at a Japanese university beyond the conventional dichotomy of native and non-native speakers. The shift in the students’ attitudes over time eloquently demonstrates the enormous significance of his class for building positive awareness among students regarding the diversity of EIL.

7 Case 4

The last example is an undergraduate class at a major private university in Nagoya, Japan, which I had a chance to observe in 2014. It is a course in language pedagogy with a focus on early English education taught by a Japanese professor, who told me that she had decided to teach some class sessions (i.e. not all the time) in English for the purpose of increasing input in English for the students, many of whom were aiming to be teachers of English after graduation.

Though the university has a considerable number of international students, all of the approximately 60 students in this class were from Japan, as the course was primarily designed for local students. What was observed here was the teaching of a content subject in English when both the teacher and all the students shared Japanese as their first language. With no international communication taking place in class, this was not an authentic EIL situation. Nevertheless, even such a completely domestic classroom may provide students with an opportunity for learning EIL as long as the English spoken by the teacher functions as a model of EIL.

In my observation of this class in July, 2014, where the professor gave a lecture-style instruction chiefly due to the large class size, her English was seen to serve as a model for the students by being an appropriate sample of Japanese English for international communication. The instructor's Japanese-influenced English, including her manner of speaking such as non-verbal gestures, gave the impression that it was expressive of indigenous values, as well as phonologically easy for Japanese students to imitate. Her speech frequently sounded syllable-timed rather than stress-timed, with relatively limited elision and linking, contributing to the retention of Japanese phonology as an identity marker (Jenkins 2000) and probably to the enhancement of international intelligibility for non-native English listeners (Deterding and Kirkpatrick 2006; Kirkpatrick 2010).

This observation is endorsed by some of the responses to an anonymous open-ended questionnaire after the class in which I asked the students, "What do you think of a class like this, where a Japanese professor teaches the content in English?":

> I take her as a model for how a Japanese person should speak English. It is a useful learning experience for me to listen to her English. (In Japanese)
>
> I don't think it is easy for a Japanese to teach a 90-minute class in English. In this regard, I am impressed with her, with lots of respect for her. It also makes me want to understand her lecture well. (In Japanese)

My interview after the class with two students who volunteered to be interviewed further supported this view, as is evident in a narrative by one of them:

> She speaks "Japanese English," which is our kind of English. That is why it is easy to learn English from her—words, idioms, and so on. (In Japanese)

It may be noted that not everyone appreciated the fact that their instructor spoke non-native English. Though a sheer minority, a response to the above questionnaire read “I felt that a native English speaking teacher is more desirable as to pronunciation and fluency.”(in Japanese). This is a kind of attitude also found by Walkinshaw and Duong (2014) among learners of English in Japan as well as in Vietnam. Considering the dominance of native-speakerism in ELT in Japan (Tsuneyoshi 2013), it is no surprise that there are students who prefer native English as their source of linguistic input.

Concerning the international intelligibility of the professor’s English, it should be mentioned here that she is an experienced speaker both for native and non-native English speaking audiences, who has given 18 oral presentations in various international academic conferences during the past 12 years. In light of these achievements, her “Japanese English” can be assessed as sufficiently communicative in global contexts.

With the lack of codification of varieties of English used in the Expanding Circle, learners of English from those areas including Japan are often deemed to have no choice but to adopt exonormative models based on more established varieties of English in the Inner or the Outer Circle (Bamgbose 1998; Kachru 1997) such as American English and Indian English, respectively. However, it is actually possible for individual varieties of English spoken by skilled EIL users from the Expanding Circle to fulfil such a role (Hino 2012a, c). As suggested by Smith (1978) in his early thesis on EIL, “any educated speaker is acceptable” (Reprinted in Smith 1983, p. 18) as a model of English for international communication.

On the whole, even when all participants in class—students as well as the instructor—are from Japan, EMI can be useful for the learning of EIL if the instructor’s English serves as one possible model of Japanese English for global communication.

Monolingual classroom environments are not uncommon in many EMI contexts in East Asia, and even in Europe. Two international symposia on global Englishes in 2015 (at the 8th ELF conference in Beijing and the 21st IAWE conference in Istanbul) each posed an identical question on this issue: How could the concept of ELF/EIL be relevant to EMI classrooms where all the students and the professor are local? The author, a panelist at both symposia, responded that “the Chinese/Turkish professor may be able to demonstrate in class, with his or her own English, a model of Chinese/Turkish English for international communication.”[10]

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[10] Although recent ELF studies, as opposed to other paradigms such as EIL and Kachruvian World Englishes, de-emphasize such notions as “varieties” and “models,” the present chapter will not go into this discussion (cf. Widdowson 2015).

8 Conclusion

Each of the four cases of university EMI in Japan presented above has its own significance for helping students to learn EIL regardless of different environments. Though this result cannot be generalized due to the vast diversity of EMI situations, it tells of the potential of EMI in higher education for EIL education. Cases 1 and 2, where local students and a variety of international students share their learning, depict one optimal EMI setting for the learning of EIL, while Cases 3 and 4 show that other types of EIL environment can also be an opportunity for students to acquire awareness and skills in EIL.

Hino (2012b) cites the Content-Based Approach as an effective approach to teaching EIL. In fact, a major tenet of ELT today is that we learn a language efficiently when we are engaged in a meaningful activity, such as in EMI classes with their concrete content. As Richards and Rodgers (2014) succinctly summarize, both the Content-Based Approach and CLIL are built on the principles that “[p]eople learn a second language more successfully when they use the language as a means of understanding content” (p. 118) and that “[c]ontent provides the basis for activating both the cognitive and the interactional processes” (p. 119). Moreover, holistic pedagogies such as the Content-Based Approach, rather than ones focusing minutely on discrete points of linguistic details, have practical advantages with respect to the reality that educational models for EIL tend to be unspecified.

There are various limitations to the present chapter, besides the small size of the data set. For example, all of the Cases 2, 3, and 4 concern classes in language and culture, taught by professionals in language education. What happens in EMI classes in other areas of discipline such as economics, biology, or physics is yet to be investigated in this ongoing research project.

A crucial task, as a premise for promoting the learning of EIL in EMI classes in higher education, is to raise awareness of the diversity of EIL for all the stakeholders—the government, university administrations, professors, and students. When prejudice against varieties of English is eliminated by overcoming native-speakerism at universities, EMI in higher education in Japan, or in any other country, will take on a new meaning with regard to globalization in the true sense of the term.

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English as a Medium of Instruction in Singapore Higher Education

Kingsley Bolton and Werner Botha

Abstract The opening sections of this chapter trace the development of English-medium instruction (EMI) in higher education from the late 1940s and the foundation of the University of Malaya, through to the post-colonial era following independence in 1965 and Singapore's current era of a globally-competitive, knowledge-based economy. One important argument in this context is that the post-independence policy of promoting English within education had strong roots in the colonial language policies of the 1950s. Today, Singapore has six tertiary institutions, all of which maintain a uniform policy of using English as the sole medium of instruction. The later sections of the chapter focus on the contemporary context of higher education, where scientific, technological, and vocational education has been promoted to serve the needs of a knowledge-based economy that has been developed to be highly competitive on the world stage. Despite the official policy on EMI throughout education in Singapore, from a sociolinguistic perspective it is also important to consider the wider multilingual ecology of the Singapore society, and the often complex multilingual worlds of university students, which are characterised by code-switching from more formal registers of English in the classroom to the use of Colloquial Singapore English, Malay, Mandarin and Indian languages in the corridors and cafeterias of universities throughout Singapore.

Keywords English-medium instruction · Higher education · International education · Language policy · Multilingualism · Singapore

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1 Introduction

Higher education has made an important contribution to the national development of Singapore, which has combined rapid and sustained economic growth with a key role as a regional hub for finance, technology, trade and education. This chapter sets out to discuss the history of English-medium higher education in Singapore from the colonial period through independence to the present. One important conclusion that emerges from this study is that the pre-eminence of English in education cannot be fully understood without reference to the history of language policies in the late colonial and early post-colonial periods, the multilingual ecology of the society, and the economic and social priorities of the Singapore government.

2 The Historical Background

2.1 From Raffles to Yamashita

Today, it is almost unquestioned that the default option should be the use of English as a teaching medium for all levels of education, but throughout Singapore's development the issue of English-medium education has had a complex history dating back to the early years of British colonialism. Although abbreviated accounts of Singapore's history typically begin with Stamford Raffles' annexation of the island in 1819, the pre-colonial history of *Singapura* ('Lion City' in Malay) indicates that a trading community existed on the island in the fourteenth century. Its role as a regional centre for trade was superseded by Malacca from the fifteenth century onwards, and when Raffles arrived the island was under the control of the Johore Sultanate. The history of the pre-colonial period suggests that the island had served as a meeting place for Arabs, Chinese, Malays, and traders from the Indonesian islands and elsewhere long before the British arrived. During this period, 'contact varieties of Malay' functioned as regional linguae francae (Lim 2008, p. 452). After the arrival of the British, the population expanded very rapidly, as the city attracted a diverse population of Arabs, Armenians, Balinese, Bugis, Chinese, Siamese, as well as Europeans, Jews, and Parsees. In the early years of development, Malays formed the largest ethnic group, but by 1891 these had been overtaken in number by the Chinese who then accounted for 66% of the population, compared with 12% for Malays, 9% for Indians, and some 3% for Europeans. By 1931, the percentage of Chinese citizens had risen to around 74%, compared with 13% for Malays (Merewether 1892; Vlieland 1932). By the early twentieth century the port of Singapore was trading with Malaya, the Dutch East Indies and beyond, and continued to attract immigrants and sojourners from the region and further afield.

From 1826, Penang, Singapore and Malacca were joined together to form the Straits Settlements, which were administered in turn by the East India Company, the Presidency of Bengal, the Governor-General of India, and finally, from 1867, by the British Colonial Office (Teoh 2008). English-medium education in the Straits Settlements began in Penang in 1816, and was in operation in Singapore by the 1830s, alongside other schools that taught through either Chinese or Malay. The first English-medium boys' school in Singapore dates from 1834 and the founding of the Singapore Free School, which five years later took the name of Raffles Institution. This was later followed by a number of other schools for boys, including St Joseph's Institution (1852), the Anglo-Chinese School (1886), and St Andrews School (1871), and by 1899 there were eleven government-aided and three government boys' schools in operation. These were complemented by a number of English-medium girls' schools including St Margaret's (1842), Raffles Girls School (1844), the Convent School (1854), and by 1899 half a dozen such schools were in existence, catering to Europeans, Chinese and Indians (Lim 2008, pp. 66–67). Gupta (1994) notes that the numbers of children attending English-medium schools remained rather small throughout the nineteenth century, and only began to substantially increase from the 1890s onwards, mainly as a result of the growing popularity of such schools with the Chinese community. The popularity of English-medium education created an English-speaking section of the community, and in the 1921 Census it was reported that while Europeans and Eurasians accounted for 28% of English speakers, some 55% of English speakers were drawn from the Chinese community. However, while Straits Chinese children were taught officially through English, Malay was also extensively known and used, and this group contributed to a 'Malay-speaking nexus in the English-medium schools'. The teachers in the English-medium schools were from diverse backgrounds, and in the early decades of the twentieth century included Eurasians, Indians, and Europeans. Of the 'European' teachers in 1935, 12 were American, 15 were French, and 14 were German, Italian, or Portuguese (Gupta 1994, pp. 39–43). Given the high degree of multilingualism and language contact outside the bounds of formal education, there are also interesting questions concerning exactly what forms of English were actually taught and learnt in such schools:

> Thus the initial teaching of English was unlikely to have been a British version of English. It may not have been entirely Standard English either. Those numerous children who never reached the higher grades may never have been taught by a 'European' teacher. Historically, the starting point of English was never in a deviation from a British norm, as it is often presented in writings on the 'New Englishes'. A contact variety was actually taught from the very start. (Gupta 1994, p. 44)

In the colonial era of British Malaya, of which the Straits Settlements were an integral part, it seems clear from the record that access to English was not enthusiastically encouraged, but instead somewhat restricted by officialdom. In 1884, E.C. Hill, the Inspector of Schools for the Straits Settlements, asserted that 'the immediate result of affording an English education to any large number of Malays would be the creation of a discontented class who might become a source of anxiety to the community' (*Straits Settlements Annual Report*, 1884, cited in Pennycook 1994, pp. 85–86). In a somewhat similar vein, Frank Swettenham, Resident of Perak and future Governor of the Straits Settlements stated that 'Whilst we teach children to read and write and count in their own languages or in Malay, the *lingua franca* of the Peninsula and Archipelago, we are *safe*' adding that he also wished 'the boys taught useful industries and the girls weaving and embroidery' (Swettenham 1893, cited in Barlow 1995, p. 375). Throughout the Malayan peninsula, the government provided free elementary education for Malay children in the Malay language, although the sons of the Malay aristocracy were educated in English at the elite Malay College in Kuala Kangsar. For their part, the Chinese had to rely on wealthy donors or their clan associations to provide the funding for schools, and by the early twentieth century, there were Chinese schools in operation sponsored by various Cantonese, Hakka, Hainanese, Hokkien and Teo Chew clan associations. The Indians mostly lived in rural areas, where children attended schools supported by plantation owners and missionaries (Chew 2013, pp. 28–29). The pattern of education that emerged in colonial Malaya generally, as well as in Singapore, was a system of minimal government intervention, coupled with a patchwork of private educational endeavours, typically along ethnic fault lines.

The net effect of such policies was undoubtedly divisive, and one mid-twentieth century commentator summarized its effects in terms of separating the four major racial groups—Malays, Chinese, Indians and Eurasians—along language lines, noting that evidently: 'English education is reluctantly given to these racial groups, and it is only their own determination to enter the English schools that has tended to cause the Government to acquiesce' (Hendershot 1941, pp. 144–145). Taking this argument further, Rudner (1994, p. 286) added that: 'Rather than functioning as an agency for social integration, modernization and development, English schooling served instead to create a privileged Westernized, English-speaking elite geared to administrative office-holding and free professions', an assertion that applied perhaps most obviously to the city of Singapore, given the growing popularity of an English education among the ethnic Chinese towards the end of British colonial rule. What accelerated the promotion of EMI education was nothing less than the defeat of the British army by Japanese forces under the command of General Tomoyuki Yamashita in February 1942. When the British regained control of the city in September 1945, as discussed below, there began a new era in British colonial policy; the overriding aim of colonial rule soon came to be that of engineering a smooth withdrawal from its South Asian and Southeast Asian territories (Bayly and Harper 2007).

2.2 Post-war English-Medium Education and the University of Malaya

The shift in British language policy after the defeat of the Japanese was motivated by the UK government's intention to withdraw from the Malayan peninsula, and one early step in this direction was the formation of the Malayan Union in 1946. The Malayan Union included all of colonial Malaya with the exception of Singapore, which was expected to join quite shortly, and it was this attempt to create a Malayan 'nation' out of a multi-ethnic population that moved the government to promote a form of 'colonial nationalism' that aimed at creating a multi-racial 'responsible middle class [...] united by English education and the values it carried' (Bayly and Harper 2007, p. 100). Whereas previous colonial policy had recognised Malay as the lingua franca of the peninsula, the British now sought to promote English 'as the common language of the Malayan nation and an instrument for what was conceived as 'non-communal civic nationalism' (Sai 2013, p. 50). Accordingly, the colonial government then introduced a number of initiatives to promote English throughout education, including the Ten Year Plan for Education in 1947, a Five Year Supplementary Plan in 1950, and the White Paper for Bilingual Education and Increased Aid for Chinese Schools in 1953, as well as the establishment and location of the English-medium University of Malaya in Singapore 1949. A closely-related motivation for English education at this time was to promote a kind of multicultural civic-mindedness in line with pro-western and anti-communist sentiments at a time when the communist insurgency was gaining ground in Malaya (Sai 2013, pp. 50–54).

The first institutions of higher education in Singapore were King Edward VII College of Medicine, founded in 1905 to train practitioners for government hospitals, and Raffles College, founded in 1929, which offered Diploma courses in the Arts and Sciences. Proposals for developing higher education in Singapore were mooted in 1936 when there emerged a local campaign for raising the status of the Medical College and Raffles College to university level. These proposals were strongly supported by members of the middle- and upper-class Anglophone community which had gained importance over the previous century or so. In response, the government was moved to set up a Committee of Investigation in 1937, which a year later issued the McLean Report, which proposed the creation of a university college, as a way stage towards a full university. Immediately after the war, the Carr-Saunders Report of 1949 went beyond this and facilitated the merger in the same year of the College of Medicine with Raffles College in order to form the University of Malaya. At its opening, Malcolm MacDonald, the British Commissioner-General in Southeast Asia, and first Chancellor of the University predicted that it would become 'the crucible of the Malayan nation' and 'a cradle where a truly non-communal nation is nurtured' (Stockwell 2005, p. 1168).

As noted above, from the late 1940s onwards, the colonial government began to promote English rather than Malay as the lingua franca of Malaya, and simultaneously extended free primary education to all language streams, in contrast to its pre-war stance of providing free education to only Malay-medium schools. In somewhat complex fashion, the new system also privileged English, as these plans required vernacular-medium schools to teach English as a subject in the curriculum. This plan was soon rejected on the peninsula after the formation of the Federation of Malaya in 1948, but nevertheless greatly influenced developments in Singapore, which remained autonomous outside the Federation until 1963 (Sai 2013, p. 62). Another factor of immediate concern was the banning of the Malayan Communist Party and the declaration of the Malayan Emergency, which was to involve a ten-year anti-insurgency campaign against communist groups throughout the Federation and Singapore. In 1950, the Education Department launched its Five Year Supplementary Plan (FYSP) to massively expand free primary education, part of a 'hearts and minds' campaign to promote such anti-communist non-communal values as 'interracial mingling, democracy, civic-mindedness and a loyal citizenry' (Sai 2013, p. 66). Thus, Singapore's post-independence policy of promoting English-medium education may be directly traced back to these policies of the early 1950s, despite the perceived desirability of mother-tongue education at the time:

> The government realised the desirability of using vernacular languages as languages of instruction, but argued that 'the need of literacy in English in a polyglot population, such as Singapore, (had become) overriding'. What the FYSP put in place was thus an English-plus-vernacular language education model, one strikingly similar to the English-plus-Mother Tongue model currently adopted in Singapore's schools today. (Sai 2013, p. 66).

In response, many members of the Chinese community reacted strongly against this policy and the unequal funding of Chinese-medium schools, and in 1953 the government announced a 'Memorandum on bilingual education and increased aid to Chinese schools', which affirmed a new bilingual policy, and provide increased support for Chinese-medium schools, as long as they fulfilled certain conditions including an increased commitment to the teaching of English. This policy again drew much criticism, including the charge that it was aimed at the 'anglicization of Chinese schools' and the 'elimination of Chinese-medium education and culture' (Sai 2013, p. 71). Bilingual vernacular schools continued to exist in Singapore until the late 1970s, and it was not until 1987 that a unified language policy was firmly in place, with English as the official medium in all schools, and where the three other major languages, Mandarin, Malay, and Tamil were taught as 'mother tongues'. This is a policy that has been vigorously promoted by the post-colonial Singapore government and the People's Action Party (PAP), which came to power in 1965.

The development of higher education in Singapore was affected by the same set of political events that influenced elementary and secondary education in this period. The newly-founded University of Malaya drew many of its staff from Britain and the Commonwealth, and soon provided programmes of study in not only arts, sciences and medicine, but also agriculture, education, engineering and zoology, and in March 1954 a second branch of the institution was established in Kuala Lumpur (Stockwell 2005, p. 1171). However, almost from the beginning there were concerns that the system strongly favoured the children of wealthier families from the cities and that 'the colonial education structure which offered secondary education only in urban English schools resulted in a situation where geographic and language barriers kept most Malay students from higher educational achievement' (Hirschman 1972, p. 500). Another group that felt excluded from higher education were the graduates of Chinese vernacular schools, for whom the medium of English was a major hindrance in gaining access to the University of Malaya. In 1953, the prominent Chinese merchant Tan Lark Sye proposed the establishment of a Chinese-medium university. This suggestion drew massive public support and donations from all sectors of the Chinese population, and resulted in the opening of Nanyang University ('Nantah') in 1956, despite official fears that 'Chinese-medium instruction would undermine the use of English in the colony' and that 'this all-Chinese institution might aggravate communal differences or encourage the Chinese youth of Malaya to seek inspiration from the People's Republic of China' (Stockwell 2005, p. 1174).

The development of the University of Malaya also had its problems throughout the 1950s, with numerous conflicts between professors and other faculty, locals and foreigners, and related demands for increased 'Malayanisation' of positions. In 1957, the University was reviewed by a Commonwealth committee, the Aitken Commission, which recommended (a) the increased admission of children from vernacular schools, (b) the employment of increased numbers of local staff, and (c) the expansion of the Kuala Lumpur branch in order that it become a separate university. In addition, the Commission expressed some concern at the division between the English-educated and Chinese-educated in Singapore, and the role of Nanyang University in the community. Aitken himself believed that, at Nantah, loyalty to China was 'more an allegiance to China as China, than an allegiance to communism,' but the colonial governor of the time, Sir William Goode, was less generous, and in 1959 described Nanyang as likely to produce 'Communists of high quality' (Stockwell 2005, p. 1183). Meanwhile, in the peninsula, higher education moved towards a separate path and in January 1962 the two branches of the institution became autonomous, with the formal establishment of the University of Singapore and the University of Malaya. Despite this split, which ironically came at a time when Singapore was about to join the Federation of Malaysia, the University of Malaya had achieved a great deal educationally, and, by the standards of the day, 'on all counts compared favourably with other institutions of higher education in Britain's colonial empire' (Stockwell 2005, p. 1187).

2.3 Language Policies Since 1965

Singapore's membership of the Malaysian Federation lasted two short years from 1963 until 1965, when Singapore became a separate independent nation. Although Singapore's independence dates from 1965, self-government was initiated in 1959, towards the end of the colonial period, when one of the first acts was to endorse the principle of equal treatment for the four types of school then in existence, i.e. English, Chinese, Malay and Tamil (Lee 2008, p. 295). Since that time, language policies have continued to play an important role in nation building, and remain a matter of official concern up to the present. Four major language policy initiatives in the post-colonial period have included (i) the Official Languages and National Language policies (1950s–1960s); (ii) the Bilingualism Policy (1966); (iii) The Speak Mandarin Campaign (1979 to present); and (iv) The Speak Good English Movement (2000 to present). At the time of independence, most schools were English-medium, but there were also a number of Tamil, Malay and Mandarin medium schools in existence. By 1987 all of these were closed by the Singapore government, since when Mandarin Chinese, Tamil and Malay have been taught as a second language or 'mother tongue' in primary and secondary schools, and English has been stipulated as the sole medium of instruction for all levels of education (with the exception of a minority of language courses, including Chinese). For a short period, Malay was also a compulsory language for those who wanted to join the public service, and this policy was maintained until the mid-1970s. Since then, Malay has had the official status of a 'national language' in Singapore, and the national anthem continues to be sung in Malay, although today a knowledge of Malay is generally limited only to Malay 'mother tongue' speakers (Bolton and Ng 2014, p. 309).

The four sets of language policies mentioned above have been promoted by the dominant political party, the People's Action Party (PAP), who have held political power in the nation from the 1960s to the present. In particular, the direction of such policies was specifically shaped by the thinking and decisions of Singapore's post-colonial leader, Lee Kuan Yew, who took a particular interest in such language issues from the very beginning. In his 2012 volume on 'Singapore's bilingual journey', Lee provided the following rationale for the broad sweep of such decisions:

> We had 75 per cent of the population Chinese, speaking a range of different dialects; 14 per cent Malays; and 8 per cent Indians. But making Chinese the official language of Singapore was out of the question; the 25 per cent of the population who were not Chinese would revolt. [. . .] For political and economic reasons, English had to be our working language. This would give all races in Singapore a common language to communicate and work in. At the same time, we knew we had to provide equal opportunities for people to study their respective mother tongues […as] knowing one's mother tongue was a must. It gives one the sense of belonging to a culture, and increases self-confidence and self-respect. Hence, we decided that we must teach each student two languages - English and the mother tongue. (Lee 2012, pp. 59–60)

Thus, the essential formula for language policies and planning became established as a combination of English and the 'mother tongue', with the mother tongue designated as Mandarin for the Chinese community, Malay for those of Malay ethnicity, and Tamil, as historically the majority of South Asian immigrants had come from Southern India. Prime Minister Lee was also active in promoting Mandarin from the late 1970s onwards through the 'Speak Mandarin Campaign', a policy considered important not only both for educational and cultural reasons, as in

Lee's view Mandarin not only 'unites the different dialect groups', but 'reminds the Singapore Chinese that they are part of an ancient civilisation with an unbroken history of over 5000 years' (Lee 2012, p. 150). The Speak Good English Movement was introduced in 2000, amid concerns about the spread of 'Singlish' in the community and perceived falling standards of English. The effects of these policies continue today, and, following the widespread promotion of English as the dominant language of education, a large section of the population may now be regarded as 'English-knowing bilinguals', with proficiency in English as well as their ethnic language (Pakir 1991). One unintended consequence of official language policies has been the increasing spread of English as a home language and the de facto 'mother tongue' for increasing numbers of Singaporeans across ethnic groups, whose designated mother tongues, in many cases, are now becoming 'second languages'. Another outcome in the Chinese community has been the rapid shift from Chinese dialects such as Hokkien, Cantonese, and Teochew towards Mandarin, so that today very few young people are truly conversant with the dialects of their grandparents' generation.

2.4 Higher Education Since 1965

After the foundation of the modern Singapore nation in 1965, the policy of promoting English-medium education throughout all levels of education, including the tertiary sector, became increasingly important as the new nation developed, economically, politically, and socially. The test case for higher education during this period was that of Nanyang University ('Nantah'), which (as noted above) had opened its doors in 1956, in order to cater for the graduates of Chinese-medium schools in Singapore, and elsewhere in Southeast Asia. For many Chinese in Singapore, Nantah was seen as an idealistic and worthy enterprise, and drew a great deal of community support, but, as Lee Kuan Yew himself has explained, when the People's Action Party (PAP) came into power (pre-independence), Nanyang University was from the outset 'a prickly political problem' that required delicate handling. Nantah soon came under scrutiny from a number of quarters, including the Prescott Committee of 1959, and the Gwee Ah Leng Committee of 1960, both of which expressed concerns about the quality of instruction and its Chinese-medium language policy. Other concerns included the extent to which the students might be influenced or recruited by the Communist Party of Malaya, and the danger of the University provoking a racially-chauvinist reaction from the Malay community (Lee 2012, pp. 81–96). A few years later, after a number of Nantah graduates contested the 1963 elections as members of the Barisan Sosialis Party, Malaysian security forces arrested a number of Nantah students and alumni, and closed the student newspaper. In 1965, another committee was set up under the chairmanship of Professor Wang Gungwu, whose recommendations included the suggestion that Nantah should 'produce graduates who are at least bilingual, if not trilingual, in the languages relevant to the development of the country' (Lee 2012, p. 100).

From the mid-1960s the University received increasing support from the government, but, acccording to Lee's (2012) account, continued to resist attempts to reform Nantah into a bilingual institution throughout the 1970s, at a time when increasing numbers of Chinese school graduates were applying to the University of Singapore. In April 1980, after a good deal of discussion with various stakeholders, the decision was taken to merge Nantah with the University of Singapore in order to form the National University of Singapore (NUS). Nanyang University's Jurong campus in the west of the island was remodelled to host the Nanyang Technological Institute in affiliation with NUS. Eleven years later, this then became the disciplinary core of a reconstituted Nanyang Technological University (NTU), which then incorporated the National Institute of Education. The Nantah story continues to evoke discussion among Singaporean educators and historians, but, from the record, it seems clear that Nanyang University's failure was not simply due to questions of educational philosophy or language choice per se, but rather because of the crucial political significance of such choices at that time, as Lee Kuan Yew himself pointedly explained:

> From the start, it [Nantah] was doomed to fail. The tide of history was against it. […] Tan Lark Sye was a passionate believer in education, but he did not understand the larger geopolitical environment. He did not understand that Britain and the United States […] were not going to let pro-left-wing Chinese open up other young Chinese to the influence of their enemy, communist China. A university producing a generation of pro-China youths would facilitate China's advance into Southeast Asia. (Lee 2012, pp. 79–80)

The choice of name for the new institution of the National University of Singapore, which came into being in 1980, was likely decided by founding Prime Minister Lee, who from the outset was mindful of the challenges of nation-building in the post-colonial context of the time. In a 1966 speech on 'The role of universities in economic and social development', Lee argued that in the post-independence era the role of the universities was:

> to produce the teachers, the administrators, the men to fill the professions – your accountants, your architects, your lawyers, your technocrats, just the people to do jobs in a modern civilised community. And next and even more important, it is to lead thinking – informed thinking – into the problems which the nation faces. This university has fulfilled the first requirements: it has produced teachers; it had produced administrators; it has produced some of the people required in the professions and some of the technocrats. But it has not fulfilled its second role: definitive thinking; the definition and the exposition of your problems and the tentative search for solutions. (Lee 1966)

The challenge for Lee, and Singapore, was for universities to produce leaders who could deal with the problems of the *nation*. Lee then went on to note that in many other similar contexts in Africa and Asia, preference was shown for establishing Faculties of the Arts and Humanities, rather than Science and Technology, despite the obvious need for industrial and technological skills. In addition, Lee asserted, there was little use for studies 'in vacuo' and that *national* universities should also produce 'politically complete' citizens able to contribute to the development of society:

> When the university is able to creatively pursue the problems of our society, define them, and then set out to attack them and provide solutions, then I say the university has been established, it has become a national university. […] It means an organism which responds to the needs and the challenge of our time in this particular part of the world and in this society. (Lee 1966)

The need to establish national priorities for the University of Singapore occupied the PAP government for some years in the 1960s, and is documented in some detail by Lee (2008). One major turning point here was the appointment of Deputy Prime Minister Toh Chin Chye as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Singapore from 1968 to 1975. Toh was committed to the notion that 'the university should have a national self, an identity rooted in Singapore and in the Southeast Asian region'. He also favoured the promotion of 'value free' subjects such as administration, architecture, business, medicine and science, while regarding the arts and social sciences as 'not value free', and thus demanding special treatment, not least with reference to local values (Lee 2008, pp. 408–411). During the era of Toh Chin Chye, the terms of employment of expatriate staff were substantially changed in order to remove a number of their privileges. At the same time, overseas faculty also became the focus of scandalous articles in the local press, and various government spokesmen argued that such expatriate faculty were encouraging students 'to ape degenerate Western ways' (Puccetti 1972, p. 238).[1]

Five years after Toh Chin Chye stepped down as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Singapore, the National University of Singapore (NUS) was inaugurated under the leadership of Tony Tan Keng Yam, but the enduring commitment to university education in the service of society, in the service of the nation, remains as a continuing theme in higher education, not only in the case of NUS but in of all of Singapore's universities. The establishment of NUS in 1980 was followed by the foundation of Nanyang Technological University in 1991, as well as four younger universities in the 2000s (see Sect. 3.1 for an overview). It is important to note that English is the medium of instruction at all of these institutions, as is the case at all other levels of public education in Singapore. Over the past five decades, educational policy has been guided by two key objectives of Lee Kuan Yew and the PAP, that is 'to build a modern economy and to create a sense of Singaporean national identity' and as Singapore's economy has developed, educational priorities have shifted accordingly (OECD 2011, p. 160). In the 1960s, the emphasis was on labour-intensive manufacturing, in the 1970s and 1980s on skill-intensive production, while from the 1990s onwards Singapore has set out to excel in the global knowledge economy and to attract innovative engineering and scientific companies to establish themselves here. Today, at all levels of education (where English continues to be used as the sole official medium of instruction), there is a strong focus on mathematics, science and technical skills, and mathematics and science are core subjects taught for all primary and secondary students, while in higher education more than 50% of programmes are devoted to science and technology (OECD 2011, p. 168).[2]

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[1] Puccetti's (1972) article provides a fascinating window on the academic politics of the time, which in the author's (albeit partial) view were characterized by an increasingly authoritarian government control over university education, particularly in the humanities and social sciences.

3 Higher Education in Contemporary Singapore

This section of our chapter presents a brief overview of higher education in contemporary Singapore, with a specific focus on accredited universities, as opposed to such other tertiary institutions as the polytechnics and the three colleges of the Institute of Technical Education (ITE).[3] This section also discusses Singapore's role as an educational hub and the 'Global Schoolhouse' initiative of the early 2000s.

3.1 Singapore's Contemporary University System

There are currently six local universities in Singapore, providing degree programs to some 90,000 students. In the 2010 census, it was reported that some 22% of the resident non-student population in Singapore have obtained a university-level qualification, up from just over 11% a decade earlier (Department of Statistics 2010, p. 8).[4] The six local universities are: the National University of Singapore (NUS), the Nanyang Technological University (NTU), the Singapore Management University (SMU), the Singapore University of Technology and Design (SUTD), the Singapore Institute of Technology (SIT), and the SIM University (UniSIM) (see Table 1). In addition to these universities, there are five institutes in Singapore, known as polytechnics, providing three-year diploma courses to over 70,000 students (Ministry of Education 2015). The five polytechnics are: Nanyang Polytechnic (NYP), Ngee Ann Polytechnic (NP), Republic Polytechnic (RP), Singapore Polytechnic (SP) and Temasek Polytechnic (TP). A number of foreign universities have also established branch campuses in Singapore, as discussed in Sect. 3.2 below.

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[2] Lee Kuan Yew has been repeatedly quoted for a throwaway remark made in 1968, where he made the point that 'Poetry is a luxury we cannot afford', as, in his mind, technical education was far more important for national development (Koh 2014).

[3] In addition to Singapore's six universities, the Ministry of Education's Higher Education Division (or HED) also oversees nine other institutions, including five Polytechnics, the Institute of Technical Education (ITE), the Science Centre Singapore (SCS), the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) and the Council for Private Education (CPE) (MOE 2015).

[4] The 2010 census also reported on the resident student/non-student population by ethnic group and highest qualification obtained, where it is interesting to note that at that time, 22.6% of Chinese, 35% of Indians, and only 5.1% of Malays had obtained a university-level qualification.

Table 1 Universities in Singapore

University	Date of foundation	Type	Student enrollments[a]
National University of Singapore (NUS)	1949 (as University of Malaya), 1962 (as University of Singapore), 1980 (as NUS)	Public-autonomous	37,972
Nanyang Technological University (NTU)	1956 (as Nanyang University), 1981 (as Nanyang Technological Institute), 1991 (as NTU)	Public-autonomous	31,580
Singapore Management University (SMU)	2000	Public-autonomous	9300
SIM University (UniSIM)	2005	Private	13,369
Singapore University of Technology and Design (SUTD)	2009	Public-autonomous	1341
Singapore Institute of Technology (SIT)	2009	Public-autonomous	Approx. 3000

[a] The enrolment figures listed are for full-time undergraduate and postgraduate degree students and are taken from the following: NUS (2015); SMU (2015); The Straits Times (2013, 2015); and UniSim (2015)

The two largest comprehensive universities in Singapore are NUS (with some 38,000 students), and NTU (32,000 students). These two institutions have a relatively long history compared with the other four institutions (SMU, SUTD, SIT, and UniSIM), and are the only local universities in Singapore that were founded before the 2000s. As noted above, the history of NUS can be traced back to 1905 and the King Edward VII College of Medicine, but more specifically to the merger of the University of Singapore and Nanyang University in 1980. NTU's history may be dated from 1956 and the original Nanyang University, and, more recently 1991, when it officially became Nanyang Technological University (see above). SMU primarily focuses on entrepreneurship and business education, aiming to contribute to Singapore's so-called 'knowledge-based economy' (SMU 2015). SUTD, SIT and UniSIM focus on providing a more technologically-informed education that serves societal needs through integrating education and industry (SUTD 2015; SIT 2013; UniSIM 2015). The four newest universities generally share an 'applied' and 'practical' orientation to tertiary education which aims to meet the economic and social needs of the future, in line with government policies for developing a knowledge-based economy.

3.2 Singapore as an International Educational Hub

In addition to the local universities listed above, a number of foreign universities established themselves in Singapore from the early 2000s, with the encouragement of the government, which at the time envisioned higher education as a potential growth market for economic expansion. This initiative, which aimed to make Singapore a 'Global Schoolhouse', by attracting overseas universities to establish themselves and to increase the number of foreign students at school and university level from around 50,000 to a total of 150,000 by 2015. The high hopes for this initiative were set out in a speech by George Yeo, the Minister for Trade and Industry in August 2003, who explained the policy move in terms of the growing demand for education in the Asian region:

> Asians know that a good education can alter decisively the life chances of a child. Many are therefore prepared to pay large amounts to secure the best education for their children. […] Because of Singapore's position between the First and the Third World, our multilingual facility and our excellent public education infrastructure, this growing education market in Asia is a major economic opportunity for us. We can play a major role in providing a wide range of educational services both in Singapore and in other parts of Asia. (Yeo 2003)

The Minister then proceeded to explain the economic motivation for this policy move, arguing that 'If we can double or triple the number of international students in Singapore to 100,000 or 150,000, there will be all kinds of spin-offs for our economy' and that 'Our shops, restaurants and housing rental market will all benefit [… and] these students when they return home will expand our international network' (Yeo 2003).

By 2010, a number of international universities had been attracted to set up branches in Singapore, including INSEAD (Institut Européen d'Administration des Affaires), the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business, the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Technische Universiteit Eindhoven, Technische Universität München, the Georgia Institute of Technology and Johns Hopkins University (Ng and Tan 2010, p. 180). Other overseas universities with teaching programmes in Singapore at present include Curtin University (from Australia), DigiPen Institute of Technology (the US), James Cook University (Australia), Queen Margaret University (Scotland), Temple University (the US) and the University of Nevada (the US). In addition, local universities have also established joint-degree collaborations with overseas institutions, including a PhD programme run by the National Institute of Education and the UCL Institute of Education; a joint Master's programme offered by NUS's Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy, in collaboration with Columbia University, the London

School of Economics, and the Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris; and a Yale-NUS programme in the liberal arts, which was founded in 2011 (Ng 2013, p. 283).[5]

In recent years, however, there have been a number of problems with the 'Global Schoolhouse' project. In 2004, the University of New South Wales launched its plan to establish a full-scale campus in the city-state, which would go into operation in March 2007. In the event, the campus was closed after only two months in May 2007, with the University citing unexpectedly low enrolments and an 'unsustainable financial position' as the reasons for its withdrawal (Ng and Tan 2010). Other universities have also closed operations in the last few years, including New York University's Tisch School of the Arts, and the University of Chicago Booth School of Business. In the early and mid-2000s, foreign student numbers rose to reach 97,000 in 2008, but this total then started to fall in the following years, and was down to some 75,000 in 2014. In 2011, the government announced a cap on the numbers of foreign students in universities, which was set at a target of 15% of the cohort by 2015.[6] For the present, the Global Schoolhouse initiative is receiving somewhat less emphasis from the government, with little talk these days of Singapore as the 'Boston of the East' (Davie 2014). Despite this, Singapore's educational ambitions have spurred its two major universities to increasing recognition in the global university rankings. In the latest QS World rankings for NUS (2015/16) is ranked 12th in the world, with NTU close behind in 13th place.

4 The Sociolinguistics of EMI Higher Education in Multilingual Singapore

Although English is the sole official language of higher education and public education generally, in Singapore, the bilingual policy of the government has contributed to a complex patterning of multilingual language use in relation to the four official languages English, Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, as well as patterns of language contact and code alternation. A recent study of the linguistic ecology of college and university students (Siemund et al. 2014) highlighted some of the complexity of multilingualism in Singapore thus:

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[5] It is unclear from official websites and other sources exactly how many foreign universities are operating in Singapore. Various listings are posted on websites such as the following: Internations (2015), Universities in Singapore (2015), Digital Senior (2015), but one problem here is that such listings seem to conflate both private Singaporean universities and branch universities of overseas institutions, a situation further complicated by multiple collaborations between local educational players with overseas providers. In addition, there are also multi-national educational entrepreneurs such as Kaplan operating locally and providing a platform for degree courses from such Australian universities as Murdoch and RMIT, and UK institutions such as Essex, Northumbria and Portsmouth. The official government list of private colleges and universities lists a few hundred such organisations, but many of these appear to be lower-level vocational institutes, and little hard information about the enrolment and operation of these institutions is provided (Council for Private Education 2015).

[6] Ng (2013) reports that this cap was introduced in response to increasing concerns in the community concerning the provision of university places and scholarships to foreign students. He further explains that the Ministry of Education is currently increasing the number of places for local students, and that by 2015 an estimated 30 per cent of the cohort will be admitted to state-funded universities (Ng 2013, p. 289).

> [L]anguage use is no either/or-matter, but the product of a complicated mesh of factors comprising speaker competencies, preferences, attitudes and motivations, parameters of the communicative situation, and the topic of conversation. Singaporeans do not speak English *or* Singlish, Mandarin *or* Cantonese, Malay *or* Mandarin, or Mandarin *or* English. They typically command several codes. […] Multilingualism may be regarded as a process not a state. This, however, makes it difficult to assess the extent of multilingualism. (Siemund et al. 2014, p. 341, italics in original)

In attempting to get to grips with multilingualism in Singapore in general, and the sociolinguistic realities of the use of languages on Singapore university and polytechnic campuses, Siemund et al. (2014) investigated the language use, language background and language preferences of some 300 students. The results of this study indicate that English plays an important role in the lives of these students, that Colloquial Singapore English (or 'Singlish') is an identity marker for these students, and that most university students are either bilingual or trilingual. Another study by Chong and Seilhamer (2014) suggests that Singaporean Malay university students retain a strong sense of Malay identity, partly through the Malay language, even though English has become an integral part of their lives.

Another survey by Bolton et al. (2015) of some 8600 students and faculty at NTU reported on the language practices of students at the university, particularly in the students' formal education. The sample for the survey, which was conducted in late 2014 and early 2015, consisted of 8463 students (28.4% of student population), of which 705 were postgraduates, and 7717 were undergraduates. A total of 222 teaching staff completed the survey (19.8% of teaching staff population). One interesting finding from this survey is the obvious gap that exists between the undergraduate and postgraduate student populations at NTU. For example, and as can be seen in Table 2, when students were asked to report on the language in which they had the greatest proficiency, 59% of the undergraduate students reported that they were most proficient in English; among postgraduates, 42% reported to be most proficient in Mandarin, compared with 29% in English, and 27% in 'other' languages as Bahasa Indonesia and Hindi. This gap between the reported undergraduate and postgraduate students in terms of their reported language proficiency

Table 2 The languages in which NTU students claim greatest proficiency

Language	Undergraduate students (%)	Postgraduate students (%)
English	59	29
Mandarin	31	42
Malay	1	1
Tamil	1	1
Other	8	27

N 7575; *N* 705

Table 3 Reported difficulty in listening, speaking, reading and writing English for undergraduate and postgraduate students by College at NTU

College	Engineering		Science		HASS		Business	
Difficulty…	UG (%)	PG (%)	UG (%)	PG (%)	UG (%)	PG (%)	UG (%)	PG (%)
Listening to English	21	27	16	27	12	14	6	11
Speaking English	20	41	15	32	11	21	5	18
Reading English	16	21	10	11	10	11	5	5
Writing English	31	40	25	32	19	23	10	13

N 8280

can be explained by the fact that a majority of the undergraduate student population at NTU are Singaporean citizens and ‘permanent residents’ (approximately 77% and 6% respectively). In direct contrast, the majority of postgraduates are non-Singaporean students (approx. 65%), including many students recruited from the People’s Republic of China (PRC), for whom English is a foreign language.

There was also reported variation in the English communication abilities of students according to College affiliation at NTU. Table 3 sets out the responses from students of the four major Colleges at NTU concerning their self-reported difficulties (‘Some’ or ‘A lot’) in understanding, speaking, reading and writing in English. From this table, it can be seen that there are clear differences between students from the so-called hard sciences, that is, Engineering, and Science, and students from Business and the Social Sciences. Students from the College of Engineering and the College of Science expressed higher levels of difficulty with understanding, speaking and writing in English in comparison with students from the College of Business and students from the College of the Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences (HASS).

It would be interesting to investigate the extent to which these findings may be mirrored by similar results from the other tertiary institutions in Singapore, or even other universities elsewhere in Asia (Bolton and Botha 2015). Despite such reported difficulties, it is evident that, in relative terms at least, English medium education in Singapore has been a success story unequalled by other Asian nations in terms of promoting proficiency in the English language (Bolton 2008). Nevertheless, it is important to consider the wider multilingual ecology of the Singapore society, and the often complex multilingual worlds of Singaporean university students. At NTU, for example, it is clearly visible that students engage in complex patterns of ‘translanguaging’ on campus, switching from more formal registers of English in the classroom to code-mixing and code-switching (routinely involving Colloquial Singapore English, Malay, Mandarin and Indian languages) in the corridors and cafeterias (see Heugh et al. 2017). Indeed, one interesting strand of future research would be to investigate how the home languages of students, as well as their personal language experiences in other domains, connect, or fail to connect, with their academic language needs at university.

5 Conclusion

Singapore is a unique multi-ethnic nation, strategically situated at the southern tip of the Malay peninsula, which has become an economic and financial powerhouse over the last fifty years.[7] Today, it has a diverse economy based on a variety of activities, including its port and entrepot trade, its financial centre, and its exports of electronics, IT products and pharmaceuticals (World Factbook 2015). In recent years, its language policies at all levels of education have been aimed at enhancing the economic development of society, and ensuring that Singapore remains competitive in the global economy. This desire, if not need, to maintain its global competitiveness provides one important strand of explanation with reference to the role of EMI education in the Lion City, but is only part of the story, as this article has sought to explain.

This chapter began with a detailed discussion of the colonial education system which produced a patchwork of Malay, English, Chinese, and Indian schools, before moving on to a discussion of the promotion of English-medium education and the foundation of the University of Malaya in the years immediately following the Second World War. Crucially, this discussion indicates that the contemporary (post-Independence) policy of promoting English had strong roots in the colonial language policies of the 1950s. The chapter then proceeded to a consideration of the concerns in policy with ‘nation-building’, not merely in its ideological sense but also in a very practical sense, as the early leaders of the newly-independent nation saw the vital need for technical and scientific education geared to the needs of a newly-industrializing economy. The following sections of the chapter then focused on the contemporary context of higher education, the review of policy initiatives by the government linked to the ‘Global Schoolhouse’ project of the early 2000s, and the sociolinguistics of EMI education at a leading Singapore university. One major argument that emerges from this is that the promotion of English-medium education in Singapore is perhaps best understood in terms of the dialectic between the (partly-forgotten) educational and ethnic politics of late colonialism and the pragmatic utilitarian needs of post-independence Singapore, where scientific, technological, and vocational education has been promoted to serve the needs of a knowledge-based economy that is internationally competitive on the world stage. A second argument is that one important area of future research will be to look outside formal classroom usage to investigate the complex multilingual worlds of students in their family lives, friendships, media usage and personal lives generally, in order to investigate how their language experiences in such domains connect with (or disconnect from) their acquisition of academic literacy within their university education.

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[7] Singapore’s GDP per capita for 2014 was an astonishing US$83,100. The comparable figure for the US is $54,400, with $46,600 for Australia, and $39,800 for the UK (World Factbook 2015).

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Language Policy and Transnational Education (TNE) Institutions: What Role for What English?

Stuart Perrin

Abstract Transnational Education (TNE) can be seen as one part of ‘cross-border’, ‘offshore’ or ‘borderless’ education and is often associated with English speaking institutions and educational models based overseas. With many TNE institutions offering English medium instruction (EMI) programmes, there is a shift in focus away from English as a Foreign Language (EFL) to English being both an academic discipline and the mode of delivery. However, one question that remains unresolved is around the English language variety and standard that EMI TNE institutions should aim for as their ‘working language’ both for everyday use and as an academic *lingua franca*. The paradoxical situation often exists where students are not studying in their first language, and being assessed by academics who are again mostly English additional language speakers, but with a target language based on English ‘native speaker’ norms. China has been particularly active in developing initiatives. Taking one TNE institution as a working example, this chapter discusses some of the challenges of developing TNE in China, before going on to highlight the need for, and challenges of, creating and adopting workable language policies in a TNE environment. These challenges include the need to reflect the international nature of staff and students, to acknowledge the diverse range and variety of Englishes that the student and staff body brings to the TNE University, whilst recognizing the importance and status of the host country’s first language.

Keywords English medium instruction (EMI) · Transnational education (TNE) · *Lingua franca* · Language policy · China · Higher education

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1 Introduction

A growing phenomenon in higher education in the 2000s has been the rise of internationalized education, and more specifically Transnational Education (TNE). TNE is synonymous with ‘cross-border’, ‘offshore’ or ‘borderless’ education (Knight 2005; Lawton and Katsomitros 2012; Sadler 2015; Walker 2014) and it is typically associated with the exporting of English speaking education and educational models. TNE may take many forms but was defined by UNESCO/Council of Europe (2001) as education ‘in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based’ (p. 2). There has been little change over the last few years in defining TNE, with both the British Council (2014) and The Global Alliance for Transnational Education (GATE 1999) listing the various forms as:

- *Branch Campuses*: campuses which are set up by an institution in another country to deliver the home institute’s educational programmes to students overseas.
- *Franchises*: one institution approves a different institution in another country to provide one or more of the initiating countries’ programmes of study in that second country.
- *Articulation*: the systematic recognition by an institution in one country of specially designated study programmes at an institution in another country as credit, or partial credit.
- *Twinning*: agreements to offer joint programmes between institutions in different countries.
- *Corporate Programmes*: programmes offered by institutions for academic credit in other countries sponsored or designed by large corporations.
- *Online Learning and Distance Education*: distance education programmes that are delivered, usually on-line but not exclusively so, across national borders.
- *Study Abroad*: a student from one country travels to another to study and take courses for a fixed period of time.

Arguably, much of the attention in the growth of higher education TNE initiatives has been in the increase in the number of campuses being established outside of the countries in which they are based. An audit by Lawton and Katsomitros (2012) established that there were more than 220 international campuses globally, with the vast majority established by English speaking countries such as the USA, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia. Indeed, the majority of international campuses being built originate from institutions in Anglophone countries. These same originating countries are also host to more than 50% of the students who study abroad (Hughes 2008), which has also helped make English the common language—or *lingua franca*—in international higher education (Wilkins and Urbanovic 2014). Often the model proposed and developed is to replicate the administration and delivery at the home campus as far as is possible, including the degree programmes, the methods of teaching and learning, and the forms of assessment. It comes therefore as little surprise that the same language of instruction is used (English) regardless of the location of delivery.

Alongside this growth in TNE offerings generally, there is an emerging trend for English Medium Instruction (EMI) programmes, thereby shifting the focus away from English being taught as a Foreign Language (EFL). Dearden (2014) has defined EMI as ‘the use of English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English’ (p. 4). As well as at the growing number of TNE institutions, EMI is increasingly being used in universities that have traditionally used the local mother tongue. EMI and internationalisation seemingly then go hand-in-hand. This is especially the case when highly diverse and international student bodies require instruction in a language that is common (i.e. a *lingua franca*) to them all.

This chapter first gives an overview of TNE within mainland China, highlighting some of the specific challenges that foreign institutes may face within the Chinese higher education (HE) sector. It then briefly reviews the development and growth of English language teaching within China, highlighting why the ability to communicate in English is so valued. The second part of the chapter describes how one institution has attempted to bring together both strands of being a TNE institution as well as an EMI institution through the development of a language policy, and discusses some of the key findings from the research that informed the development of this policy. It concludes that, whilst this initiative is a bold step for the institution, there is much that still needs to be done and that the policy is at an early stage of its development, which will need to be revisited in future years if it is to be successful over a prolonged period.

2 English Language and TNE Institutions

As many TNE institutions are EMI, English is usually the academic *lingua franca*, but there is an important discussion to be had regarding the English language variety and standard that EMI TNE institutions should aim for. Jenkins (2011) highlights the fact that, although such universities may claim to be ‘international’ in nature, when it comes to English, it is largely ‘native speaker’ standards that are expected, calling it ‘business as usual’. Indeed Jenkins (2011) sees an opportunity in what is essentially an ‘English as a *Lingua Franca’* or ELF environment, as the demand for native speaker standards fails to take into account that students (and academics) will ‘communicate primarily in non-native *lingua franca* English groups’ within the international or TNE environment. Despite this, there is often pressure on both academic staff whose first language is not English and the student body to function as close as possible to native-like standards in terms of professional practice and assessment, as well as everyday language use.

Over a decade ago Brumfit (2001) had already summed up the debate that ‘native (English) speakers are in a minority for (English) language use, and thus in practice for language change, for language maintenance, and for the ideologies and beliefs associated with the language' (p. 116). More recently Turner (2011) highlighted that anything that is not 'the English norm' in academia is represented as needing remedial action, and that the 'discourses around English have native speaker dominant representations and conceptualisations of the language' (p. 3). For non-native English speaking academic staff and students, this dilemma of language proficiency, between the pressure for a native speaker level of competence during the working and professional day, and the need to communicate effectively within the Chinese first language community, can place enormous stress on them on a daily basis.

3 Transnational Higher Education and China

Asia, and especially China, has been particularly active in TNE (Huang 2007), and The British Council (2013) identified China as a country with TNE opportunity. The 2015 UK-China Education summit, for example, resulted in the signing of 23 education agreements, focusing on vocational and higher education, including sports education (PIE News 2015). Interestingly, it was not all one-way traffic, with one agreement between Cardiff University and Beijing Normal University creating a college in Wales to deliver undergraduate programmes in Chinese.

Within mainland China, Huang (2007) notes that the Education Act of the People's Republic of China 1995 encouraged cooperation with foreign partners and, subsequently, partnerships or joint ventures between Chinese and UK/USA/Australian institutions became increasingly common. The next development to further encourage the opening up of the Chinese Higher Education sector to foreign involvement and cooperation within country were the (The People's Republic of China 2003) Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools, which established the provisions for Chinese-foreign cooperation in the administration and organization of a variety of Schools, including those that could be established as part of universities. With the entry of China into the World Trade Organisation, which in effect legitimized China, the country started to become more attractive as a destination country for transnational activity and a small number of licenses were issued to foreign providers to establish new universities in collaboration with local partners. Since then, as Kirkpatrick (2017) has highlighted, there has been an expansion of Chinese universities that offer a range of EMI programmes and courses, as well as an increase in the range and number of partnerships with foreign universities. These increases can be seen within the context of the National Plan for Medium and Long Term Educational Reform and Development (Ministry of Education 2010), which set out three strategic goals for the period from 2010 to 2020: achieving educational modernisation, forming a learning society, and transforming China into a country with competitive human resources. In order to achieve these goals, there is a planned expansion of student numbers (both home and international) to 35.5

million by 2020, as well as a real improvement in international competitiveness in the HE sector.

4 Challenges of Developing TNE Institutions in China—Driving Forces

As Sadler (2015) indicated, the process of the opening up of Chinese HE has been gradual and, perhaps unsurprisingly, carefully managed. Chiang (2012) made the same point, suggesting that the approach of developing HE in China has deliberately included the need to critically engage with foreign providers, with local capacity-building something that needs to be developed and negotiated rather than expected. Change and development has had to operate within established policies and practices that pervade the education system at all levels. Within the HE sector, these include price-setting or the setting of tuition fees, admissions quotas, student recruitment and programme approval processes, each of which has an impact on the introduction of market forces into the HE sector.

One significant difference between TNE initiatives within China and more traditional Chinese universities (i.e. those which are more influenced by the state), is that international collaborative projects are able to charge international fees for their programmes. Charging fees in the Chinese HE sector is relatively new, and government policy and approval is quite restrictive for traditional Chinese universities, as the fee approval needs to be seen as fair and also avoid inflationary influences on the wider economy. For traditional Chinese universities, the approach taken has been to freeze fees for certain periods of time, for example for the 5 years prior to 2014, and for there to be minimal differentiation between the fees charged for different disciplines. The ability for international collaborative universities to charge fees more akin to market prices is therefore quite a step forward, and is being closely watched sector wide. There is, however, still government control to some extent, and even market-driven fees need to be agreed with provincial governments.

The admissions process is similarly regulated. Whilst international collaborations have some degree of autonomy in charging market prices, this is effectively removed when it comes to admissions, with most, if not all, institutions facing the same strict quota system as local universities. The quota system works such that universities are allocated a set number of places centrally, often on each degree programme, to students from each province. Students' entry to university is determined by performance in the Gao Kao entrance exam, which is nationwide but with provincial variance, and the route to university and subject studied is determined by one's performance. Taken at the end of high school, the Gao Kao is sat over a three-day period across the country each July. Whilst it emphasizes maths and science, it also measures knowledge of written Chinese, English and Marxist thought. Although Chinese high school students select both the universities they want to attend and the major they wish to study, the score they need to gain entrance to a university depends on the major. It is common for students to have little knowledge about their majors when they select them, and maths-based subjects are usually the most popular, and therefore have the highest entry scores. There are cut-off scores for tier one and tier two universities, though these can vary depending on which province an applicant comes from, as well as the applicant's ethnicity. The Gao Kao system has been challenged by the elite universities for some time now, and the international collaborative universities are adding to this pressure for change. One outcome has been that selected universities are now able to use an autonomous admissions process, where they develop their own entrance tests, although these are also closely supervised and regulated at the provincial level. Places to university through this process are not in addition to the quota places, but one way of meeting the quota. Whilst still regulated, this is the beginning of changes to the way that students enter university.

Like any other Chinese university, international collaborations (or any programme delivered in English) still needs to go through the government programme and content approval process. Because of oversupply in some subject areas, or the sensitive nature (for the government) of some subjects such as law, new programmes need to be approved on an annual basis and institutions are limited by both the number of new degree programmes they can submit and subject areas. The content of programmes is also controlled, with the central programme catalogue as the main reference point, indicating a clearly defined set of key material that must be included and understood for each programme. Sadler (2015) has indicated that there is now the possibility to develop new programmes outside of this controlled process, and new institutions are encouraged to do so, but he goes on to explain that the pace of change is very slow and potentially limiting to the development of Chinese HE.

Internationalisation is a recurring theme amongst Chinese HE institutions. Despite investment in education that would be the envy of other nations, very few Chinese universities feature at the top of university ranking systems internationally (Sadler 2015). One reason for this may be the elements that contribute to these rankings; namely research quality, the number of international students and staff, and graduate employment prospects. In terms of research, China has, over the last 30 years or so, tried to concentrate investment in a group of universities which the government believes will be able to compete globally in terms of quality research output. The Project 211 initiative in 1995, for example, was aimed at creating 100 universities fit for the 21st century while the Project 985 initiative in 1998 had the goal of creating world class universities, initially with 9 institutions from 1998, with an additional 30 joining in 2004 (Project 211 and 985 n.d.). The original nine universities joined together to create the C9 group, much as the Russell Group exists in the UK. There are, however, questions about the impact that research from China has internationally in many areas. The distribution of research and innovation in China is also heavily biased towards the east coast, with over 60% of all publications coming from this region in 2011 (Sadler 2015). There are also issues surrounding the grant awarding process in China, especially the level of transparency. Being given only a few days' notice to apply is common, and those without special contacts with the grant awarding bodies can be at a disadvantage. Most of the applications also need to be in Chinese, which for international collaborative universities often means having to build translation time into the application process.

The internationalisation of the staff and student body is also a very real challenge, partly because the Chinese HE system is very inward looking. Schemes such as the ‘thousand talents’ programmes, designed to encourage Chinese nationals working outside of China to return, have had limited success, with questions about the permanence of the returnees because many often still hold positions overseas. Recruitment of foreign nationals is increasing, and it is this group that is essential for the success of international collaborations, but again residency regulations makes it difficult to create a long-term core staff. For foreign nationals who are recruited to EMI programmes at traditional Chinese universities, language issues within the wider (Chinese-speaking) university environment are also a real challenge.

As with the recruitment of staff, the recruitment of students is also problematic. China has stated targets that are at best ambitious and at worst unattainable, including the recruitment of 15,0000 international students into higher education by 2020 (Ministry of Education 2010). Currently, many of these international students are not studying on degree programmes, but on short programmes or exchanges. To cater for a large student body that is studying on credit-bearing programmes would mean changes to the way that traditional Chinese universities operate, including the need to confront the ‘language issue’. This gives a comparative advantage to international collaborations and joint ventures, where the expertise of the international partner comes to bear, as well as (often) the luxury of using the English language.

5 TNE in Jiangsu Province

One province that has taken a leading role in trying to achieve these targets is Jiangsu. In the east of China with Nanjing as the capital, Jiangsu Province was one of the first provinces of China to admit international students and has become an area of international collaborative activity. The province now has the largest number of HE institutions, with over 105 universities and colleges. Jiangsu’s international co-operation programmes are well established, and in 2010 there were 14,142 students from 164 countries studying in higher learning and research institutions in the province (Jiangsu Education 2011). It also has extensive exchange programs with over 300 universities internationally. The number of HE institutions funded by private sectors nationally and internationally is also increasing (Jiangsu Net 2014). In 2010, the Jiangsu Provincial People’s Government established the Jasmine Jiangsu Government Scholarship to further attract and encourage international students to study in Jiangsu, including increasing the high numbers of primary and secondary-level foreign students who also study in the province. By 2015, Jiangsu was aiming to have at least 30,000 international students studying at its universities, and it hopes to become the most coveted destination in China for international students (Jiangsu Education 2011).

Challenges centred on learning and teaching can be divided into two main areas; quality assurance and student participation. The centrally controlled nature of the Chinese HE sector (and indeed education generally) means that questions are raised about quality assurance and independence. The UK quality assurance framework, typified by the work of the Quality Assurance Agency, is of interest to China, and provincial governments are now looking at ways that an independent regulator may be included in the Chinese education system. Whilst it is not clear what aspects of the UK system may eventually be adopted, if any, both provincial and national governments are tendering for projects that consider quality assurance issues, and some collaborative universities are creating learning and teaching centres to promote educational systems different from those usually found in Chinese universities.

One such example is the Institute of Leadership and Educational Advanced Development (ILEAD), co-founded by Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU) and The National Academy of Education Administration (NAEA) and based in XJTLU in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province. Student participation issues are related to students' familiarity with a more passive form of learning, and how to make them actively and independently engage in the learning process. The style of learning in traditional Chinese universities, and in secondary education highlights 'defined sets of information, the understanding of which has to be achieved through repetitive learning and demonstrated through reproduction' (Sadler 2015, p. 9). Further evidence of this approach was highlighted earlier when explaining that degree programmes have core content areas that need to be covered.

6 English Language in China

The recognition of the need for English teaching in Chinese schools is quite recent. At the beginning of the 20th century, English was principally associated with mission schools and attempts by missionaries to convert students into the ways of westernized Christianity (Clark 2013). Later they were seen as bastions of imperialism, and therefore privilege. Following The Cultural Revolution, which initially outlawed anything foreign until Chairman Mao's death in 1977, English education was influenced by the prevailing ideology. Since 1978, the teaching of English has been included in the Chinese school curriculum with more of a focus on global, economic and cultural elements. English is taught in primary schools from the age of six, may be taught in kindergartens, and is a key part to both secondary and higher education. At the age of 15, students take the Zhong Kao examination and English is a key part to this. At the age of 18, students take the Gao Kao examination for university entrance, and English teaching at school is almost totally focused on passing the English element to this. Teaching in this context relies heavily on students undertaking rote learning, on prescriptive grammar and word-for-word translations (Clark 2013), with spoken language skills often neglected. At university, students need to pass the College English Test (CET) at level four in order to graduate, and again teaching is largely aimed at passing the examination.

The rapid economic development of China has also led to the increased use of English. As Clark (2013) highlights, 'it is largely because of the importance of exports for the continued growth of China's economy that English is being promoted so heavily in the education system' (p. 71). China has also implemented English language retraining programmes for government employed staff, which still makes up quite a sizable percentage of the working population, perhaps typified by the efforts made for the Beijing Olympic Games. Prior to the games, the government sponsored English language training courses for civil servants and those involved in the games, and Beijing television broadcast an English language training programme called Gateway to English (Gil 2015). These, and many other initiatives, were intended to enable the city dwellers and workers of Beijing to communicate with the athletes and the anticipated increase in the number of visitors during the Games.

The ability to communicate in and use English competently, often meaning having a native speaker-like accent, has become synonymous with higher income, prestige and status (Joseph 2004). The status of English is further discussed by Pavlenko and Norton (2007), who suggested that in the global market place, national—and individual—identities are often constructed in relation to English as the language of the world economy. Jiang (2003) explained that in China, fluency in English is considered as a prime skill, possibly above all others, which can be measured financially. That is not to say that native speaker English is necessarily the standard that should be aimed for. He and Li (2009), for example, highlight the development of China English as a legitimate variety, which they define as:

> a performance variety of English which has the standard Englishes as its core but coloured with characteristic features of Chinese phonology, lexis, syntax and discourse-pragmatics, and which is particularly suited for expressing content ideas specific to Chinese culture through such means as transliteration and local translation (p. 77).

The expected standard of English that is often required in EMI TNE Institutions is further discussed in the next section, particularly from the perspective of language policy.

The chapter to date has discussed the situation and challenges with regard to developing TNE in China and issues related to the development of EMI programmes and courses. The chapter now moves to a brief discussion of language policy development. It goes on to look at a case study of one university in China and the approach that it has taken in developing a language policy that attempts to capture all languages used within its institution, whilst recognising the unique situation that the University (and other TNE EMIs) operates in.

7 Language Policy

Language policy has been described as language planning imposed from the top down (Jenkins 2014), and is often concerned with standardizing language or particular versions of it. Top down language planning was perhaps best conceptualized by Haugen (1966), who identified four stages to the process: the selection of the language (to be standardized), codifying the language to create 'corpus knowledge', use across the full range of society, and acceptance by its (potential) users. This suggests that language norms are fixed, which may be seen as a traditionalist perspective, though in practice, language and language users are never as obliging. Instead, language norms are rarely fixed but change over space and time as users interact with each other, and such a (top down) process therefore forgets 'the choices that language users make in practice' (Jenkins 2014 p. 75).

Woolard (2005) highlights two ideologies relevant to the study of English language policy in higher education: namely 'authenticity' and 'anonymity'. He describes the ideology of authenticity as 'locating the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community' and anonymity as 'the way that hegemonic languages in modern society often rest their authority on a conception of anonymity' (Woolard 2005, p. 2). In effect, what Woolard is suggesting is that a second language user must sound like a native speaker as this is valued (authenticity), and also sound like 'all the rest' in using a common standard language (anonymity). Jenkins (2014), and numerous other scholars, disagree and argue that this highlights some of the issues within TNE EMI institutions, bringing legitimacy to the need for all language users to conform to academic English norms based around either British or North American English, and bringing negative views (and worse) if there is a divergence from these norms.

The challenge within TNE EMIs is that the majority of English users are not native speakers. Jenkins (2014) describes 'a mismatch between the kinds of English that are actually practiced by these (ELF) speakers, and the policies that stipulate how they should be practiced, that is, native-like English, typically North American or British' (p. 79). To put it another way, TNE EMIs with their current positions on English variety and use are creating the paradoxical situation where the majority of students are studying in a language that is not their first language, and where they are also being taught and assessed by academics who are mostly speakers of English as an additional language. Meanwhile, the English language standard that is being used as a benchmark for assessment (as well as for the delivery of the programmes) is based on English native speaker norms, alien to both stakeholders.

8 Xi'an Jiaotong—Liverpool University: A TNE Collaborative Institution

Xi'an Jiaotong-Liverpool University (XJTLU) is a TNE EMI university situated within Suzhou in Jiangsu Province on the east of China, and it experiences the English language dilemma highlighted in the preceding section. It was established in 2006 and is accredited by the University of Liverpool for delivery of provision leading to University of Liverpool awards. The University's vision is to become a research-led international university in China and a Chinese university recognised internationally for its unique features in learning and teaching, research, service to society, and educational management.

As well as being an EMI institution, XJTLU is also a Chinese tier 1 university, meaning that it is in the top groupings of universities, especially when it comes to student enrollment through the Gao Kao system described earlier. Like all Chinese universities, home students are required to study and pass a number of compulsory modules in Chinese Culture and Communication Studies and Physical Education in order for a degree to be awarded. Except for these modules, Chinese and Spanish language courses (and any other future additional languages), all programmes are delivered through the medium of English. In addition, English is regarded by the University as the *lingua franca* for communication purposes. As English has become the *lingua franca* of academic exchange, lecturers, professional services and students across all areas and disciplines are facing a new reality; creating a truly international university with English as the medium of instruction, without compromising the quality of learning and teaching in this new context.

9 Developing a Language Policy in XJTLU

Despite XJTLU being an English-speaking university within the context highlighted in the preceding section, it was only in the summer of 2015 that a language policy was introduced that established the extent or variety of the use of English, and attempted to safeguard the status of other languages (and use) within the institution. Taking EMI institutions in the Middle East (such as Qatar University and long-established American universities such as NYU Abu Dhabi) and Scandinavia (such as Uppsala University and Kth Royal Institute of Technology) as examples, as well as in Hong Kong, it could be argued that a language policy should be common practice in an institution where learning and teaching takes place in a language that is not the dominant 'national' one, in order to protect all language interests.

This chapter continues by detailing the processes and challenges that the University went through in creating such a policy, including

- capturing the status of English as the academic *lingua franca* and its importance in teaching, research and publishing;
- recognising the desire of students (and their parents) to study in English as being crucial for personal and professional development and future career options;
- recognising the status of other languages (including other Englishes) that may be heard and used or studied around the campus; and
- recognising that Chinese as the first language of the majority of students was also the language of everyday use outside of the university.

Any language policy developed, therefore, needed to acknowledge the importance of Chinese as the national *lingua franca*, and other working languages within the University, whilst being clear about the educational context of English being the medium of instruction.

Following a University committee decision to investigate the possibility of developing a language policy in spring 2014, a staff working group was established which included membership from all areas of University activity. The rationale to guide the working group was that it should:

- provide clear guidance for students and academic staff with regard to expected English language standards within assessment.
- provide clear focus and guidelines for English usage as part of XJTLU's communications strategy and campus environment.
- discuss the place of multiple languages within the University.

The initial discussion paper submitted to the committee argued that XJTLU should have a language policy that reflects the international nature of its staff and students, and which acknowledges the diverse ranges and varieties of Englishes that the student and staff body bring to the university, focusing on clarity, effectiveness and contextual appropriateness of communication, and aiming for high academic standards, but not native-like English.

The working group took a number of approaches. Firstly, it tried to determine best practice in other transnational universities in Asia, North America, Africa and Europe as well as attempting to identify any language issues at other transnational universities. Language policies in Hong Kong as well as in areas such as Quebec and Scandinavia were analyzed and common issues identified. Based on this, three surveys were organized; for academic staff, professional support staff, and students. The aim of these surveys was to investigate the usage of languages at XJTLU, the beliefs and ideologies concerning them, and the current policies or management practices at the University. Research ethics approval was granted to approach the whole student and staff body as part of the study. Drawing on the general deductive approach (Thomas 2006), data was collected using a combination of questionnaires and focus groups.

The questionnaires were conducted in English, with the student and professional services staff versions of the survey also translated into Chinese to ensure understanding by Chinese-dominant respondents. The surveys had a healthy response rate, with 60% of academic staff, 50% of professional services staff and 47% of students (predominantly in years 1 and 2) taking part. Respondents were also invited to participate in a number of focus groups (Myers and Macnaghten 1999) to delve into any identified issues. Over 700 participants from the three stakeholder groups volunteered and a total of 20 focus groups were held. The distribution of the 20 focus groups included 4 professional services staff groups, 4 groups with only English language tutor groups, 3 academic teaching staff groups, and 11 student groups. Each of the focus groups was recorded, and they all had the same facilitator for consistency of approach. Each group was asked to consider the following questions:

- To what extent, if any, can the use of any language other than English be tolerated in teaching;
- Should XJTLU be an English speaking/using campus for all academic/student activity;
- Should English be the only working language within the University? If so, what training should be provided at the university level to assist in staff development;
- If dual language is permitted, under what circumstances should this take place;
- To what extent should English be considered a factor in assessment/marking criteria?

Analysis of the data, particularly from the focus group was quite revealing, and a summary of the key findings is provided in the next section.

10 Summary of Stakeholder Responses

There was widespread confusion amongst many respondents as to whether the University already had a language policy, as a result of commonly held beliefs that English should always be used, or individual policies (e.g. that e-mails should be in English). Students felt that the (imagined) English-only rule lowered standards; for example, many posters were written with poor translations from Chinese. Students mostly stated that they would prefer lecturers to only use English, but that there were some problems with this, especially with regard to lecturers' accent and pronunciation, which they felt sometimes hindered comprehension. This was also indicated as a contributing factor to low attendance by some of the students. Lecturers similarly recognised issues with accent and pronunciation and indicated that lack of training in working with non-English first language speakers was important. Lecturers also felt that Chinese could be used in classes if it helped students to understand. There was a difference of opinion between lecturers and students about the use of English in the classroom. Students appreciated the English for Academic Purposes modules in the first two years of study, but would have liked greater variety and also modules to extend into years three and four, as they felt their ability to use English declined slightly in these years. Lecturers, however, felt that Chinese in the classroom was permissible and that any attempts to enforce and English-only rule could lead to student rebellion. Outside of the classroom however, there seemed to be a reversal taking place with students feeling that they should have language choice for communication efficiency, whilst academic staff wanted an enforcement of the English-only rule to help the students develop. Indeed, staff felt that immersion was the only way that students' language ability would develop. Administrative staff took a different line, recognizing that English should be the language for dealing with students and staff issues, but Chinese should be the language for everyday communication within the office. This may have been a reflection of the fact that 99% of administrative and professional support staff are Chinese first language speakers.

Following a detailed analysis of the recordings of the focus groups, it was possible to systemically identify the development of six themes (Charmaz 2006) which would become the framework for the language policy at the University. These were:

- language of learning and teaching;
- language of assessment;
- language of recruitment;
- language of research;
- language of administration; and
- social/daily life language.

Within this chapter, it is not possible to go into detail for each element of the language policy, so a summary is provided here.

11 Language Policy Themes

The language policy themes, informed by the surveys and focus groups and approved by committee in May 2015, aim to inform the use of language in all aspects of communication at XJTLU. As such, the policy relates to the languages used in learning and teaching, research, administration, staff-student interaction, and public-facing communication. The policy does not apply to bespoke training courses to a largely Chinese market which may be delivered as part of Executive Education or educational leadership initiatives to mainstream Chinese universities. Nor does the policy aim to enforce the use of any specified language in personal or informal situations. The use of English is encouraged in social contexts, especially for those students who are intending to articulate to the University of Liverpool. However, this is left to the consideration of individuals and groups to negotiate as they see fit.

11.1 Language of Learning and Teaching

Despite the fact that the majority of staff and students use English as a second or additional language, with Chinese the *lingua franca* of over 90% of the students, it was agreed that English is the required language for teaching in all programmes. Exceptions to this are modules in languages other than English (currently Spanish and Chinese) and modules required by Chinese law. This means that English is required to be the language used consistently in all forms of knowledge delivery, including academic advising. In the context of teaching/speaking in languages other than English, the same principles apply. There is, however, no stipulation as to what variety of English should be used, in recognition of the fact that for most staff and students, English is a second or additional language. Students may choose to self-study in their native language in addition to English, which may include students or the library purchasing Chinese or other language versions of textbooks or seeking out vocabulary in Chinese/other languages. As a result of concerns expressed by both students and staff, especially those involved in student affairs, one exception to the need to use English is when communicating with students who are, or potentially may be, at risk, where students are encouraged to communicate in the language that they feel most comfortable in.

11.2 Language of Assessment

As with teaching, English is the language of assessment except for modules in languages other than English and for those modules required by Chinese law. Recognising that students are studying and being assessed in a second or foreign language, English in written/spoken assessment is only highlighted if comprehensibility is obscured, and therefore task achievement not attained. Provided that the English is understandable and the ideas are articulated at the appropriate level expected for the year of study, as measured through the learning outcomes at programme and module level, marks should be awarded accordingly. As students are studying for a University of Liverpool award, years of study are at the same Framework for Higher Education Qualifications (FHEQ) level as would be expected in the UK, with English language benchmarked against the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR). Quality of English is only part of assessment if it is identified as one of the learning outcomes, meaning that it needs to be developed within learning and teaching activities.

11.3 Language of Recruitment

No English language hurdle is provided for first year home undergraduate students; entry is based on overall Gao Kao scores. There are, however, English language levels for both postgraduate students and international students. Although the language level is tested using high stakes English proficiency tests, a variety of possible language tests are accepted and English language support is provided at all levels of a students' academic study. This support may be in the form of bespoke courses for individual degree programmes, workshops, tutorials or drop-in support sessions, as well as joint delivery and assisted delivery modules at undergraduate level. Teaching staff, recruited internationally, are not tested for language, but experience of working in an English-speaking environment is expected, and all interviews are in English, often without native speaker involvement. For logistical reasons, interviews are predominantly carried out via Skype, and have an oral focus, with little or no written components. All professional services staff are interviewed in English and some interview tasks related to areas of work are given to test language skills, but no formal qualification is required.

11.4 Language of Research

In line with the University's vision to become a research-led international university noted earlier in this chapter, academic staff are required to disseminate their research in internationally/nationally prestigious journals/publishers, which usually publish in English. Because of the interview process identified above, and because staff are predominantly working in a second or additional language, support is provided by the Language Centre and Academic Enhancement Centre to develop research writing skills. In addition, academic staff are encouraged to publish in Chinese in prestigious academic journals, and translation facilities are available to staff who do not have Chinese linguistic skills. Staff are also encouraged to apply for research funds from national, provincial, and municipal funding bodies in Chinese, and the University also provides translation services for those staff who are not Chinese first language speakers.

11.5 Language of Administration

English is the language to be used during the working day in work-related interactions between professional services staff and students or academic staff. Again, no variety of English is specified, and the impracticality of expecting Chinese speaking professional services staff to speak between themselves in English is also recognized. Meetings should be in English unless all staff share a common language other than English, but all minutes and notes need to be written in English. Notices are expected to be in English, except information relating to Health and Safety which may be bilingual. Induction materials are also possible in dual languages, though English must be included.

11.6 Language of Social/Daily Life

In recognition of the fact that a majority of students are likely to continue to use English once they leave the University, students and staff are encouraged to use English in their social and daily lives as far as possible while on campus. However, it is also recognised that students may wish to use their own language when in a monolingual group and that international students may wish to practice their Chinese in social situations.

Now that there is a language policy in place, the next stage is to measure the extent of its effectiveness. There are two considerations, which are likely to be the basis for further study. Firstly, a recognition that the majority of staff and students are multilingual, and secondly what the level of compliance with the policy is likely to be. Taking the first point, many of the staff and students have bilingual resources that they can draw on to achieve effective communication, whether it is written or spoken, or relating to work or study. What is interesting is how these languages work together. One possible area of study is the extent that translanguaging occurs. Translanguaging, defined by Garcia (2009) as ‘multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds’ (p. 45), recognizes multilingual activity rather than a language user’s first language influencing the use of the second language, for example English as the working language of XJTLU (see Heugh et al. 2017, for an example of translanguaging). With regard to the second point, compliance, there has been much discussion as to whether some form of enforcement should be introduced. One argument was that the language policy would be unsuccessful without some form of deterrent to other language use. However, the University eventually decided to try and achieve a workable language policy through encouragement and recognition of the rights of all languages, including Englishes, rather than enforcement.

12 Conclusions

This chapter described the development of a language policy in a Chinese TNE HE institution which aims to inform the use of language in all aspects of communication at the University including learning and teaching, assessment, recruitment, research, administration, and social/daily life language. XJTLU has made a bold statement about how it is positioning itself in both the Chinese and global context by being one of the first universities within mainland China to introduce a language policy. The chapter also raised a number of challenges in establishing a language policy around a *lingua franca* that differs to the dominant local language, the challenges for students and staff working and studying predominantly in a language that is not their first language, and the challenge of bringing together language and content in an EMI situation.

The policy has only recently been implemented and time will tell if it is successful or not. To date, there has been surprisingly little resistance to either the idea or implementation of a language policy, or recognition of the difficulty of enforcing such a policy. There is clearly scope for further evaluation of the effectiveness of the policy and any possible refinements that may be necessary. Specifically, it would be of interest to investigate how interactions using all languages actually take place within the University. For now, the existence of a living language policy within a TNE EMI institution in mainland China is a step in the right direction in recognising language use and position within an increasingly complex HE world.

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A Case Study of Assessment in English Medium Instruction in Cambodia

Stephen H. Moore

Abstract Assessment practices in EMI programs have been relatively under-researched in the EMI literature. This chapter reports one long-established EMI program in Cambodia, and investigates its language testing policies and practices. The EMI courses at the university investigated are a blend of content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and content-based teaching (CBT) in a B(Ed) program that graduates hundreds of qualified high school English teachers annually. The research focused on how learning was evaluated in three key subjects, one with a language-only focus ('Core English'), and two with an additional content focus ('Literature Studies' and 'Global Studies'), with a view to seeing how practices varied according to content focus. Using interviews, a focus group and document analysis, the study found that evidence for the Year 2 and 3 subjects LS and GS being content-based was only partly accurate: content was construed by the leading teachers as primarily "life skills" (Literature Studies) and "language for social life" (Global Studies). Despite the differences amongst the various subjects in the EMI curriculum, their assessment practices conformed strongly to the institutional norm for all subjects. It seems that understanding current assessment practices requires deeper consideration of a complex ecology of cultural and linguistic practices.

Keywords EMI assessment · Cambodia · TEFL degree · Teaching literature · Teaching global studies

1 Introduction

Vu and Burns (2014) note that in language teaching literature, EMI is a concept usually associated with content and language integrated learning (CLIL), content-based teaching/instruction (CBT/CBI), and bilingual education in native English-speaking (NES) contexts. CLIL typically refers to primary or secondary

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school curricula; CBT/CBI with minority language groups' L2 preparation to enable them to integrate into mainstream classes; and bilingual education is where heritage languages are preserved for second-generation speakers and also where there is an immersion curriculum involving English and a heritage language (e.g. French, Japanese, or Mandarin bilingual programs in Canadian schools).

The current study does not neatly match any of these typical scenarios since the BEd (TEFL) degree is tertiary-level and primarily a language teacher education program that aims to improve its students' English language skills but also prepare them for careers as high school English teachers. Whilst the specialisation year of the program (i.e. Year 4) aligns with what might be considered mainstream EMI (i.e. the focus is solely on content), the focus of this study is on testing and assessment practices in the pre-specialisation years (in particular, Years 2 and 3) which contain a mix of language skills and content learning as objectives. The reason for this focus is twofold: (1) the testing and assessment of the more content-focused subjects can be contrasted with the testing and assessment of the more language-focused subjects in Years 2 and 3, which is not possible in Year 4; and (2) the researcher was not able to collect suitable data for investigating Year 4 teaching and testing practices.

Table 1 (adapted from UCLES 2009) sets out a useful comparison of foreign language teaching and CLIL in primary schools. As this chapter will show, the areas in boldface in the table's contents are indicative of the status of Cambodia's Institute of Foreign Languages (IFL) content-based teaching in Years 2 and 3 of this BEd program.

As noted in Table 1, the content-based subjects taught in Years 2 and 3 at the IFL do not fit neatly into one column, but are shared between CBLT in foreign language teaching, and subject teaching in CLIL. This hybrid status does not appear to have been reported previously in the EMI literature, but may well be common to language teacher education programs. Another area that has received little attention in the EMI literature is that of testing and assessment (see Wilkinson and Zegers 2006), which has been identified as "a problematic area in EMI" (Dearden 2014, p. 5). This chapter therefore aims to address this issue by way of closely examining the progress assessment practices in a Cambodian case study, going beyond a language focus to also consider content assessment.

The IFL's Bachelor degree program is an interesting site to research EMI because it has been running for more than 20 years, commencing at a time when very few Cambodians were proficient in English.[1] Since then, the level of English use and proficiency in the general urban population has skyrocketed (see Moore and Bounchan 2010), and the program has expanded enormously in size. It has also expanded in terms of offering specialisations. Curiously, curriculum revisions over the past two decades have resulted in more Khmer as a medium of instruction (KMI) courses offered now than in the original degree program, confirming the British Council's research that showed EMI being in a 'state of flux' and not simply in a state of expansion everywhere (Dearden 2014, p. 4).

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[1] Disclosure: The author was a lecturer and advisor on this program for 18 months in 1994–1995.

Table 1 Comparison of foreign language teaching and CLIL (UCLES 2009)

Foreign language teaching			
Key features	Conventional FL teaching	Content-based language teaching	Subject teaching in FL (CLIL)
Priority in planning	Language	**Language**	**Subject**
Taught by	Language or class teacher	**Language** or class **teacher**	Class teacher
Assessed as	Language	**Language**	**Subject**
Viewed as	Language teaching	**Language teaching**	Subject teaching
Materials	Language	Language/subject	**Subject**
Syllabus	Language syllabus: general purposes	Language syllabus: CALP[a]	**Content syllabus** and CALP[a]
Methodology	FLT methodology	**Language-supportive teaching**	Language-supportive subject-teaching

[a] *CALP* Cognitive academic language proficiency

The Cambodian government has not issued an official policy on EMI courses. Thus, individual institutions enjoy a wide degree of freedom to decide on the merits of offering EMI programs and how best to organise and implement them. The government ‘watchdog’, the Accreditation Committee of Cambodia (ACC), has jurisdiction over accrediting all institutions, public and private, in the higher education sector (Accreditation Authority of Cambodia 2005). Its mission is to assist higher education institutions to eventually attain international standards. As Sy (2015) notes, the ACC currently has responsibility for accrediting all programs in the higher education sector so, by definition, these must include EMI programs. However, he also notes that resources are stretched and the current priorities of the ACC do not include a focus on EMI programs. Cambodia has EMI programs operating in both public and private sectors, but there is no special government funding in either sector.

2 Background to the Study

2.1 Brief Historical Overview of Program

The BEd (TEFL) program[2] at the IFL was originally designed by Australian academics in the early 1990s, to extend and formalise an English teacher training program begun in the late 1980s by Quaker Service Australia. This exercise in ‘capacity building’ was funded by the Australian government’s international aid budget (see Coyne 1999 for details). The program's curriculum has since been revised incrementally over the past 20 years, but remains substantially the same design, i.e., three years of a common curriculum aimed at improving English proficiency and general knowledge, and a fourth year with a professional focus (originally only TEFL, but now extended to other fields such as Translation and Interpreting; and English for Hospitality and Tourism) for which the award is a BA (English) for work skills (see below). In terms of the assessment policy and practices established in the inaugural 1993/94 academic year, these have largely been maintained and extended. The program was 'Cambodianised' in 1995, with Cambodian nationals assuming virtually all academic and administrative appointments, and only occasional foreign lecturers involved thereafter (see Moore 2008 regarding this transition).

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[2] The BEd (TEFL) degree was the first Cambodian university degree to be recognised by Australia in the 1990s, and this enabled many holders to qualify for postgraduate awards and studies overseas.

2.2 *Context and Focus*

The vast majority of teachers and students in the English program are Cambodians whose L1 is Khmer, the native language of approximately 93% of the country's population (Thompson 2014). The occasional non-Cambodian students enrolled in the program have come from Turkey, Korea and Japan, and have resided in Cambodia prior to taking up studies at the IFL. In other words, and in contrast to many EMI programs worldwide, the IFL's EMI program is not functioning to recruit international students for financial reasons or for status (Kirkpatrick 2012), but as a program designed 20 years ago solely to develop local Cambodian English teachers. (However, that is not to say that the program does not enjoy prestige for being an EMI program in a non-English speaking country, a trait that Kirkpatrick (2014) notes is attached to EMI programs in general). For many IFL students, English is actually an L3, after Khmer and, usually, Chinese. From a program size of four Cambodian lecturers and 220 students in 1993/94 (Coyne 1999), the current program employs around 100 full-time lecturers (of whom only one is non-Cambodian) and has approximately 3000 students, each enrolled in one of three 'shifts' (i.e. morning, afternoon and evening).

As noted above, this paper will focus on one aspect of how English as a medium of instruction is playing out in this important English teacher training degree program in Cambodia, namely its testing and assessment practices. The research questions that are addressed are:

1. How do L2 English lecturers at the IFL evaluate what their students have learned? (i.e., what are their testing and assessment practices?)
2. How does this evaluation differ between EMI 'subject' courses and 'Core English' courses?
3. What particular challenges exist in the IFL's assessment practices?

Table 2 Subjects taught across 4-year BEd (TEFL) program

Year 1 (foundation year)	Years 2 and 3 (core years)	Year 4 (specialisation year)[a]
Subjects taught in English		**BEd (TEFL) only**
Core English Writing skills	Core English Writing skills Global studies Literature studies Introduction to research methods	Foundations in education Teaching methodology Applied linguistics Practicum
Subjects taught in Khmer		
Khmer grammar Khmer civilisation Khmer and regional history Introduction to sociology Introduction to environment Demographics and economics Geography General and applied mathematics	None	None

[a] Students in their final year can nominate which specialisation they wish to follow and, therefore, which undergraduate degree they will receive. The choices are TEFL, Translation and Interpreting, English for Professional Communication, English for International Business, and English for Hospitality and Tourism. The TEFL specialisation leads to the BEd (TEFL) while the other specialisations lead to the BA (English for Translation and Interpreting), BA (English for Professional Communication) etc.

2.3 Curriculum Outline

Before considering issues of testing and assessment, it is important to have a clearer idea about the curriculum in the English degrees program. As noted above, this degree program at the IFL is comprised of an initial foundation year followed by two years of essentially language-related study and one year of professional specialisation. The subjects taught in each of these years are set out above in Table 2.

3 Methodology

This chapter is based on case study research (Yin 2009) using qualitative approaches to inform an understanding of complex social activities, namely the assessment practices of an undergraduate degree program in a developing country. It relies on triangulation of sources (i.e. administrators, teachers, students) and methods (i.e. interviews, focus group, document analysis) to improve credibility and resonance (the counterparts of validity and reliability in the scientific research paradigm). Whilst the findings of the study cannot be generalised to other contexts, they may nevertheless resonate with teachers and researchers elsewhere as being useful and capable of informing similar contexts in other locations, whether within Cambodia or its region, or elsewhere in the world.

4 Data Collection

This research was undertaken in accordance with the requirements for ethical research involving human participants as stipulated by Macquarie University. The author initially undertook the project as part of a sabbatical spent in Cambodia in 2013. The author was the sole researcher. He has a long-standing relationship with the IFL and a deep understanding of the BEd (TEFL) program. He also has a marital connection to the LS 3 lecturer interviewed for this study (who was selected on the grounds of subject knowledge and experience rather than convenience). The author has endeavoured to remain neutral, professional and ethical throughout this research project. The discussion sections, however, draw on the author's familiarity with the program to interpret the study's findings and their implications.

Interviews and the focus group were conducted in accordance with best practice following Richards (2003) and Stewart and Shamdasani (1990), respectively. Data were collected in two phases. In August and September 2013 interviews were held with several key personnel at the IFL including:

- The Deputy Head of the English Department, responsible for curriculum matters (including testing and assessment)
- Core English coordinator/teacher for Years 1, 2 and 3
- Global Studies coordinator/teacher for Year 3

A focus group of six IFL students was also held, comprising pairs of students who had just completed each of Years 1, 2 and 3. They discussed Core English testing and assessment.

Syllabus outlines and a sample of ongoing assessment instruments and quizzes were also obtained for Core English Years 1 and 2.

In January 2015 further interviews were held with key teaching staff, including:

- Literature Studies senior teacher for Year 3
- Global Studies senior teacher for Years 2 and 3
- Undergraduate program coordinator

The design of the final examinations for Core English Year 3, Literature Studies Year 3, and Global Studies Year 3 were also obtained at this time.

All but one interview and the focus group discussion were audio recorded; the undergraduate program coordinator was interviewed by email. The recorded interviews ranged from 37 to 63 min in duration; the focus group was 97 min. All were listened to shortly after the actual recordings were made in order to ensure they had been fully recorded and that the clarity of voices was acceptable. In the case of the focus group, it was also important to check that each voice could be matched to a particular participant.

The data analysis will be presented in two parts, the first dealing with the IFL curriculum and testing/assessment practices; and the second dealing with LS and GS as EMI content courses.

5 Data Analysis—Part 1 (IFL Curriculum and Testing/Assessment Practices)

The collected data were analysed for content manually due to the relatively small amount of data involved (i.e. less than 7.5 h in total). In the case of interviews and the focus group, the responses to specific interview questions were the object of study (Richards 2003), and not how meanings were made interactionally in the course of the interview or discussion (Talmy 2011). All audio recordings were analysed to determine exact responses to specific questions (see Appendix for sample questions) and to identify any emergent themes (i.e. recurring beliefs or explanations).

In the case of written documents, the data were read, the assessment instruments were analysed for their content as well as for different aspects of English quality and function, and summaries were prepared highlighting key features of different tests.

In what follows below, the findings of Part 1 of the data analysis are presented according to the data collected and analysed.

5.1 Core English Curriculum

Core English is the backbone of the first three years of the curriculum, and its syllabus closely follows a nominated general ELT coursebook series which, in 2013/14 were as follows:

- CE Year 1 = *Progressive Skills in English* (L2)
- CE Year 2 = *Headway Upper Intermediate*
- CE Year 3 = *Headway Advanced.*

In all three years of Core English, the focus is on three macro skills (speaking, listening, and reading) plus grammar and vocabulary development. The fourth macro skill (writing) is covered in its own course, Writing Skills, in each of these three years, although in the original curriculum design and early years of the program, writing was simply part of Core English itself.

5.2 Literature Studies Curriculum (Sample for One Semester)

Two novels formed the basis of Literature Studies Year 3 curriculum: *The Pearl* (John Steinbeck), and *The Village by the Sea* (Anita Desai). These novels (in their original form) are studied in detail, covering such topics as imagery and irony; metaphor and symbolism; characterisation; theme analysis; psycho-analytic criticism; along with a range of social issues raised in each story and relevant to Cambodia (e.g. social structure; social justice; struggle and survival).

5.3 Global Studies Curriculum (Sample for One Semester)

This course draws primarily on two introductory sociology textbooks for key themes which are then elaborated to fit the Cambodian context. The themes covered are population growth and changes; science and technology; the environment; wildlife conservation; poverty; and violence, war and terrorism.

5.4 Testing and Assessment Practices

Core English, Literature Studies and Global Studies are all year-long courses assessed across two semesters, with each semester comprising ongoing assessment (50%) and summative testing (50%).

Across the board with all subjects in the BEd (TEFL) program, *ongoing* assessment is managed by individual lecturers. A template for task type and mark allocation is prescribed but lecturers may create, administer and mark their own students' assessments. Recent ongoing assessments of Core English, Literature Studies and Global Studies are summarised in Table 3.

Table 3 Summary of sample ongoing assessment for Core English, Literature Studies, and Global Studies in BEd (TEFL) program

Core English (% of semester score)	Task type	Literature studies (% of semester score)	Task type	Global studies (% of semester score)	Task type
5	Homework	5	Homework	5	Homework
5	Quizzes	5	Class participation	5	Quizzes
20	Progress tests (×2)	20	Progress tests (×2)	20	Revision tests (×2)
10	Listening[a] (×2)	10	Oral presentation	10	Oral presentation
10	News reporting	10	Written assignment	10	Written assignment
50		50		50	

[a] There is some variation here in different semesters, such as choice amongst presentation, interview, impromptu speech, or debate

Table 4 Summary of sample summative tests for Core English, Literature Studies, and Global Studies in BEd (TEFL) program

Core English (% of semester score)	Task type	Literature studies (% of semester score)	Task type	Global studies (% of semester score)	Task type
12.5	Vocabulary in context	10	Vocabulary and language use	5	Vocabulary in context
12.5	Grammar Gap fill and passage completion	12.5	Multiple choice questions and/or true and false	10	Short answer
12.5	Reading and matching headings to paragraphs and MCQs	5	Quote interpretation	10	Reading comprehension
12.5	Listening Gap fill and MCQs	12.5	Critical thinking	5	Passage completion
		10	Essay	5	Key terms
				5	Key concepts
				2.5	Grammar and structure
				7.5	Multiple choice questions
50		50		50	

Summative tests are formal written examinations administered at the conclusion of each semester. These comprise a range of task and question types as shown in Table 4. The exams are created collaboratively by lecturers, with only one version of each exam per ‘shift’ of student cohorts each semester. Lecturers mark their own students’ tests.

6 Discussion: Key Issues Concerning Core English Testing and Assessment

The key issues and themes that emerged from the data analysis concerning testing and assessment practices in Core English were teacher independence; learner engagement; assessment for learning; multiple degree enrolments; teacher commitment to quality control processes; and over-assessment. This section will examine and discuss each theme in turn.

6.1 Teacher Independence

The teacher interviews revealed that teachers at the IFL have a lot of autonomy. Indeed, as stated by the Deputy Head, “In terms of professionalism, we trust our lecturers.” This trust extends to teachers designing their own ongoing assessment instruments. As a consequence, without systematic moderation practices in place, one can conclude that this leads to significant variability in assessment experience across the same courses in the same degree program. There was little to no reported moderation or benchmarking between different classes of the same course, which raises serious questions about the reliability of results. Teachers are able to exercise judgment to raise or lower assessment and test results, a situation that would appear to undermine the essential need for testing and assessment to be fair to all students.

6.2 Learner Engagement

Despite being enrolled in one of Cambodia’s most prestigious degree programs the teacher interviews revealed a perception that many students lack motivation to work continuously across the semester. Students concur:

> For me [the most important issue discussed today] it’s got to be the motivation that students got from the teacher. The teacher must try to motivate the students to study hard and… if the students don’t feel motivated, they just come here and waste their time doing nothing. Then if they’re lucky, they graduated and they don’t have any real skills in them so it doesn’t help. (John, Year 2 student)

6.3 Assessment for Learning

Smith (2006) argues the importance of formative assessment practices to stimulate motivation and learning in EMI programs. Indeed, interest in assessment for learning (AfL) (see Black et al. 2003) was expressed by all of the study’s Core English participants (i.e. teachers interviewed and students in their focus group). There was general agreement about the value of most key AfL principles, specifically:

1. The provision of effective feedback to students: ‘For me I want to see them point out my mistakes…my teacher she notes my mistakes and she wrote how to change it, so for me I just look for that [and not the overall score].’ (Chris, Year 1 student)
2. The active involvement of students in their own learning: ‘The student factors themselves like the competitive [tasks] or challenging students can encourage other students to learn.’ (Jennifer, Year 3 student)
3. Adjusting teaching to take account of assessment outcomes

4. Recognition of the profound influence assessment has on the motivation and self-esteem of pupils, both of which are critical influences on learning: 'For me assessment and tests motivate me to learn a lot….[However, for] the person who does not like tests or assessments, they just learn to get the score only at the final [summative] test. They do not put high value on [ongoing] assessment [nor on scoring well overall for the course].' (Peter, Year 1 student)
5. The need for student self-evaluation and awareness of strategies for improvement: 'I realised that [peer assessment] it's kind of a student's job, it's a whole class activity….[The value of peer-assessment is] …for me I can see other people's mistakes, and I can learn from that.' (Peter, Year 1 student)

However, despite recognising the value of AfL and the scope available to all lecturers to incorporate AfL practices into their ongoing assessment regime, there was a sense of inertia to change existing practices, perhaps due to teacher fatigue and a concomitant lack of motivation to implement an AfL paradigm. Only the content-oriented subject lecturers seemed to have moved towards AfL practices, for example, in developing their students' self-reflection and critical thinking skills (see below).

6.4 Multiple Degree Enrolments

The teacher interviews revealed that it is fairly common for students who are taking the BEd (TEFL) (or comparable BA (English) for work skills) degree to also be enrolled simultaneously in another bachelor degree program (often in law or commerce) at another university. It is unclear whether the English degree is seen as the 'support act' rather than the primary degree, but it at least supports the goal of achieving English proficiency alongside a subject specialisation (the goal of many/most EMI degrees). The downside as reported by teachers is that students undertaking double degrees are typically exhausted and motivated only to put in minimal effort in their English degree program.

6.5 Teacher Commitment to Quality Control

IFL lecturers' pay is calculated from their contact hours of teaching and this policy has a profound impact on teacher behaviour, as many IFL teachers reported. For example, assessment and testing are often wrongly perceived by many lecturers as 'unpaid' work. (In fact, the pay rate for teaching hours does takes into account assessment and testing work). Consequently, particularly in Core English, assessment practices seem geared as much to reducing teachers' marking loads as to accurately evaluating learners' English language proficiency. This may partly explain the reluctance to adopt AfL practices despite acknowledging their benefits for language learners.

6.6 Over-Assessment

Many IFL lecturers report viewing assessment as time-consuming and unrewarding, yet they typically do not consider that they are over-assessing their students. For example, the CE 2 Coordinator stated 'We have the right amount of assessment; not too much'. This seems at odds with the evidence of over-assessment in the IFL's English programs (Tables 3 and 4 set out the course assessment requirements, which are evidently burdensome to teachers in terms of setting up, marking and reporting results). For example, assessment 'fatigue' often means that designing good assessments becomes more difficult; students may restrict their self-study to assessed items only (washback); individual assessment components may not cumulatively discriminate between better and weaker learners; and trainee teachers are provided with a poor model for their own practice. Interestingly, student focus group respondents did not mention over-assessment, suggesting that it may be a feature of Cambodian education more generally.

All the above issues found in Core English testing were to a considerable extent also relevant to Literature Studies and Global Studies, as we shall see in Part 2 of the data analysis.

7 Data Analysis—Part 2 (LS and GS as EMI Content Courses)

This part of the data analysis focuses on the two more content-focused courses under investigation in this study, to explore how their assessment practices take account of their EMI nature.

7.1 Literature Studies Teaching and Testing

To better understand how Literature Studies differs from Core English in terms of subject matter and assessment, a senior Literature Studies (LS) teacher ('Susan'[3]) was interviewed following a semi-structured protocol (see Appendix). (This lecturer was interviewed in preference to the then acting subject coordinator due to her longer experience of teaching Literature Studies and her subsequent doctoral studies in the field).

At the time of the interview Susan had been teaching LS for 6 years in total. As with other lecturers, she received little induction or training to teach or test LS, and initially based her own teaching and testing practices on her personal experience as an LS student at the IFL. She volunteered to teach the LS course, motivated by her passion for literary texts (English and Khmer). She noted that 'not many teachers wanted to teach LS because it is considered to be difficult'.

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[3] Disclosure: Susan is a relative of the author.

Susan was asked a set of questions specific to the concerns of EMI in relation to LS. When asked whether she was mainly teaching the subject content or English when she taught LS, she answered 'neither'. Recalling the BEd (TEFL) program's overarching mission, she said the primary purpose was 'to promote language and life skills'. The main focus was language skills. The life skills (which were neither 'content' nor fundamental in terms of language skills) were intended to complement those taught in Core English in each respective year, and included text analysis, speech analysis, and critical thinking. Most of the ongoing assessment instruments focused on language skills, while most of the summative testing instruments focused on life skills.

When asked what assessment challenges LS teachers faced, Susan stated that 'setting up good questions' about a particular text was paramount, rather than mechanical comprehension questions. She has endeavoured to address this distinction each time she teaches and assesses a new cohort of students: over time, she says, her questions have targeted the life skills she is seeking to test [thereby increasing their construct validity (Weir 2005)], rather than simply testing grammatical or lexical knowledge.

When asked to compare the relative difficulty of teaching and testing Literature Studies as opposed to Core English (the most commonly taught subject, taught by all new lecturers), Susan stated that her love of literature made it easier for her to teach Literature Studies than Core English. She stated that the assessment and testing of Core English had gradually improved as the use of multiple choice questions increased its speed and ease of marking. Also, rather than prepare original texts and questions for extensive listening and reading comprehension assessment, many Core English tests borrowed materials from IELTS or TOEFL preparation course examinations (also mentioned by the CE2 teacher interviewee and the student focus group). Core English was therefore viewed as a softer option for teaching and testing than were more content-oriented subjects such as Literature Studies.

To sum up, the Literature Studies subject in the BEd (TEFL) degree program is not solely focused on the content of the literary works that are studied but more on how the language expressed in these works makes the meanings that it does. Much depends on the knowledge and the engagement of the LS teacher in this subject as to whether it is taught (and subsequently assessed) in the spirit of the subject's mission to complement Core English studies.

7.2 Global Studies Teaching and Testing

As with Literature Studies, the content of Global Studies (GS) was clarified by interviewing the Year 3 GS subject coordinator. David has taught and coordinated the subject for five years, motivated by his interest in sociology. Global Studies enabled him to teach 'the language [students] need to use in their daily life, and their social life'. He has no formal training or qualifications in the content area, and received no induction to teaching it.

David was asked the same set of questions as Susan. When asked whether his focus was teaching content or language skills when he taught GS, he explained that he tried to strike a balance, but found himself mostly explaining content rather than language. But he stressed that the main aim of GS was language teaching, and that teachers taught language through the content: 'This is not really a content-based subject, although a lot of the other teachers think it is content-based'. So on the one hand, the course's content is viewed in relation to language learning and is taught by language teachers, not content experts; on the other hand, there is content knowledge that students will be taught when they study this subject at the IFL. David also noted that the GS course book had been substantially adapted from sociology textbooks.

When asked what challenges GS teachers faced in teaching this subject, David said that students did not seem to enjoy reading, despite most weeks requiring only 3 to 10 pages of texts to be read as input for two lessons. A lack of familiarity with the subject content was another issue. Because students had never studied such content in high school, they struggled with concepts in English which were unfamiliar even in Khmer. Students resisted new ways of learning (e.g. language through content) and appeared generally disengaged, perhaps because many were taking simultaneous bachelor degrees in other subject areas at other universities (see Hashim et al. (2014) for an explanation of this phenomenon) and, as a consequence, having little energy or enthusiasm for GS classes.

In terms of assessment, David focused more on language issues than on content. This is evident in the analyses displayed in Tables 3 and 4, although David noted that as much as 45% of the summative exam could be geared to content rather than language (e.g. key terms, key concepts, multiple choice questions, and short answer questions). David enjoyed designing GS worksheets and tests, particularly in contrast to his earlier difficulties creating original and suitable listening and reading tests for Core English.

When asked what challenges GS teachers faced in assessing this subject, David mentioned workload: GS teachers had twice as many test papers to mark as Core English teachers (due to CE being taught in four sessions per week, compared with two sessions for GS and LS). Another complication was the need to create slightly different versions of each testing instrument to prevent students in earlier sittings of assessments passing information to those in later sittings. As with Literature Studies, each GS teacher is responsible for setting ongoing assessments, and they collaborate with other teachers of the same shift to set the summative tests.

In sum, Global Studies shares the same mission as Literature Studies, i.e. to complement and enhance the language knowledge and skills provided in Core English. In LS the additional 'life skills' were made explicit by Susan, while in GS the content was addressed through a language skills focus which emphasised subject-specific vocabulary and concepts. In each case, the teacher acts as a facilitator to the subject domain, explaining that domain in terms that are useful and meaningful to language students.

8 Discussion: Key Challenges in Assessment Across the Curriculum

Now that the various assessment practices have been described, it is possible to see more holistically the state of current testing practices at the IFL. Several key challenges emerge from the findings of the data analysis of assessment and testing practices in the BEd (TEFL) degree program which will be outlined in turn.

8.1 Fairness

Learners in this program are currently either advantaged or disadvantaged by the assessment practices of their allocated teacher in a given subject (Bachman and Palmer 1996). It is clear even from the limited scope of the present study that program oversight of assessment practices is inadequate to ensure both the form and substance of fairness. Test instruments should be validated across subject areas and marking likewise should also be moderated across subject areas.

8.2 Adequacy and Sufficiency of Testing Regime

Less frequent but more meaningful assessment (i.e. more test items that discriminate across the range of learner proficiency) would be a logical recommendation to improve the current testing regime at the IFL. Testing and assessment are time-consuming events, so limited resources must be used as efficiently as possible (Bachman and Palmer 1996).

8.3 Assessment for Learning

The interest that teacher interviewees expressed in AfL needs to be operationalised in a more systematic way to incorporate the significant benefits it brings to ELT (Davison and Leung 2009) assessment practices, such as improved learner motivation for and engagement in learning, improved learning achievements, and improved independent learning. If even a few teachers were to collaborate on implementing AfL in their subject area, their progress could inspire their colleagues to take up such practices as well, with an overall benefit to all students taking that subject. There was some evidence that this shift was occurring in LS3, where students were actively developing self-reflection and critical thinking skills.

8.4 Teacher Cooperation

There seems to be a tendency for many IFL teachers to prioritise their own needs rather than think collectively about best practice for their students. This situation is in sharp contrast to what was the norm in the early years of the BEd (TEFL) program, and may be a consequence of the phenomenal expansion of the program since then. The issue could be addressed both institutionally, through a re-invigoration of the IFL's 'cultural' settings (e.g. through placing the learner first, improving standards, and maintaining quality control) and through collaborative practices (such as AfL) among teachers at subject level.

8.5 Best Practice in Assessment

Students and other stakeholders expect learning to be tested; and the wide range of testing instruments as found at the IFL suggests good testing practices. Each instrument mentioned in this study appears to display face validity [i.e. it meets test-takers' expectations of what a relevant testing instrument should look like in relation to the course being studied (Hughes 2003)]. However, each instrument should also make a distinctive and meaningful contribution to the totality of measuring a learner's knowledge and skills. Given that the IFL is a bilingual setting (virtually all involved parties speak Khmer as well as English), it is curious that bilingual testing (see, for example, van der Walt and Kidd 2013) is not practiced. It would seem to offer interesting possibilities to test content in L1, even content which is taught in L2. Moreover, the idea that content might not be fully understood in L2, or indeed that English language proficiency development might not be occurring through EMI teaching (Shohamy 2013), are matters that seem absent from consideration amidst the IFL's existing practices. Whatever its methods, the IFL's testing and assessment regime should be seen by all stakeholders to have both correct form *and* substance.

9 Conclusion

This chapter has described and evaluated the testing and assessment practices common to the English program degrees at the IFL. It has investigated contemporary assessment practices in the context of the program's growth and evolving curriculum over the past 20 years. Whilst the three subjects of interest are all taught through EMI, particular attention has been given to Literature Studies and Global Studies because of their additional content focus. However, the characterisation of Literature Studies and Global Studies as content-based is only partially accurate: the content of these courses is framed by staff as primarily ‘life skills’ (LS) and ‘language for social life’ (GS) rather than academic content per se. Despite the variation among subjects in the EMI curriculum, overall assessment practices conformed strongly to an IFL ‘norm’ in terms of ongoing assessment and summative testing. This chapter has demonstrated the need and the potential for change, yet the will to change seems lost in the busy activities of daily work routines. Yet the situation may actually be more complex than it appears prima facie: testing and assessment practices at the IFL are mediated in English as L2, and these are embedded in professional practices involving both L2 and L1, which in turn are embedded in institutional and cultural (C1) practices in L1. Thus, what appears to be flawed practice from an etic perspective may in fact be acceptable, if compromised, practice from an insider’s perspective; and it is the latter who actually have to negotiate the different languages and cultures in their particular teaching and testing context. Any change to current practices will need to take into consideration this complex ecological balance.

Appendix: Questions for EMI Lecturer Interviewees

1. What is your subject specialty?
2. How long have you been teaching your subject specialty?
3. Do you have any formal training or qualifications for the subject specialty that you teach? If so, what is it, and when/where did you attain it?
4. Assuming that you do not have any formal training or qualifications in your subject specialty, do you think that someone who had a Bachelor degree in your subject specialty would be able to teach and test/assess it better than you? Why/why not? Would your opinion change if they had a Masters or PhD degree in the subject specialty?
5. Did you volunteer to teach this subject specialty or were you asked to?
6. In your opinion, are you mainly teaching the subject content or English when you teach your subject specialty?
7. In your opinion, are you mainly **testing/assessing** the subject content or English when you **test/assess** your subject specialty?
8. When you first started teaching your subject specialty, what sort of induction/training did you receive?
9. Do you feel comfortable teaching your subject specialty? Why/why not?
10. What challenges do lecturers face in teaching your subject specialty?
11. What challenges do lecturers face in **assessing** your subject specialty?
12. Do you feel comfortable **testing/assessing** your subject specialty? Why/why not?

13. Did you receive any specific training in **testing or assessing** this subject?
14. Please describe the **testing and assessment** practices for your subject specialty.
15. If you have any **testing/assessing** documents from previous years, I would be very interested to view them.
16. Are you involved in producing any of the **testing or assessment** instruments? If so, which ones? What exactly is your involvement?
17. Assuming that you are also familiar with Core English teaching, would you say that teaching your subject specialty is easier or more difficult? Why?
18. Likewise, would you say that **testing/assessing** your subject specialty is easier or more difficult than for Core English? Why?
19. Do you think that the **testing/assessing** of your subject specialty is basically satisfactory, or could it be improved? If it could be improved, in what ways exactly?
20. Have you been involved in mentoring any new teachers in your subject specialty? If so:
    (i) What do you tell them about teaching your subject specialty that is different from, say, Core English?
    (ii) What do you tell them about **testing/assessing** your subject specialty that is different from, say, Core English?
21. Does teaching your subject specialty have higher status than teaching, say, Core English? Why/why not?
22. Is there anything further that you would like to say about teaching or **testing/assessing** your subject specialty that you have not told me so far? If so, what is it?

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Part II

Professional Development for EMI: Exploring Taiwanese Lecturers' Needs

Ben Fenton-Smith, Christopher Stillwell and Roger Dupuy

Abstract Taiwan, like many Asian nations, has been an active promoter of EMI as part of a drive to internationalize its higher education sector. The push to implement EMI at a quick pace creates a need for teacher support, as lecturers adapt their courses to the new medium of instruction. This situation presents an opportunity for Anglophone nations to provide EMI teacher training within a fully immersive environment. This chapter provides an analysis of the current state of EMI in Taiwan and the place of the lecturer within it, as well as common solutions and professional development responses to the challenges posed by EMI. The chapter then examines the case of a professional development program for Taiwanese university lecturers at an American university, examining the preparatory work undertaken to ascertain the participants' views on EMI as a policy (both institutional and national) and practice in the context of Taiwanese higher education, and to understand their perceived needs in relation to short-term training in an overseas Anglophone locale.

Keywords English medium instruction (EMI) · Higher education · Needs analysis · Professional development · Taiwan

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1 Introduction

Few stakeholders in the enterprise of English medium instruction (EMI) are more at the mercy of its successes and failures than the lecturers themselves. One challenge for institutions that intend to increase the provision of EMI programs is to ensure that lecturers have the requisite language teacher training in addition to adequate English language proficiency, and are not just chosen on the basis of time spent abroad, a foreign degree, or a surface impression of conversational fluency. The majority of respondents to Dearden's (2014) worldwide survey on EMI practices reported that no guidelines existed on how to deliver EMI, even regarding basic questions such as whether the classroom should be an 'English-only' zone. Unlike the policy makers and administrators who might provide guidelines and policies while sitting at a distance from their effects, lecturers are ground-level operators whose professional lives are tangibly impacted if EMI programs are implemented without sufficient forethought or support (as described, for example, by Kim 2017).

This chapter spans two contexts of praxis in relation to EMI. The first is Taiwan, which, like many Asian nations, has been an active promoter of EMI as part of a drive to internationalize its higher education sector. The second is an Anglophone destination, in this case the United States, to which a cohort of 20 Taiwanese university lecturers travelled to undertake a three-week professional development (PD) program to enhance their EMI teaching skills. This global bridging through EMI, involving both an Asian polity and the Anglophone West, is not insignificant. The implementation of EMI in Asia is often motivated at the institutional or national level by the desire to not only preserve and bolster local enrolments but also increase international student numbers, as several chapters in the present volume attest (see chapters by Hino; Kim; Nguyen, Walkinshaw and Pham). It has been suggested that this in turn threatens the market share of the Anglophone nations that have traditionally dominated international student intakes (Hou et al. 2013). However, EMI also presents an opportunity for those Anglophone nations to provide EMI teacher training within a fully immersive environment—as occurs, for example, in the newly opened *Centre for Research and Development on English Medium Instruction* at Oxford University, a stated purpose of which is to "inform teachers and lecturers of the latest research in EMI, raise awareness of the issues involved in EMI and practise English language and teaching skills which are useful in an EMI teaching and learning context" (*EMI Courses for Teachers and Lecturers* 2015, para. 2).

For Anglophone nations to provide useful support in these endeavours, they will need to develop programs of quality teacher training and professional development that are sensitive to the needs of participants who operate in contexts that are distant not only geographically, but culturally and linguistically. This chapter documents the preparatory work undertaken prior to the initial rollout of one such PD program. The primary aim of the research was to gain greater insight into lecturers' views on EMI as a policy (both institutional and national) and practice in the context of Taiwanese higher education, and to understand their perceived needs in relation to short-term training in an overseas Anglophone locale. We conclude by speculating about the necessary elements of an effective PD program for EMI lecturers operating in contexts such as Taiwan.

2 EMI in Taiwan

EMI has been an issue at the forefront of Taiwanese higher education since the central government's 2001 release of the *White Paper on Higher Education,* which described the level of internationalization as insufficient (Chan 2013; Ma 2014). Since that time, a premium has been placed on making Taiwan a more assertive competitor on the international education scene, particularly by attracting more international students (Hou et al. 2013; Huang 2015; Tsai and Tsou 2015; Wu 2006). Various reasons have been cited for the drive to internationalize and, with it, to promote academic English within tertiary curricula. First, Taiwan's birth rate has declined over recent decades, reducing the pool of local students. As a result, universities are investigating ways of boosting international enrolments in order to maintain viable student numbers (Chang 2010). Second, the birth rate predicament has been compounded by an increase in the number of higher education institutions since the 1990s, which in turn has thinned both enrolments and access to government support for each university (Ma 2014). Third, universities have recognised that English language proficiency (ELP) can boost the employability of their students (Chang 2010; Yeh 2014). A 2004 survey by '104 Job Bank', Taiwan's largest HR firm, found that 53% of its job vacancies required foreign language skills, of which 95% specifically requested English (Chen and Hsieh 2011). (This is not to say that EMI leads to improved ELP, only that some institutions perceive that it does.) Fourth, in an age of global rankings, universities have realised that their international reputations can be enhanced by the adoption of EMI (Hou et al. 2013).

For all these reasons, the Taiwanese government has had a heavy hand in promoting internationalization through EMI via a carrot and stick approach. In 2006, the MOE launched an incentive and performance-based scheme for a select group of universities, audited annually, with the goal of creating at least one world class university within 10 years. Internationalization is one evaluation criterion, with enrolment of international students a measure thereof (Ma 2014). Around the same time, the Ministry of Education (MOE) established *the Higher Education Evaluation and Accreditation Council of Taiwan* (HEEACT) to carry out evaluations of universities (MOE 2014). It conducted an external review in 2011 and 2012 of over 124 EMI degrees in 45 Taiwanese universities and colleges, which is claimed to be the first case of a non-Anglophone quality assurance agency in Asia assessing EMI university offerings (Hou et al. 2013). Today, a Taiwanese degree program cannot even be designated 'EMI' unless it enrols 50% international students according to MOE guidelines (Hou et al. 2013). The MOE also provides incentives for lecturers to offer EMI courses by providing teaching assistants and sponsorship for overseas training (Dearden 2014) and has even extended the push to English into the research space, designating three major English language bibliographic databases—Science Citation Index (SCI), Social Sciences Citation Index (SSCI) and Engineering Index (EI)—as preferred sites for the recognition of publications in promotion processes (Chen and Hsieh 2011).

The impact of these socioeconomic forces and governmental policies on Taiwanese higher education has been marked. EMI courses in Taiwanese universities now total over 4000, a rise of just over 100% between 2005 and 2009 (Yeh 2014). There were reportedly 246 EMI programs in 45 universities and colleges in 2013 (Hou et al. 2013) and the number of international students increased nearly tenfold over the period 2001–2011 (Dearden 2014), close to the target of "ten times in ten years" that was set by the executive government in 2002 (Ma 2014).

3 The Lecturer in Taiwanese EMI

According to one survey of 476 Chinese-speaking students enrolled in EMI programs at multiple Taiwanese institutions, the number one reason given for selecting an EMI course was the instructor (determined mainly by whether he/she was an expert in his/her field and what his/her teaching style was like) (Yeh 2014). It would appear that Taiwanese students are not indifferent to who teaches them. One reason may be that the traditionally teacher-centred nature of Taiwanese higher education positions the instructor at the forefront of learning ("the expert"), with students less inclined to envision themselves as active agents in the classroom and broader learning context. Most of the research evaluating EMI in Taiwanese university settings either states or assumes that the default learning environment is the monologic lecture. For example, Chang (2010) examined the implementation of EMI at one private university in Taiwan and reported that listening to lectures was the only significant English language task the students engaged in other than reading textbooks, and that few speaking or writing tasks were attempted in the classes observed.

One difficulty for many local lecturers is meeting students' expectations of their (i.e. the lecturers') ELP, with some students expressing dissatisfaction about instructors' English delivery skills (Huang 2015). Though lecturers' academic qualifications may be impressive (e.g. PhDs from Anglophone countries), certain aspects of their ELP may not be so highly regarded—accent being a particular issue (Hou et al. 2013). A sample of Taiwanese EMI lecturers interviewed by Huang (2012) indicated that they were keenly aware of such perceptions and even shared them to some extent, as they reportedly "lacked confidence in their abilities to teach content in English" which they attributed to "their lack of English proficiency or language awareness" (p. 25).

Correspondingly, a second issue is the ELP of domestic students. Several studies suggest that lecturers experience difficulties communicating content through English due to the low proficiency levels of Taiwanese learners (Huang 2015). While poor lecture comprehension tops the list of concerns as reported by students themselves (Chang 2010; Wu 2006; Yeh 2014), attention has also been drawn to students' limited technical vocabulary (Chang 2010), which in turn is exacerbated by students' reluctance to prepare for EMI lectures by reading textbooks or materials before class, or only reading them in Chinese (Chang 2010).

Another challenge for lecturers is dealing with mixed classes of local and international students (Huang 2015). Several difficult questions arising from this challenge are currently under debate in the Taiwanese context. For which group are EMI courses primarily designed? How can teaching be effectively conducted if, for example, local students have generally low English proficiency, while some international students are native English speakers (with little or no Mandarin), and other international students come from non-Anglophone countries with a mix of language abilities? What expectations about 'effective' learning and teaching styles do different cultural groups bring to a course? On the other hand, if the two groups (locals and internationals) are kept apart, is this really internationalization? Hou et al. (2013) note that programs designed specifically for international students take a different form to pre-existing ones that merely incorporate international students and conclude that "a broader perception of internationalization focusing on the engagement of local and international students in the EMI programs would probably lead to better intercultural learning effectiveness than a segregation policy would" (p. 369).

An additional concern of many instructors is the push to cover the same amount of discipline content through EMI as they would attempt to do in an L1 environment. All the lecturers in Huang's (2012) study reported misgivings about the amount and depth of content that they (teachers and students) could engage with in English. In the words of one participant: "I could only teach one-fourth of what I had planned and could not teach in as much detail as I had planned, since the articles were too difficult and students' proficiency was too low" (p. 30). The lecturers also cited low student motivation and mixed proficiency levels as further impediments to the pace of instruction and uptake.

4 Solutions Suggested in the Literature

The term "solutions" is offered with a sense of apprehension, as we are aware of the tendency in much EMI scholarship, whether Asia-focussed or otherwise, to dwell on the negatives: poor execution, detrimental impacts, unclear outcomes and the like. While there is always a danger of perpetuating a discourse of deficit in regard to instructors, students and policy makers, not to mention ignoring EMI's benefits, we are equally cognizant of the many local voices, at least in Taiwan's case, that have offered considered appraisals of ways and means for EMI development.

Firstly, some of this scholarship has been directed to the assistance of lecturers. Huang (2012) points out that, whereas lecturers may denigrate students for lacking the ability to understand discipline content in English, one cause might be their own failure (often due to lack of training) to moderate their classroom discourse via skilled deployment of redundancy (offering multiple chances to catch meaning), accuracy (explaining concepts clearly) and flexibility (communicating in different ways and on different levels). There is, therefore, a growing literature on the kinds of communication strategies that EMI instructors should be schooled in to improve the effectiveness of their teaching (see Huang 2015 and Tsai and Tsou 2015 for strategies relevant to the Taiwanese context).

It has also been suggested that lecturers' assumptions, doubts and negative attitudes towards EMI need to be addressed (Huang and Singh 2014) and that a rigorous and coherent institutional language policy would improve the chances of success by laying out the principles, purposes, and goals around which curriculum planning could take place (Hou et al. 2013; Huang and Singh 2014; Yeh 2014). Some scholars also argue for more rigorous benchmarking of EMI educators, such as by devising an evaluation framework for assessing the quality of EMI instruction (Huang and Singh 2014) or by closer regulation of instructors' ELP (Chang 2010). Huang (2012) suggests that early-stage EMI lecturers receive a reduced workload to allow more time to prepare, as well as mentoring from experienced instructors, and assistance from language teachers.

There is universal agreement in the literature on the need for more PD to support the transition to EMI and provide a forum in which lecturers can discuss and address the EMI challenges that affect them (Chang 2010; Hou et al. 2013; Huang 2012; Huang and Singh 2014; Wu 2006; Yeh 2014). Based on their research into the quality of Taiwanese EMI programs, and their analysis of government data, Hou et al. (2013, p. 368) conclude that "[f]orming specialized programs that serve to help internationalize teachers" is one of "the most important areas which need to be improved as soon as possible." The need for PD not only in Taiwan but in many other Asian contexts is summed up by the following quote from Korean EMI scholar Professor Kiyong Byun (cited in Hou et al. 2013, p. 368):

> Professors are not trained as teachers in their doctoral study. However, they will have a more diverse group of students in class, which require much more sophisticated knowledge and skills such as cultural understanding and language proficiency, etc. Therefore, I think more training programs and other opportunities [for] sharing professors' experiences in this regard should be developed and provided for those professors in need of such support.

This is not to propose that PD programs adopt a deficit-based view of EMI lecturers, but rather that programs give full consideration to the contextual factors contributing to lecturers' teaching practices (Trent 2017) in order to tailor programs that meet their needs. In the next section, therefore, we turn to the issue of PD for EMI instructors.

5 Professional Development for EMI

Because the boom in EMI is a relatively recent phenomenon, and the repercussions of its implementation in many contexts are still only beginning to be fully understood, the formulation of programs to address the challenges that have arisen is still embryonic. Ball and Lindsay (2013, p. 59) state that "patterns and consensus are more likely to emerge" regarding the content of EMI PD courses now that more reports of PD models are appearing in the literature. The same applies to the timing of the PD: whether, before/after/simultaneous to implementation of the EMI policy; long or short; one-off or continuous; or combinations of all these variables. Although a lot can be learned and adapted from programs that employ "content and language integrated learning" (CLIL), which has tended to be associated with primary and secondary schooling, Dearden (2014, p. 29) points out that whereas for CLIL "the notion of furthering language competence is built into the acronym," EMI instructors commonly believe that improving students' English is not their job (see also Airey 2016). PD programs for EMI, therefore, have to accommodate this perspective or, arguably, disabuse EMI lecturers of it.

What are the necessary elements of an EMI PD program? They will obviously be determined by the context-specific needs of the participants; however, some general principles are apparent. One is that the existing beliefs and assumptions of the participants should be shared from the start. Canvassing, recognising and discussing pre-program attitudes to EMI appear to be important strategies to ensure more positive participation by instructors of varying levels of experience. The need for such an approach is amply demonstrated in Klaassen and de Graaff's (2001) prototype faculty development program for EMI lecturers at a Dutch university, which was poorly evaluated by those lecturers in an advanced phase of EMI implementation but positively evaluated by those in an early phase. As the authors reason, this may suggest that experienced lecturers have already cemented their beliefs and coping mechanisms and are uncomfortable with new experimentation (e.g. they were resistant to having their teaching observed).

A second issue is whether and/or how to address language proficiency. In Ball and Lindsay's (2013) questionnaire to EMI lecturers about their PD needs, a significantly larger percentage of respondents believed that improving their own language competence was more important than improving pedagogic competence, and pronunciation was the most highly rated language feature requiring attention (in the lecturers' view). However, Ball and Lindsay (2013, p. 59) are only somewhat sympathetic to EMI lecturers' concerns about their ELP, concluding that "pronunciation is important, but what really matters is methodological awareness." Furthermore, it may be unrealistic for short-term PD programs to devote significant time to ELP development because, as Klaassen (2008) argues, it is impossible to improve lecturers' ELP in a short time. A PD focus on certain pedagogically-oriented communication skills can be beneficial, such as explaining new terminology intelligibly, illuminating concepts from multiple angles, providing clear exemplification, and using non-verbal communication (e.g., gestures and eye contact). Tsai and Tsou (2015) suggest a parallel set of communication strategies that Taiwanese lecturers would benefit from, such as introducing, defining, emphasizing and eliciting.

PD programs should also incorporate reflection on current practices, experimentation in alternative pedagogical methodologies, and exposure to variable ways of communicating within learning and teaching spaces. As the literature shows, this is particularly essential because most EMI instructors do not have teaching qualifications, let alone language teacher training. Both Guinda (2013) and Huang (2012) therefore recommend that participants analyse model teaching videos and undergo peer feedback on their own micro-teaching. In contrast, Ball and Lindsay (2013) have participants work on a self-selected element of their existing EMI practice over the course of the program in addition to receiving exposure to new methods and critical input from tutors. The participants give a final presentation on their selected issue or problem, which is evaluated according to content, language and audience engagement. In addition, all the programs referenced above purport to provide input workshops on major challenges faced by EMI lecturers, such as creating interactive lectures, stimulating student interaction, teaching multicultural and multilingual groups, and writing course materials.

6 The Study

To recap, this paper aims to offer insight into Taiwanese lecturers' views on EMI as a policy and practice. To do so, it makes use of data collected as part of a needs analysis for Taiwanese lecturers attending a short-term PD course on EMI in the United States. In the subsequent sections we describe the PD program, participants, data collection, and methodology, providing a context for the findings that follow.

6.1 PD Program

The three-week PD program was to take place at the UC Irvine Extension, a subdivision of the University of California, Irvine dedicated to custom-designed programs for advancing professionals, with an arm dedicated to international programs. Because of the subdivision's placement within the university, this specially tailored EMI PD program had access to the extension's intensive English program for language classes, to the campus's undergraduate courses for classroom observations, and to an activities director for cultural excursions.

The daily schedule would typically consist of three input classes. Each participant would first attend a morning ESL class appropriate to his/her proficiency level. These classes could enhance the participants' experience of this immersive study abroad opportunity and provide exposure to language teaching techniques that may prove compatible with content instruction in English. The second class would focus on presentation skills for lecturers, including hands-on practice related to such topics as structuring speeches effectively and communicating nonverbally. After a lunch break, participants would attend a longer afternoon session on EMI methodology. It was this third element that was tailored to the participants' particular needs by the online survey described below, as well as being informed by current EMI PD literature.

6.2 Participants

The participants were 20 higher education instructors: 12 were content lecturers, four were teacher educators (i.e., they provided pedagogical training for faculty staff), and four were both content lecturers and teacher educators. (For ease of reference we will refer to the group collectively as "lecturers" throughout this chapter.) 12 were female and eight male, with ages ranging from the early twenties to mid-sixties, hailing from schools and departments of business management, science, social sciences and humanities from various public and private universities in Taiwan. 15 taught in areas of business, namely finance and accounting ($n = 5$), marketing ($n = 4$), management ($n = 3$), hospitality ($n = 2$), and macroeconomics ($n = 1$). There were also two biology lecturers, and one lecturer from each of the fields of physics, engineering, and ethics.

With regard to EMI, all reported that they came from branches of the university that either require EMI for classes ($n = 5$) or are likely to in the future ($n = 15$). 8 reported that they had significant experience teaching through EMI, whereas 12 had little or no such prior experience. 15 had taken EMI content courses as university students and two had taken ESL/EFL courses in which English was the medium of instruction (i.e., these were intensive "English-only" courses in which students were discouraged from using their native languages in class). Three had had no prior experience taking EMI or immersive ESL/EFL courses as students.

6.3 Data Collection

Prior to their United States visit, participants gathered for a preliminary meeting to coordinate plans, take an English placement exam, and begin other preparations for the course to come. During this session, the designers of the EMI PD course in the US participated via Skype, introducing themselves and giving a brief introductory presentation, and later spoke briefly with each participant. The participants were then given time to complete an online survey.

The purpose of the survey was to help the program designers tailor the PD course to the participants' needs. It consisted of 17 multiple choice questions (with the option to provide open-ended clarifying comments) and five open-ended questions (see appendix). Questions addressed participants' attitudes and perceptions of EMI, their typical classroom practices, and their self-identified PD needs with regard to EMI. In two of the questions, participants provided open-ended responses first and multiple choice answers later. These were "What areas of EMI would you like to develop while in the teacher training program?" and "In your opinion, what do you think is most challenging about EMI?" This allowed participants to initially answer without the influence of particular response prompts, but subsequently have the opportunity to consider other possibilities.

6.4 Methodology

All multiple choice data were analysed for response frequencies, with participants' optional comments used to further inform interpretation. Naturally, given the small number of respondents (20), the generalizability of these quantitative results is rather limited. Comments and responses to open-ended questions were analysed through in vivo coding (Saldaña 2012). In the first stage, two of the authors independently highlighted salient and recurring statements in a fashion intended to permit themes to emerge from the participants' own words, without preconceived categories. Patterns were identified and data were reorganized into appropriate categories accordingly. In the second stage, the two researchers compared their interpretations, discussed any discrepancies, and made final coding decisions. In a final pass at the data intended to provide further depth of analysis, all individual survey responses were examined on a person-by-person basis, viewed in light of the course designers' field notes on individual participants' backgrounds and performance in the PD course. All data were then organized thematically into the findings discussed below.

7 Findings and Discussion

7.1 Participants' Attitudes Toward EMI

On the whole, participants' survey responses reflected a positive attitude toward the implementation of EMI in their institutions. Although 40% of the participants reported that they had little or no prior experience teaching through EMI, 90% expressed that they were either somewhat or very confident in their ability to do so. In addition, 75% reported that they were personally "in favour"/"strongly in favour" of offering EMI in their institution (and the remainder were mostly "neutral" or skipped the question). It may be the case that these participants were already positively predisposed towards EMI, which is why they undertook the PD experience in the first place, or it may indicate an openness to EMI among Taiwanese lecturers more generally, given the national momentum for it. Either way, we are reminded that canvassing opinions is an important early element of any PD program (Huang and Singh 2014). This is what Trent (2017) calls the "discourse of possibility" in EMI PD: i.e., providing lecturers the space to explore potentialities, including "opportunities to critically explore and contest the discourses that shape the construction of their professional identities".

In response to the open-ended question "Why might EMI be a good thing for your institution to use?" participants provided a range of reasons associated with the benefits it could bring to the university, the students, and even the lecturers themselves. Benefits to the university included that it could "let our university go to internationalization," creating an international environment for professional learning. One respondent noted that EMI offerings are important for the evaluation of the university on "a performance index of globalization." In addition, EMI could attract international students and students of better quality. Other participants noted benefits to the students as it would prepare them for global mobility and "make them more international," and it would "let our students learn more," improving "competence" and English proficiency while enhancing local students' competitiveness. Others saw potential benefits to the lecturers insofar as it would improve teaching skills and aid in-course preparation. None of these responses are surprising given the Taiwanese policy context described above, and they indicate that lecturers are well aware of the socio-political drivers of EMI policy.

Participants were also asked about any problems and difficulties that they associated with EMI implementation. They first had the opportunity to address this issue by way of an open-ended question: "In your opinion, what do you think is most challenging about EMI?" The first major challenge they perceived was dealing with the students' English, echoing previous studies (Chang 2010; Huang 2015; Wu 2006; Yeh 2014). On the one hand, they lamented that many students were poorly equipped to handle EMI. That is, the students were forced to use English in class but "are not well prepared" to do so, or were "not ready to take EMI courses but are required to do so". Another person commented that students "don't know how to read English materials" and "have difficulty in understanding technical terms". Another complaint focussed on student interaction in English. Participants were critical of "the responses from students", or more accurately, the reluctance of "students to open their mouth" (reminiscent of Chang's (2010) depiction of non-communicative lecture environments). The second major challenge they perceived was teaching itself. From this perspective, the problem was not the students' ELP so much as the challenge of conveying information given the ELP problem. As in Huang's (2012) study, our participants were frustrated at "how to make the course contents clearly expressed", the challenge of "knowledge transmission" and simply "teaching in English". This included "satisfying students with diverse English competencies". The third major challenge was the *lecturers*' ELP, with several participants confessing doubts about their own abilities. For example, one respondent stated "I don't know the correct pronunciation of medical terms" while another was concerned at "express[ing] myself in English completely and fluently".

At a subsequent stage of the survey participants were provided with multiple choice options, derived from the research literature on PD for EMI lecturers, for the question "What are your biggest concerns about using EMI?" Their answers are displayed in Table 1.

These results support the open-ended responses in that they demonstrate that the participants are concerned by the ELP of both the students (65%) and themselves (50%). The results echo findings elsewhere (e.g. Hou et al. 2013; Huang 2015) which state that diversified proficiency levels within a cohort are a significant teaching challenge.

Table 1 Responses to "What are your biggest concerns about using EMI? (Choose all that apply)"

	% of respondents	*n*
Students have low level English language ability	65	13
Students have mixed English language ability (i.e., students have different levels of English ability; some may have adequate skills while others do not)	60	12
My own limited English language ability	50	10
EMI may diminish the quality of the content I try to teach	40	8
Insufficient support for students to develop their English language abilities at my institution	30	6
Other (please comment)	0	0

n = 20

7.2 Participants' Practices Prior to Undertaking the Program

To ensure the relevance of the PD course content to the participants' teaching circumstances, a number of questions sought information on the participants' typical teaching context and practices. All but three reported that their students used at least some English reading material, while five reported using English material only, suggesting that discussion of techniques for supporting students' reading comprehension would be valuable to nearly all. Similarly, participants revealed that 85% used handouts (providing lecture outlines, discussion questions, notes with gaps for students to fill in, and/or PowerPoint slides), 65% used whiteboards/blackboards, and 75% used presentation slides, suggesting these to be relevant topics for workshop discussion. Tips for teaching large lectures were also revealed to be a topic of interest, as only one participant had class sizes limited to less than 20, while 30% had classes of over 50 students.

Table 2 reflects the participants' most typical classroom practices. Whereas asking questions and taking questions from students were reportedly the most common practices, lecturing and assigning presentations were also routine for 75% of the participants. Of note is the fact that 13 of the 20 were in the habit of having students talk in pairs or small groups. Though this question did not specifically refer to the participants' EMI practices but rather to their practices in general, the use of pair and group work can be quite valuable in EMI classes for giving students opportunities to check their understanding and help one another, and it can also permit them to use English productively. That pair/small group work was already used by more than half of the teachers provided indication that they may be open to adapting its use to the EMI context, whereas the remaining seven participants might also be able to add pair/small group work to their repertoires, aided by the insights

Table 2 Responses to the question, "As a teacher in the classroom I usually… (Choose all that apply)"

	% of respondents	*n*
Ask questions	90	18
Take questions from students	85	17
Lecture	75	15
Assign student presentations	75	15
Have students talk in pairs or small groups	65	13
Lead discussions	60	12
Other (please comment)	5	1[a]

n = 20

[a] Comment: "Showing English videos which related to the course"

of peers experienced in these methods. Overall, the finding runs contrary to the perception that the typical learning environment in Taiwanese higher education is the monologic lecture, although it may simply be indicative of a progressive, communicatively-inclined teaching cohort in this case.

Though only five were currently required to use EMI and only eight had significant prior experience with EMI, all but three reported that they already used English at least sometimes in their classes. An open-ended follow-up question provided more specific information on this topic, with 10 reporting that they used it for discussion, and an overlapping eight reporting its use for lectures. Other activities conducted in English include student/group presentations (3), case studies (2), watching videos (2), exams/quizzes (2), and homework (1). Furthermore, two reported that they used English when they had to for interaction with foreign students, whereas two others reported that the only English found in their classrooms was in the textbooks.

Because these responses comprise classroom practices for which participants had already found the use of English appropriate, the practices served as relevant topics for the EMI PD class, so that participants might build on their skills in these areas. Such topics included techniques for leading discussion, facilitating engagement in lectures, confirming understanding, designing effective presentation assignments and providing appropriate support, using videos, assessing learning, and supporting students' understanding of textbooks, terminology, and lectures. In addition, the fact that two participants were already using English for case studies suggested an area where peer-to-peer learning among participants would be useful, so that those with expertise in this technique and how it suited their particular context could share their knowledge with fellow participants.

As for students' behaviour, 95% of the respondents reported that the students took some agency in their learning, asking questions at least sometimes (again, running counter to the perception that Taiwanese students are reluctant to do so), and 100% reported that their students took notes at least sometimes, though 25% reported that the students did not do so very well. Due to the small sample size, it is impossible to generalize about typical practices, but such responses provide indication that the topic of training students to be effective learners could prove useful.

7.3 Self-identified Needs for Professional Development Prior to Taking the Course

A number of survey questions related to the participants' perceptions of the focus areas that were most pressing for their professional development. In response to an open-ended question on their PD interests, participants expressed the desire to learn new teaching methods, enhance their language and communication skills, and learn how to teach their particular content. Included among these responses were requests for techniques for increasing student interest and learning quality, as well as instruction in how to use interactive activities and open courses.

When participants were later given a similar question in multiple choice format, further areas of interest emerged (Table 3). Most were eager to learn from experts and get help with their lessons, and 75% saw value in learning from peers facing similar concerns, which suggested that collaborative learning techniques would be well received. All participants expressed the hope that they would improve their English skills during this sojourn abroad. However, relatively few expressed interest in other 'perks' commonly associated with study abroad, such as learning about American culture (50%) or going sightseeing (45%), though 70% did express interest in the potential networking opportunity to forge relationships with American professionals in their content area. The finding suggests that participants were more interested in 'getting down to business' than enjoying a vacation—not a trivial consideration for any institution intending to offer EMI PD in a study abroad mode. The major point of dissonance between the participants' views and those of some EMI scholars is the issue of ELP development. Improving English skills was the number one aspiration of the participants, but it is an expectation that needs tempering according to Klaassen (2008), who cautions that it is not realistic to expect ELP to improve in such a short time.

Table 3 Responses to the question: "At the UCI English mediated instruction teacher training program, I hope to… (Choose all that apply)"

	% of respondents	*n*
Improve my English skills	100	20
Learn from experts	90	18
Receive help with my lessons	85	17
Learn from my peers	75	15
Forge relationships with American professionals in my content area (e.g., business, science)	70	14
Interact with Americans in informal settings	70	14
Have opportunities to practice teaching	65	13
Learn about American culture	50	10
Go sightseeing	45	9
Other (please comment)	5	1[a]

n = 20

[a] Comment: "Discuss common problems I encountered in my class with professionals"

Participants were also asked to describe their own prior experience as a student in EMI content courses and/or in immersive English-only ESL/EFL classes, with particular focus on practices that helped them to understand and/or make the classes effective. The rationale for this line of questioning was twofold: (i) it might serve as a way of identifying participants' prior experiences that could serve as a resource to the course, and (ii) participants may be most inclined to adopt/adapt EMI techniques they had experienced for themselves, and which are evidently suited to their particular cultural context. The most commonly identified techniques were discussion (n = 8), previewing content and material (n = 6), and reviewing the same (n = 4). Mention was also made of utilising supporting materials - such as handouts, PowerPoint slides and vocabulary lists - and reducing the speed of speech. These are all teaching techniques that can and should form part of any EMI PD program. The recurrence of the word "discussion" in the data also indicates a desire among participants to make a shift away from traditional monologic lectures.

7.4 Components of the PD Program

The participants' online survey responses were analysed and used to inform the curriculum for the daily EMI methodology component of the PD program. Though this curriculum was founded on best practices identified in current practical and research EMI literature, specific aspects were adapted and expanded upon in relation to the participants' needs and contexts. Specific topics included:

- Participants' and policymakers' rationales for using EMI
- Findings of current research on EMI (including techniques used by EMI lecturers in Asian contexts), and the compatibility of these findings with participants' own professional requirements
- Principles of teaching discipline-specific content through EMI
- Teaching and communicating in large lectures
- Flipping the classroom (i.e., shifting the delivery of content to the online/out-of-classroom context and thus freeing up face-to-face class time for more active discussion and application of concepts)
- Using questioning techniques to confirm understanding during discussion
- Focusing on learners' needs, and providing appropriate support
    - Scaffolding understanding of difficult texts
    - Translanguaging: switching between English and the first language
    - Using handouts, PowerPoints, and the board
- Facilitating student interaction
- Differentiating instruction to meet the needs of students of diverse abilities and backgrounds
- Classroom management in the Taiwanese context.

8 Conclusion

Though lecturers are typically at the mercy of the whims and policy declarations of administrators and others higher up the chain of command, it appears that in Taiwan we may find lecturers who are relatively untroubled by such demands, who are instead more than sympathetic to the cause of increasing the nation’s internationalization via EMI. Based on the survey responses, it appears these trainees entered their PD program at UCI with overwhelmingly positive attitudes towards EMI at their institutions, even though many of them had never practiced it. The participants were also able to articulate the benefits of EMI and were generally supportive of the fruits it could bear. At the same time, they were far from naïve; rather, they were capable of sober assessments of the drawbacks and impediments that would face them as future EMI lecturers. They recognized the need for improved ELP of both students and themselves, and they also expressed reservations about their own ability to teach subject matter effectively within an EMI framework. Despite these reservations, they demonstrated capacities that would stand them in good stead in the EMI context. They showed a willingness to foster engagement and communication, generally eschewing an overly teacher-centred approach, as the majority of lecturers reported that their teaching styles included asking and responding to questions, as well as facilitating group discussions and oral presentations. Further, they expressed appreciation for the key role that discussion had played in their own prior learning experiences in English medium environments.

Such positive attitudes and realistic perspectives are likely to be tested in the coming years, as EMI programs aimed at attracting international students are only likely to increase, driven by central government policies and investments whose purpose is to keep universities and colleges financially viable despite the dwindling pool of local students. The success of such EMI initiatives will depend on the preparedness of the lecturers, and there is near-universal agreement that a key is the provision of rigorous and principled systems of support, including professional development. Yet the best way to meet EMI lecturers’ needs through professional development is still an open question. Though our data come from a small sample, the overall picture conveyed is that PD programs in Taiwan would do well to bring lecturers’ perceptions regarding EMI to the surface at an early stage, offering support in the development of basic teaching skills, and focusing on means of supporting students’ comprehension of lecturers via handouts and various forms of technology.

There is much more to be learned from such data, but as program designers sift through participants’ open-ended responses, they must distinguish between the realistic and the idealistic, between the attainable and the impractical, and address conflicting perceptions with participants as part of the PD process. For instance, though lecturers may express a preference for focusing on the development of their own ELP, such a focus may be better placed outside of short-term PD programs like the one described here, given the unlikelihood of significant gains in the second language in only a few weeks. This is not to say that such views are without value, for in actuality they call attention to an underlying need for the development of classroom communication skills, perhaps in the form of a targeted repertoire of "English for EMI." For instance, focussing on a prioritized suite of communication strategies (such as introducing, defining, eliciting, and emphasizing) may be an essential inclusion in a PD syllabus.

Exploration of all such issues should prove useful to the effective implementation of EMI in Taiwan. Furthermore, as Taiwan participates in the global competition to attract international students, Taiwanese universities and colleges will need to allay perceptions that their EMI programs are of lesser quality or effectiveness than more traditional destinations such as the USA, the UK, and Australia. To do so, they will have to ensure that EMI lecturers are adequately qualified, trained and resourced. We expect, therefore, that a greater effort will be put into investigating the attitudes, practices, capabilities and needs of lecturers conducting EMI in non-Anglophone settings. This chapter constitutes a step in that direction.

Appendix: EMI Survey Instrument

Q1 What is your name? (Family name, Given name): ———

Q2 (Choose all that apply.) What type of teacher roles do you fill?

a. Content area instructor (e.g., "I teach (science/marketing/etc.) classes")
b. Program Administrator
c. Public Service Officer (Government staff, etc.)
d. Teacher educator
e. Other (please specify)

Q3 Please choose the best response to describe your experience as a teacher using EMI:

a. I have never used English in my lectures or class assignments
b. I have used EMI only a little bit in my classes, and I have never taught a class entirely using EMI
c. I have used EMI a fair bit in several classes, and/or I have taught a course entirely using EMI
d. I have used EMI a lot in many classes and/or I have taught several courses entirely using EMI

Comment (*optional*):
Q4 EMI for my classes is:

a. required by my institution.
b. likely to be required by my institution in the future.
c. not likely to be required by my institution in the future.
d. Other (please specify):

Comment (*optional*):

Q5 Why might EMI be a good thing for your institution to use?

Q6 How strongly would you rate your personal support for EMI in your institution?

a. strongly against
b. against
c. neutral
d. in favor
e. strongly in favor

Comment (*optional*):

Q7 How would you rate your confidence in conducting EMI at your institution?

a. not confident at all
b. somewhat confident
c. very confident

Comment (*optional*):

Q8 How often do you currently use English in the classes that you teach?

a. never
b. sometimes
c. often
d. always

Comment (*optional*):

Q9 Please briefly explain which teaching activities you currently conduct in English, if any.

Q10 What areas of EMI would you like to develop while in the UCI English Mediated Instruction Teacher Training Program?

Q11 In your opinion, what do you think is most challenging about EMI?

Q12 (Choose all that apply.) At the UCI English Mediated Instruction Teacher Training Program, I hope to:

a. have opportunities to practice teaching
b. receive help with my lessons
c. improve my English skills
d. learn about American culture
e. go sightseeing
f. forge relationships with American professionals in my content area (e.g., business, science)
g. learn from my peers
h. learn from experts
i. interact with Americans in informal settings
j. Other (please comment):

Q13 (Choose all that apply.) As a teacher in the classroom I usually:

a. lecture
b. ask questions
c. take questions from students
d. lead discussions
e. have students talk in pairs or small groups
f. assign student presentations
g. Other (Please comment)

Q14 In the classes that I teach, the students' reading material is:

a. all in English
b. all in Chinese
c. some is in Chinese, but most is in English

d. some is in English, but most is in Chinese
e. Other (Please comment)

Q15 How often do your students ask questions during lectures?

a. never
b. sometimes
c. often
d. always

Comment (*optional*):
Q16 How often do your students need to take notes during your classes?

a. never
b. sometimes
c. often
d. always

Comment (*optional*):
Q17 How well do your students take notes during your classes?

a. not well
b. okay
c. very well
d. I don't know

Comment (*optional*):
Q18 (Choose all that apply.) What kind of information do you provide on handouts?

a. I don't provide handouts
b. An outline of the lecture
c. Discussion questions
d. Lecture notes with gaps for students to fill in
e. Other (Please comment):

Q19 (Choose all that apply) What technology do you normally use for your lectures?

a. projector
b. presentation slides
c. printed handouts
d. whiteboard/chalkboard
e. video
f. polling clickers (e.g., e-clickers, etc.)
g. Other (Please comment)

Q20 On average, how many students do you have in a typical course?

a. 2–20
b. 21–50
c. 51–100
d. over 100
e. Other (Please comment)

Q21 (Choose all that apply.) What are your biggest concerns about using EMI?

a. students have low level English language ability
b. students have mixed English language ability (i.e., students have different levels of English ability; some may have adequate skills while others do not)
c. insufficient support for students to develop their English language abilities at my institution
d. my own limited English language ability
e. EMI may diminish the quality of the content I try to teach
f. Other (Please comment)

Q22 (Please think about your own prior experience as a student, and choose all that apply.) As a student, I have

a. never taken a class that was mostly taught in English
b. taken ESL/EFL classes (i.e., classes on how to speak English) that were mostly taught in English
c. taken classes on other subjects (e.g., science, business) that were mostly taught in English

Comment (*optional*):

Q23 If you have taken any classes as a student where the content was communicated in English, what practices helped you to understand and/or made the classes effective for you?

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“Being a Professor and Doing EMI Properly Isn’t Easy”. An Identity-Theoretic Investigation of Content Teachers’ Attitudes Towards EMI at a University in Hong Kong

John Trent

Abstract Recent research has documented the rapid growth in the number of universities offering degree courses using English as the medium of instruction (EMI) throughout Asia. While some of this research has considered the impact of EMI instruction on student learning, only limited attention has been given to the experiences of other stakeholders, such as academic staff who are expected to deliver EMI courses in tertiary institutions. Therefore, this chapter explores the perspectives and experiences of academic staff at a large EMI tertiary institution in Hong Kong. Using a framework of teacher identity, the chapter considers the role of EMI policy and practice in the ability of academic staff to negotiate multiple identities, including ‘academic economist’, ‘researcher’, and ‘teacher’, by revealing the dominant discourses that constrained and enabled their professional identity construction. The data describes the challenges that academic staff experience in constructing their preferred identities in an EMI environment and how they negotiated such challenges. Implications for policymakers wishing to support the identity construction of academic staff at EMI tertiary institutions throughout Asia and beyond are considered and suggestions for future research discussed.

Keywords English medium of instruction (EMI) · Teacher identity · Teacher education

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1 Introduction

The increasing use of English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in schools and higher education institutions (HEIs) has been characterized as a global phenomenon (Dearden 2014; Doiz et al. 2013; Jenkins 2014). In the Asian context, recent research has documented the rapid growth in the number of universities offering degree courses using EMI (Gill and Kirkpatrick 2013; Hamid et al. 2013; Kirkpatrick 2011, this volume).

Underpinned in part by a desire to rise in university ranking tables and by financial gain (Kirkpatrick 2014), the increase in EMI by HEIs in Asia has, however, been questioned. For example, commenting on the design of language policy, Kirkpatrick (2014) argued that the greater use of EMI is “not yet matched by an understanding at university level…of the new developments in new varieties of English, the role and nature of ELF and the multilingual settings on the universities themselves” (p. 13). EMI policy in some Asian HEIs has also been examined in terms of implementation, with evidence of tensions and struggles experienced by teachers and students taken to indicate dissonance between the formation and implementation of EMI policies (Hamid et al. 2013).

According to Dearden (2014), such concerns about the aims and delivery of EMI policy suggests the need for “a research-driven approach which consults key stakeholders at a national and international level” (p. 2). This focus on the role of stakeholders should, however, be extended to other levels, such as front-line instructors who are responsible for the delivery of content subjects in EMI HEIs. Research that has focused on these stakeholders has often adopted a deficit view, raising doubts about the capacity of instructors whose mother tongue is not English to deliver content subjects, such as history and science, in English and to adequately support student learning in EMI environments (Byun et al. 2011; Dearden 2014; Hamid et al. 2013; Kirkpatrick this volume; Vu and Burns 2014).

These purported deficits are frequently accompanied by recommendations for linguistic and pedagogical support for teachers using EMI within both school and university contexts (Ball and Lindsay 2013). While Vu and Burns (2014) cite evidence suggesting that these initiatives are valued by teachers, a focus on the alleged strengths and limitations of individual stakeholders can divert attention from investigation of the broader social and educational discourses that are seen as crucial to understanding how language policy is formulated and enacted (Kirkpatrick 2014; Ramanathan and Morgan 2007). As Hamid et al. (2013) put it, “MOI [medium of instruction] cannot be decontextualized from its social, geographical and historical context” (p. 3). Therefore, this chapter explores the linguistic, educational, and professional discourses that shaped the perspectives and practices of one group of content teachers, and hence their implementation of language policy, at one EMI HEI in Hong Kong.

2 EMI and Higher Education in Hong Kong

In Hong Kong, where over 95% of the population is Chinese speaking, six of the eight government-funded universities are officially EMI institutions. This arrangement, which has seen parents in Hong Kong place pressure on secondary schools to also adopt English as the MOI, is characterized as “bizarre” by Kirkpatrick (2011), who notes that “no other non-English speaking city or state even begins to approach this imbalance between local language provision and English medium university education” (p. 8).

This imbalance could partly reflect the historical development of Hong Kong, which for over 150 years was a British colony until becoming a Special Administrative Region of The People’s Republic of China in 1997. As Tsui (2004) points out, during this time the colonial government chose to override repeated advice from educational consultants for mother tongue education. Rather, the regime invoked both social concerns—the demand for English education by parents—and economic arguments—the crucial role English was thought to play in economic development—to advocate the use of English as the MOI. Tsui (2004) goes on to argue that ambivalence to the change of sovereignty and resistance to identify with the Chinese government implies that for many in Hong Kong issues of national identity are trumped by economic imperatives (p. 110):

> English is seen as a commodity that everybody desires. The business tycoons see it as an important means of maintaining the competitive edge of the city’s business status, and parent see it as the golden passport to a successful future for their children.

Further pressure for EMI originates from recent government efforts to establish Hong Kong as a regional education hub (Mok and Cheung 2011), with the capacity to provide an English-medium teaching and learning environment seen as crucial to the ability of HEIs in Hong Kong to recruit overseas students (Cheong et al. 2009).

Despite these social and economic pressures, surveys of the experiences of Cantonese speaking students at Hong Kong EMI universities have raised doubts about the educational consequences of the use of English as the medium of instruction. For example, research suggests that these students have an inadequate understanding of specialist vocabulary in their chosen field of study, struggle to express complex ideas in grammatically correct English, lack fluency in oral presentations, and experience difficulty in comprehending lectures and fulfilling institutional and disciplinary requirements (Evans and Green 2007; Evans and Morrison 2011).

A survey by Flowerdew et al. (1998) of Chinese lecturers at one EMI university in Hong revealed support for the flexible implementation of English-medium policy, with many suggesting that lectures should delivered in English and tutorials conducted in Cantonese, a conclusion that is consistent with Lin’s (2006) recommendation for the use of a bilingual pedagogical approach to provide limited English proficiency students in Hong Kong with access to socioeconomically dominant discourses. However, as reported by Flowerdew et al. (1998), the participants also identified students' poor English language competency as an obstacle to EMI teaching and learning, which also represented one of the most important reasons for their use of some Cantonese in lectures.

Concerns have also been raised about teacher preparedness for teaching English language learners (ELLs) (Hutchinson and Hadjioannou 2011), leading to suggestions that "providing teachers with adequate tools and techniques to support these learners is essential" (Facella et al. 2005, p. 209). However, while an emphasis on "tools and techniques" can provide teachers with useful instructional strategies for the classroom, the privileging of pedagogic practices risks paying insufficient attention to the role of the teacher in the provision of high quality educational experiences for ELLs. Varghese et al. (2005), for example, argue that to understand teaching and learning "we need to understand teachers" (p. 22). Addressing this need, recent research has explored the challenges teachers of ELLs face in constructing their professional identities. Thus, Kayi-Aydar (2015) discovered that while her participants, who were pre-service elementary school teachers in the United States, positioned themselves as either a guide or resource to ELLs or as a bridge between ELLs and the school system, they also drew attention to institutional power relations that positioned them as non-powerful in terms of their capacity to act and to teach ELLs.

According to Kayi-Aydar (2015), "given its significant role in education of ELLs, teacher identity and agency is a topic that needs further investigation" (p. 102). This study responds to this research need by examining the constraints and enablements to professional identity construction faced by one group of academic staff at an EMI tertiary institution in Hong Kong.

2.1 A Framework for Understanding Teacher Identity

Day (2011) defined identity as "the way we make sense of ourselves and the image of ourselves that we present to others" (p. 48). Varghese et al. (2005) argued that understanding identity requires attention to both identity-in-practice and identity-in-discourse, with the former referring to the operationalization of identity through concrete practices and the latter recognizing that "identity is constructed, maintained and negotiated to a significant extent through language and discourse" (p. 23). The theoretical framework used in this paper, which draws together several themes in the literature on teacher identity construction, is summarized in Fig. 1.

Figure 1 suggests that identity partially reflects the influence of discourses, which as Miller Marsh (2002, p. 456) explains are:

> frameworks for thought and action that groups of individuals draw upon in order to speak and interact with one another in meaningful ways…discourses are historically, politically, and socially generated patterns of thinking, speaking, acting, and interacting that are sanctioned by a particular group of people.

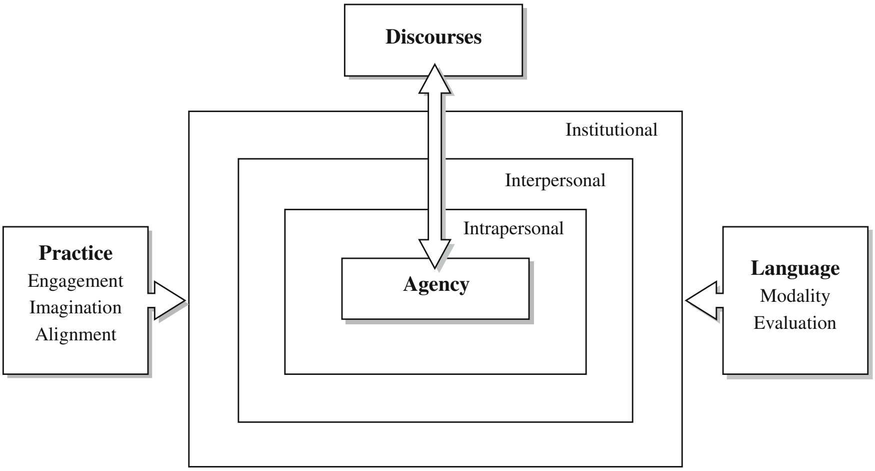

Fig. 1 An integrated framework for investigating teacher identity

The current chapter considers the subject positions that were made available to one group of academics at an EMI university in Hong Kong and how they actively interpreted these positions to construct their professional identities. These subject positions can be explored partly through linguistic analysis, labelled as ‘language’ in Fig. 1, because, as Danielewicz (2001) points out, discourses are manifested through language. To understand this aspect of the participants’ professional identity construction, this chapter draws upon tools for discourse analysis suggested by Fairclough (2003), who argued that what authors commit themselves to within texts “is an important part of how they identify themselves” (p. 164) and that the commitments an author makes can be assessed in terms of modality and evaluation.

However, as suggested in Fig. 1, a comprehensive theory of identity must also recognize, as Schatzki (2002) puts it, that a person’s identity “is constituted in the full range of actions that he or she performs or that are performed toward him or her” (p. 51). Therefore, this chapter turns to the work of Wenger (1998), who argues that “identification takes place in the doing” (p. 193). His theoretical framework conceptualizes identity construction in terms of three modes of belonging: engagement, imagination, and alignment. Through engagement, individuals establish and maintain joint enterprises, negotiate meanings, and establish relations with others. In Fig. 1, the role of individual teachers, as well as their relations with others, in the construction of professional identities is reflected in the intrapersonal and interpersonal dimensions of identity work.

Imagination is also a powerful force for identity construction as individuals create images of the world across time and space by extrapolating beyond their own experience. Alignment coordinates an individual’s activities within broader structures and enterprises, allowing the identity of an organization, for instance, to become part of the identity of the individual. Figure 1 positions this aspect of identity construction in terms of institutional practices and activities.

Although Wenger's (1998) description of identity as negotiated recognizes the role that conflict can play within communities, researchers have criticized his framework for providing a "benign model" (Barton and Tusting 2005, p. 10) that fails to adequately theorize the role of power. In contrast, Laclau and Mouffe's (1985) theory of discourse maintains that meanings are fluid and discourses contingent, which implies that there is always scope for struggles over which discourses should be privileged. In the context of this study, such contingency underscores the potential for agency in teacher identity construction; teachers are not positioned in a single way by an individual discourse but, rather, are confronted with many different positions offered by different competing discourses.

While the work of Laclau and Mouffe draws our attention to the socially active nature of human beings, the potential for contestation needs to be tempered by the realization that teachers encounter limits to their individual agency as they confront socially, historically and institutionally specific conceptions of how to be, how to act, and how to understand their work as teachers. As a result, the framework used in this study underscores the need for a comprehensive understanding of teacher identity construction to acknowledge the existence of both constraints and enablements. As Fairclough (2003) explained, "social agents are not 'free' agents, they are socially constrained, but nor are their actions totally socially determined" (p. 22).

2.2 Research Questions

In the context of the current study, the framework described above is used to answer the following research questions:

> What were the discourses that shaped the construction of the professional identities of economics and finance professors in a Hong Kong EMI university?
>
> How did these discourses enable and constrain the construction of the professional identities of these economics and finance professors?

3 The Study

3.1 Setting

Data for this study was collected from academic staff within the Faculty of Business and Economics at a large EMI university in Hong Kong. The university, which positions itself as "an international university with a multicultural and multilingual community", is committed to achieving "excellence in the use of English as an objective of the entire curriculum". Thus, in a recent five-year plan the university identified, as a key strategic objective, "the delivery of courses and degree programmes in the English language, that are of the highest quality and in a comprehensive range of disciplines". In support of this objective, emphasis is placed on the need for language "enhancement and proficiency amongst all students" and the importance of the use of the English language both inside and outside the classroom:

> High levels of language can only be attained by means of a firm commitment on the part of all stakeholders to the substantive use of the language in all university courses as well as in all professional and social contexts, formal and informal.

Language policy at the university asserts that "English should be the lingua franca for all formal and informal communication throughout the university" and that "measures should be taken to encourage students to use English as the medium of spoken and written communication on campus".

3.2 Participants

The participants in this study were recruited through purposive sampling, which implies that the researcher selects "a sample from which the most can be learned" (Merriam 2009, p. 77). Therefore, I sought information-rich cases that could provide insight into how academic staff in content areas constructed their professional identities in an EMI university in Hong Kong. For example, each of the six participants were invited to join this study partly because, at the time of data collection, they were employed as an academic staff member in a content faculty with experience of teaching both undergraduate and postgraduate students in an EMI higher education institution in Hong Kong.

The advantages of variation in sampling have been noted by Dörnyei (2007) and Merriam (2009), for example, the latter arguing that variation in the sample "allows for the possibility of a greater range of application by readers or consumers of the research" (p. 227). Therefore, I sought to include participants from diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, who were serving at a range of academic ranks, and who also varied in terms of their length of service as an academic staff member at the EMI university in which the study was conducted. Biographical information about each of the participants is summarized in Table 1.

The decision to include only economics and finance professors reflected my own background as an economics and finance graduate. This common disciplinary experience allowed me to achieve a form of "insider status" (Merriam 2009, p. 108) that helped me to better understand the needs and perspectives of the participants and to develop rapport with them.

Table 1 Biographical information on participants

Name (pseudonyms)	Academic rank	Nationality	Mother tongue	Number of years employed at Hong Kong college
Eric	Professor	Chinese	Cantonese	16
Michael	Associate professor	Chinese	Putonghua	10
Jan	Associate professor	Chinese	Cantonese	11
Paul	Assistant professor	American	English	3
Ben	Assistant professor	American	English	3
Lucy	Assistant professor	Chinese	Putonghua	2

3.3 Data Collection and Analysis

Each of the six participants took part in a semi-structured interview which ranged from 65 to 110 minutes in length and which was audiotaped and transcribed. Interview questions sought biographical details from each participant, their understanding of language policy at the university, the challenges they and their Chinese L1 students face in teaching and learning economics using English as the MOI, and how, if at all, they were able to overcome these challenges.

Analysis of the data followed the procedures for qualitative data analysis described by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first step in data analysis involved becoming familiar with the data through repeating readings of the interview transcripts. Next, initial codes were produced by identifying features of the data that appeared "interesting to the analyst" (Braun and Clarke 2006, p. 88). These codes consisted of words, phrases, and sentences mentioned by the participants, which Patton (2002) calls "indigenous concepts" (p. 454). Examples of codes developed in this way included "research", "invest", "realistic", "pragmatic", and "teaching language".

Data analysis then moved to the next phase, which involved sorting the codes into broader level themes. A theme, in the words of Braun and Clarke (2006), "captures something important about the data in relation to the research question" (p. 82). Thus, as I read and re-read the data, I addressed the question 'What are the participants saying or implying about the professional identities of academic staff and how they are constructed in this EMI university?'. For example, codes such as "research", "realistic", and "most important" were combined with the participants description of their engagement in practices and activities such as "allocat(ing) time…where I get the most reward" and "don't spend…too much time worrying about language" to form a theme which was subsequently labelled 'the discourse of rationality'. A similar process of data analysis resulted in the identification of a second discourse, termed 'the discourse of possibility'. Therefore, this phase of data analysis resulted in the identification of themes, or discourses, that were "analyst-constructed" (Patton 2002, p. 458).

Throughout the analysis of the data, codes and themes were continually reviewed. For example, I continued to read and re-read the data set until it was apparent that a point of "saturation" was reached, meaning that "the iterative process stops producing new topics, ideas…and the project 'levels off'" (Dörnyei 2007, p. 244). This review process involved discussing emerging findings with the participants in a form of member checking (Merriam 2009).

4 Results

The results of this investigation identified two dominant discourses, which were defined above as "frameworks for thought and action that groups of individuals draw upon in order to speak and interact with one another in meaningful ways" (Miller Marsh 2002, p. 456). These discourses, labelled here as 'the discourse of rationality' and 'the discourse of potentiality', are discussed in detail below.

4.1 The Discourse of Rationality

The data suggested that the discourse of rationality was an important force for economics and finance faculty identity construction in EMI contexts because it placed a premium on academic staff engaging in practices and activities that best served their individual interests and needs. For example, this discourse addressed the issue of how those taking on the identity 'economics and finance professor' should allocate their time between teaching and research responsibilities, for instance. This discourse advocated the minimization of time spent addressing the language needs of students in favour of engagement in practices and activities that are more likely to bring rewards, such as promotion and contract renewal, which were identified as research-related activities. This discourse also valued efficiency, which in the context of the participants' identity construction in an EMI environment endorsed the need for a clear demarcation of faculty responsibility for language and content teaching. In addition, the discourse of rationality argued for a realistic view of the teaching of content and language in EMI environments, with realism defined as the need for all faculty to acknowledge the existence of a hierarchy of learning needs that placed a premium on the teaching and learning of content over language. Finally, this discourse also valued a pragmatic approach to the implementation of language policy, a view which endorses flexibility in the use of language in different teaching and learning contexts within the academy. The remainder of this section expands on the different aspects of the discourse of rationality.

4.2 Time and Identity Construction: Thinking Clearly and Being Smart

Excerpt One

> The university reviews us in terms of research, teaching and admin and so I need to think clearly, allocate time precisely where I get the most reward, which is research….Research is most important. That's where I have to devote most attention. That's where the university looks when they think about promotion, (contract) renewal. But if I invest extra time into teaching, like language help, maybe slowing down to explain theories and concepts in simple language, more office hours for students who struggle with English, then it doesn't benefit me if it means less time for research…so that's why I have to be smart about it, allocate time precisely where I get the most reward, which is research….I have to do it if later I'm going to move up the ladder (Lucy).

Lucy's determination to "think clearly" is unequivocal and is signally by her repeated use of strongly modalized statements of belief that affirm this commitment: "I *need to think clearly*…I *have to* be smart…". Thinking clearly and being smart, according to Lucy, is defined as allocating time "precisely where I get the most reward". This commitment is reified through her engagement in the practice of research: "research is most important". The significance attached to research also signals her alignment with the goals and criteria of the university: "That's where the university looks when they think about promotion, (contract) renewal.

The use of the term "but" ("*but* if I…") serves the purpose of contrasting the engagement of this economics and finance professor in the practice of research, which is seen as a positive force for professional identity construction, with an alternative form of engagement, teaching. This juxtapositioning is underscored by the assertion that allocating "extra time" to teaching, such as providing language help to students and adjusting teaching strategies, has negative implications for identity construction: "it doesn't benefit me". Imagination also plays an essential role in this commitment to rationality, and hence to research, as Lucy connects across time her day-to-day engagement in the practices of research to future possibility of promotion, "to move up the ladder", as she put it.

4.3 Efficiency and the Demarcation of Responsibility in Identity Construction

The discourse of rationality was also partly based on a belief in demarcation between the teaching of content and of language.

Excerpt Two

> The university offers language support for our students; they must attend those language classes. So, if they've got language problems that's where they need to be dealt with, not by us here in the (economics) department, we're teaching economics. Those lines are clearly

> established by the university, and it's efficient. Those (language) instructors are qualified and trained in the area, I'm not. I'm an economist so I can teach them the econ concepts and theories, full stop…but language help it's not my job and even if it was then I don't feel competent doing it; I might do more harm than good (Michael).

Michael's appeal in this excerpt is for a clear distinction to be drawn between "language support", or "language problems", and "teaching economics", the validity of which relies upon institutional authority: "those lines are clearly established by the university". A commitment to this division of responsibility is underscored by the use of the term "efficient", which lends a positive evaluation to this demarcation. The desirability of this division is also endorsed by an unquestioning belief that very different competencies are needed to teach language as opposed to economics: "I'm an economist so I can teach them the econ concepts and theories, full stop".

In addition to institutional authority, the disciplinary division Michael argues so strongly for is also grounded in the authority of qualifications and training. Indeed, invoking his own lack of language training, Michael leaves no doubt that he is precluded, as "an economist", from taking on such responsibility: "Those (language) instructors are qualified and trained in the area, I'm not".

Further reinforcing this belief in a division between content and language teaching and learning is a cautionary tale warning of the negative consequences that could occur if this division was to dissolve. Thus, Michael explains that if he were to provide language support for students it "might do more harm than good". Linguistically, this separation is also revealed in the construction of an 'us and them dichotomy' in which "those" language instructors are positioned as having very different responsibilities to "us here in the (economics) department".

4.4 Realism and Identity Construction: A Hierarchy of Learning Needs

The discourse of rationality also filled the identity 'economics and finance professor' with meaning by establishing a hierarchy of student learning needs and priorities.

> Excerpt Three
>
> To be realistic, I think that students see the content, the economics, the theory, as more important than the language. What does that mean for me as an economics teacher? Well, it means that I don't have to spend too much time worrying about language, which is good, so to take one example, when I'm marking I'll focus on whether they got the theory right and can apply it (Ben).

According to Ben, the discourse of rationality is based in part on the need "to be realistic", an attitude he invokes to render intelligible his case for the existence of a learning hierarchy in which economics and finance students value the acquisition of content knowledge over language. The use of a rhetorical question draws attention to the benefits this hierarchy implies for professional identity construction "as an economics teacher". Thus, Ben returns to the issue of the rational use of time, an aspect of this discourse which was discussed earlier in this section. For example, given the existence of such a hierarchy, not having "to spend too much time worrying about language", and by implication to spend more time on research, is explicitly positioned as desirable ("that's *good*"). This emphatic endorsement of the prioritization of content over language and research over teaching is intelligible within a discourse of rationality in which economics and finance professors should allocate their time and attention in ways that maximize the gains to their individual professional careers.

4.5 Pragmatism and Language Policy Implementation

In the discourse of rationality, a pragmatic and flexible view is taken about the implementation of official language policy. A powerful example of the strength of the participants' conviction about language use is shown in excerpt four:

> Excerpt four
>
> My view of language policy (in this university) is that, yes it's EMI officially, and I and the other lecturers will only use English in the lectures, but we must be flexible. It's a different situation in tutorial, for tutors. I mean, I'm pragmatic about it; TAs (teaching assistants), in the tutorials, they can use Cantonese, English, Putonghua, whatever it takes to get the concepts across to students (Paul).

Presenting a personalized statement of belief ("*my view…is…*"), Paul explains that his insistence on adopting a pragmatic and flexible view of language use is based on a linguistic division between lectures and tutorials. In this case, pragmatism and flexibility imply that English is used in lectures with those identified as tutors facing a "different situation". For the latter, engagement in language practices and activities means having greater choice over language: "they can use Cantonese, English, Putonghua". Finally, the discourse of rationality invokes the positive learning outcomes that are thought to result from this pragmatic and flexible approach to language policy: "whatever it takes to get the concepts across to students".

4.6 The Discourse of Possibility

In contrast to the discourse of rationality stands the discourse of possibility in which the meaning of teaching and learning in EMI environments is viewed from the perspective of what Fairclough (2003) termed "possible worlds which are different from the actual world" (p. 124). For example, this discourse associates the identity 'economics and finance professor' with awareness of language and its role in teaching and learning in an EMI environment, the need for faculty to adopt teaching and learning strategies in the classroom that assist their ELLs cope with the language demands of economics and finance, and the development of close working relationships with English language instructors. The remainder of this section explores this discourse in greater depth.

4.7 Becoming Language Aware

The discourse of possibility maintains that, under certain circumstances, economics and finance professors should acquire knowledge about the way meanings are constructed linguistically within their discipline:

> Excerpt five
>
> I think, potentially, I could be doing a lot more to help them (students) So, if it was a situation where, say, I had more time and it was worth it in the eyes of the university, I'd like to become more aware of language issues in economics, and problems that students face in terms of language. I could get more on top of their problems. I'd definitely be a better teacher…Right now, I think I'm not that good. I feel embarrassed sometimes that I don't know more about their language problems. If I did, it might be helpful, to make my teaching more targeted to students (Eric).

The data revealed that the discourse of possibility was frequently associated with weakened modality when compared to the commitments to truth that were invoked when participants drew upon the discourse of rationality. Thus, in excerpt five, a less certain degree of commitment was revealed by the use of first-person subjectively marked modalities ("I think that…") and the presence of weakened truth claims. For example, when Ben argued that "I think, potentially, I could be doing a lot more…", terms such as "potentially" and "could" mark this as a relatively weak commitment to truth.

Despite this weakened stance, Ben leaves no room for doubt about the perceived benefits to his professional identity construction that could result from knowing "a lot more about language". In particular, these imagined identity gains are to be realized through engagement in the practices of teaching: "I could get more on top of their (students) problems. I'd definitely be a better teacher…". This desire to construct the potential professional identity of "a better teacher" is contrasted with a negative assessment of his contemporary self-positioning as "not that good". Indeed, Ben's description of his current teacher identity as a teacher using the term "embarrassed" underscored his dissatisfaction with such a positioning, as well as the desire to enhance this aspect of his professional identity.

However, while grounding this desire for future imagined identity construction within a discourse of possibility, achieving such an outcome in practice is tempered by the simultaneous voicing of the discourse of rationality. For instance, Ben explains that the investment needed to acquire the linguistic knowledge that underpins this imagined identity development will be possible only if “it was worth it in the eyes of the university”.

4.8 Addressing Language Problems

In addition to acquiring more knowledge about language, the discourse of possibility underscored the need for such knowledge to contribute to these six economics and finance professors’ professional identity construction through “concrete” practices:

> Excerpt six
>
> In terms of my teaching, I feel deeply frustrated because I can’t do something concrete about their (students) language problems in class. Ideally speaking, I’d like to be able to spend time on developing some teaching strategies and adapting handouts and powerpoints to help them with language…I’d probably get a lot more satisfaction out of teaching (Jan).

In this statement about her positioning as a teacher, Jan enacts the discourse of possibility. In expressions such as “ideally speaking” she describes how this imagined teacher identity could be reified in practice through, for example, the use of classroom strategies and the adaption of teaching materials that address the linguistic challenges confronting students. Imagination is also a crucial source of identity construction for Jan as she looks beyond engagement in these teaching practices to construct a picture of teaching as satisfying. This conclusion lends a positive evaluation to her imagined teacher identity and, invoking a forceful statement which reinforces her desire to realize this alternative imagined future, she offers a negative commentary on her current teacher identity as “deeply frustrating”.

4.9 Developing Relations with English Language Teachers

In the discourse of possibility, close working relations with English language teachers were valued for their contribution to the participants’ construction of their professional identities:

> Excerpt seven
>
> At some time in the future, if I could work closely with the language teachers (from the language centre)….that would be good, in theory. It would improve my own teaching. At the moment, as a teacher, I feel complete distance, remoteness from them and so I’m disconnected from what happens in those classes, what they do with students (Michael).

Linguistically, the discourse of possibility emerges in the choice of phrases such as “at some time in the future” and “in theory”. As was the case in excerpt six, much of the identity construction Michael envisages is grounded in a capacity to imagine a different form of engagement in teaching from that which he currently experiences. Specifically, Michael conceives of a time in which close relations with university "language teachers" will make a significant contribution to his professional identity as an economics and finance professor teaching in an EMI university. Thus, reference to such relations as "good" lends an explicit positive marking to this aspect of his identity construction.

Finally, a particularly stark contrast is drawn between this imagined future identity and his current relations with English teachers. Michael's implicit negative assessment of his current positioning "as a teacher" using descriptions such as distant, remote, and disconnected from language teachers within the university signals his strong desire to narrow the gap between his potential and imagined teacher identity.

5 Discussion

At the centre of the theory of discourse proposed by Laclau and Mouffe (1985) is competition. Different discourses are believed to compete to fill nodal points of identity, such as 'economics and finance professor', with meaning. As Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) explained, "the construction of subject positions and hence identities…is a battlefield where different constellations of elements struggle to prevail" (p. 47). Therefore, this section considers how competition between the discourses of rationality and possibility shaped the participants' construction of their identities as economics and finance professors in an EMI university.

5.1 Professorial Interests Versus Student Interests

Within the discourse of rationality, economics and finance professors at this EMI University are presumed to make decisions that benefit themselves in terms of prospects for promotion, for example. This discourse underscored the need for individuals to align their priorities with those of the institution, which was perceived by the participants in this study to prioritize research over teaching. As a result, the suggestion that responsibility for addressing the linguistic problems of economics and finance students does not rest with this group of professors is intelligible from the standpoint of the discourse of rationality.

In addition, the discourse of rationality also endorses the belief that such responsibility can be legitimately assigned to others, such as university language teachers and teaching assistants, who face different institutional demands compared to those of academic staff members. Competing with this focus on self-interest is the discourse of possibility which gives priority to the needs of others. For instance, the desire of participants to understand students' language difficulties and to develop strategies to meet these challenges is legitimated within a discourse of possibility.

5.2 Competing Demands on Competency

The struggle between the discourses of rationality and possibility is also evident in the different views about the competencies of economics and finance professors. Thus, participants' insistence that their knowledge and skills lie only within the field of economics, thereby minimizing their capacity and responsibility to address the language difficulties their students face, is meaningful from within a discourse of rationality. In contrast, the discourse of possibility challenged this dichotomy. According to this discourse, economics and finance professors should acquire a better understanding of their students' concerns about studying in an EMI university and are capable of implementing teaching practices to address language difficulties.

5.3 Competing Demands on the Allocation of Time and Effort

The discourse of rationality privileged the allocation of time and effort by the participants in, primarily, research. Drawing on the authority of university policies and priorities, such an investment of time and effort, and the associated downplaying of investment in addressing the language challenges confronting their students, was reified in practice in terms of enhanced prospects for promotion. The discourse of possibility, however, allowed for a greater investment by professorial staff in teaching, which included taking steps within their own classrooms to confront the linguistic difficulties students faced.

To summarize, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) argue that the individual is structured discursively through their identification with the subject positions that are made available within discourses. For the participants in this study, one nodal point of identity was 'economics and finance professor in an EMI university', which the discourses of rationality and possibility filled with different meanings. In Laclau and Mouffe's framework, chains of equivalence are established which link together such meanings and establish identity relationally. For example the discourse of rationality associated 'economics and finance professor in an EMI university' with prioritizing self-interest, the compartmentalization of content and language teaching competencies and responsibilities, and the allocation of time and effort to research. From the perspective of the discourse of possibility, by contrast, this identity was equated with placing greater weight on the interest of students, acquiring knowledge about the role of language in learning economics, fostering a shared sense of responsibility with language teachers for overcoming the linguistic difficulties of students studying in an EMI environment, and the importance of investing time and effort in acquiring teaching strategies to meet students' linguistic needs.

The struggle to fill the identity 'economics and finance professor in an EMI university' with meaning could be resolved through a hegemonic intervention which, as Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) explained, implies that "one discourse comes to dominate alone" (p. 48). The data discussed in this chapter suggests that such an intervention is likely to favour the discourse of rationality over that of possibility. Thus, linguistically the participants' choice of modality underscored their apparent alignment with the values of this discourse: "I *need to* think clearly"; "*I'm* pragmatic".

At the institutional level, such a hegemonic intervention aligns the professional identities of academic staff with what they perceived as values and priorities of the university. However, this intervention also implies constraints to the exercise of their individual agency, limiting their capacity to construct their identities as teachers in an EMI environment. At the intersubjective level, for example, participants expressed embarrassment (excerpt five) and frustration (excerpt six) over their inability to understand and assist students to overcome the linguistic challenges they face in learning economics and finance in an EMI environment. As one participant put it, "being a professor and doing EMI properly isn't easy" (Jan). Therefore, the following section considers how economics and finance professors in an EMI university can be afforded greater agency in the construction of their professional identities.

5.4 Implications for EMI Policy in Practice: Confronting Identity Conflict

As Fenton-Smith et al. (2017) point out, support for content instructors is crucial for the successful implementation of EMI initiatives in Asian HEIs:

> The success of…EMI initiatives will depend on the preparedness of the lecturers, and there is near universal agreement that a key is the provision of rigorous and principled systems of support, including professional development. Yet the best way to meet EMI lecturers' needs through professional development is still an open question.

In the case of the economics and finance professors who participated in this study, a fruitful beginning to the question of professional development would be to assist this group of content instructors to confront the identity struggles described in the previous section by making visible the discourses that shape the construction of their professional identities in an EMI HEI. For example, Davies (1994) argued that these discourses can be revealed through conversations in which participants seek to understand what is said from the perspective of other participants, thereby "connecting threads between the meanings available to one with the meanings being expressed by the other" (p. 27).

The value of conversation has long been recognized as one form of teacher professional development (Richards and Farrell 2005). Nevertheless, if such conversations are to multiply the possibilities for the participants in this study, as well as content teachers in EMI universities in multilingual contexts worldwide, to construct their professional identities such conversations will need to undergo critical interrogation and reflection. Farrell (2015), therefore, argues that it is imperative for teacher professional development to promote critical reflection aimed at “unearthing and identifying previously unquestioned norms in society, the community, and the classroom” (p. 96).

Unearthing and identifying previously unquestioned socio-historical realities shaping the professional lives of content teachers in EMI universities, which Jorgensen and Phillips (2002, p. 185) labelled the “unmasking” of discourses, could employ the type of discourse analysis undertaken in this study. For instance, stakeholders, including university authorities, professors, English language teachers, teaching assistants, and students, could meet as part of a teaching and learning support group to discuss the challenges they face in teaching and learning in EMI universities. This could also include peer observation of lessons conducted by professors, teaching assistants, and English teachers. If such activities were recorded and transcribed, these multiple texts could be subjected to the type of discourse analysis undertaken in this paper. This goal of this analysis would be to explore who is speaking, from what position, in what context, and with what effect in terms of the subject positions that are made available to all stakeholders.

Recognizing the existence of multiple subject positions is a crucial step in enhancing agency in identity construction “since being able to imagine alternatives is a first step towards attaining them” (Crooks 2013, p. 194). However, as Pennycook (2001) pointed out, promoting such agency will require more than the unmasking of discourses. Therefore, in the case of the current study, a further essential step is to reveal the discourse of rationality and the discourse of possibility as contingent. As Jorgensen and Phillips (2002) pointed out, any discourse is contingent because it represents “a temporary closure; it fixes meaning in a particular way, but it does not dictate that meaning is to be fixed exactly in that way forever” (p. 29).

Awareness that their positioning by dominant discourses is contingent can be a powerful force for identity construction amongst all stakeholders at EMI universities because, as Davies (1994) pointed out, it opens the possibility for “multiple ‘Is’” (p. 27) by offering stakeholders the possibility of positioning themselves differently in relation to these discourses. Thus, one aim of the critical conversations described in this section would be to unmask the contingent nature of the dominant discourses shaping stakeholders’ professional identity construction at EMI universities, thereby exploring possibilities for economics and finance professors, for example, to construct “multiple ‘Is’” (Davies 1994) by questioning the perception that teachers face an either/or choice between the demands placed upon them by the discourses of rationality and possibility. This more complex understanding of their professional identities could enhance agency by allowing teachers to occupy the borderland between the discourses they confront and from there to explore their capacity to change this reality by, for example, considering when it is possible to resist such positionings and when there is little realistic choice other than to comply (Davies 1994).

6 Conclusion

The results of this study underscore the need for language policy and planning to examine, as Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) urged, "the everyday contexts in which polices are interpreted and negotiated" (p. 447). Thus, responding to calls for investigations of EMI policy and practice using "a research-driven approach which consults key stakeholders at a national and international level" (Dearden 2014, p. 2), attention given in this chapter to everyday contexts at one EMI HEI in Hong Kong adds to our understanding of the reasons why some academic staff report experiencing EMI policy and its implementation in terms of tension and struggle (Hamid et al. 2013). In particular, the results suggest that if such tension and struggle is to be addressed, support for those academic staff responsible for the implementation of EMI policy at universities in Asia should not be limited to concerns over their linguistic and pedagogical competency (Dearden 2014; Hamid et al. 2013; Vu and Burns 2014). Rather, there is a need for research which exposes the discourses that shape the identity positions available to these academic staff and that considers how the interplay of these discourses impacts upon their capacity and willingness to implement EMI policies.

Although these results are limited to one group of content lectures in Hong Kong, the study has implications for the design and delivery of EMI in HEIs in other multicultural settings. For example, the design of this study, which addressed Dearden's (2014) call for language policy making to reflect a "research-driven approach that consults key stakeholders" (p. 2) could be replicated in other EMI HEIs where English is not the first language of the majority of the population. Such research could adopt the theoretical framework discussed in this chapter to explore the identity construction experiences of stakeholders in other EMI HEIs in multilingual settings. For example, while this study was limited to economics and finance professors, future research could examine the experiences of content teachers in other disciplines to compare their experiences with the results reported here. Exploring the experiences and engagements of these content teachers with EMI policies would be valuable because, as Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) noted, "single cases afford glimpses into complex interplays between policies, pedagogic practices, institutional constraints, and migrations" (p. 459). Thus, these results will continue to build upon our understanding of how EMI policy is implemented in situated ways throughout Asian universities.

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English as a Medium of Instruction in Indonesian Higher Education: A Study of Lecturers' Perceptions

Anita Dewi

Abstract In light of the Indonesian Higher Education Ministry's recent plan to make English interaction amongst university students compulsory, this chapter addresses perceptions of English medium instruction (EMI) in Indonesian Higher Education, focusing on lecturers of English and other subjects. Employing a mixed-methods approach with emphasis on qualitative data, the study involves participants who are based at public and private universities of both secular and religious orientation. Three themes form the basis of this study: perceptions of EMI, English in relation to national identity, and English in relation to the West. Data collection was conducted through questionnaires and individual interviews. The results reveal that perceptions of EMI at the tertiary level in Indonesia are complex, involving not only linguistic matters, but also larger issues such as national identity and sentiment towards English as an instructional language originating in the West.

Keywords English medium instruction (EMI) · Higher education · Indonesia · Perceptions of english

1 Introduction

Numerous studies on the perception of the English language have been conducted, involving a variety of participants and settings. Such research has contributed to fields including Applied Linguistics and English Language Teaching (ELT), since perceptions are frequently seen as "indicators of the realities for individual educators" (Johnson 1994, p. 476). Discussion of the most appropriate medium of instruction (MOI) in a given context has been one of the major issues debated (Baldauf and Nguyen 2012; Dang et al. 2013; Ferguson 2010; Hamid et al. 2013; Hashimoto 2013; Hengsadeekul et al. 2014; Hu et al. 2014; Kirkpatrick 2014; Lai

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2013; Lueg and Lueg 2015; Macalister 2012; Mohamed 2013; Zacharias 2013) and is a driver of the research presented in this chapter.

MOI is not a new topic in the Indonesian education context. Upon implementing the EMI International Standard School policy at primary and secondary levels in 2007, some schools, especially in large cities, transformed themselves into "*sekolah/madrasah bertaraf internasional*" ["international standard schools/Islamic schools"] (Depdiknas 2007). In practice, these schools changed their MOI, from Indonesian-only to English-only or a mix of English and Indonesian. Unexpectedly, this policy lasted for only six years as there was a strong push from various parties in and outside the education sector to get rid of it as schools were unprepared for EMI and teachers were said to have a low English competence (Aritonang 2013; Kompas 2010). Currently some schools in major cities still run bilingual classes in which the MOI may be English and/or Indonesian, as deemed suitable. However, they are not labelled as "international standard schools" anymore.

At tertiary level, even though no specific EMI policy has been implemented, larger universities have been offering double models of delivery in their undergraduate programs—"international programs" and "regular programs", the difference being the MOI. Some examples are programs offered at major universities in Yogyakarta, Indonesia's so-called "student city", where identical programs are labelled as "international programs" when they are delivered in English (Universitas Gadjah Mada 2016a; Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta 2016a; Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta 2016), and "regular programs" when they are delivered in Indonesian (Universitas Gadjah Mada 2016b; Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta 2016b; Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta 2016). In this context, it is not necessarily the case that "international programs" are attended by international students while "regular programs" are attended by domestic/local students. Typically, both programs are attended by domestic/local students depending on their individual language preferences, their willingness to pay higher tuition fees for such a program and, most importantly, their level of English competence as indicated by TOEFL test results.

It has recently been flagged, however, that English competence at tertiary level needs to be enhanced and to include all cohorts. This is indicated in a recent statement by the Indonesian Research, Technology and Higher Education Minister, Muhammad Nasir, about the government's plan to implement a compulsory bilingual curriculum across all universities in Indonesia in 2016. Nasir believes that making English interaction compulsory at the tertiary level will better prepare university students to compete in the ASEAN economic zone (The Jakarta Post 2015).

As promising as this may sound, the notion of EMI in Indonesia has been controversial as English is frequently assumed to represent 'the West'. One key example is Gunarwan's claim that English has made Indonesian people "*keinggris-inggrisan atau keamerika-amerikaan*"[1] (1993, p. 670): i.e., that English was

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[1] Translation: "imitative of the British or the Americans".

"Westernising" Indonesian people. Fourteen years after Gunarwan's paper, a study on professional identity in Indonesia (Dewi 2007) found that Indonesian English language educators face the dilemma of being situated between a version of Western culture depicted in textbooks, and the 'real life' Eastern culture around them and of which they are a product. A more explicit argument was put forward in a later study on how an Indonesian academic community in Yogyakarta views English. Unlike Gunarwan's 1993 claim, in this later study, Dewi (2012) found that a paradoxical feeling about the language exists: what might be termed "positive imperialism". It was suggested that "while English is viewed as having been imposed from the outside, the benefits and advantages gained thereby are believed to outstrip the imposition" (p. 11).

It is thus intriguing to critically explore how lecturers of English and of other subjects in Indonesia currently perceive EMI at the tertiary level, as well as the relation of EMI to national identity and the notion of 'the West'. To provide a clearer picture of the context, this chapter first explores recent research on EMI conducted both inside and outside Indonesia, then profiles language use in the Indonesian education sector. This is followed by elaboration of an empirical study involving thirty-six higher education lecturers who completed a questionnaire and six lecturers who participated in interviews about three themes: English and national identity, EMI in Indonesian tertiary curricula, and English and the West. The chapter concludes with final remarks in which the emergent themes are considered in relation to the nation's proposed new bilingual higher education policy.

2 Recent Research on EMI

Diverse perceptions of MOI are evident in studies conducted in different global contexts. In Denmark, for example, Lueg and Lueg (2015) found that Danish MBA students see EMI as offering an opportunity for employability upon graduation. In addition, in this context, EMI is believed to be effective in internationalising universities. These perceptions differ across social strata, however, with students from the upper social class tending to be more accepting of EMI because they have "the 'linguistic capital' as a complement of embodied cultural capital" (Bordieu 1997 in Lueg and Lueg 2015, p. 7). In the Maldives, it was found that perceptions of MOI (whether English or the Maldivian national language Dhivehi) vary amongst different stakeholders. While students and their parents are in support of EMI, educators favour the use of Dhivehi for lower level education rather than English-only practices (Mohamed 2013). Another study exploring changes of MOI from local languages to English in post-colonial Africa, revealed different results. In this context, conflictual perspectives involving potential rivalries between ethnic groups, the economic power of English, and the interests of certain elite groups were all found to be factors influencing policy (Ferguson 2010).

In the Asian context, recent studies have also revealed diverse findings in relation to perceptions of EMI. As suggested by Hamid et al. (2013), positive perceptions can be found across a range of Asian contexts, yet each country tends to express its own motivations and goals while simultaneously maintaining its own identity. In Japan, for instance, the term EMI or its equivalent does not exist in any of the country's policy documents. However, English is reinforced in practice through the enhancement of local students' proficiency and an increased international student intake (Hashimoto 2013). This is different from Hong Kong, which experienced a great change in perceptions from pre- to post-handover of sovereignty. A study comparing two points of time after the handover of sovereignty, 2001 and 2009, suggested that in the later year students showed "more positive attitudes toward Putonghua", "more positive integrative orientation toward English", and "a significant decline in their instrumental orientation toward English" (Lai 2013, p. 66). This is unlike the situation in mainland China where one study found that EMI has led to inequalities in which only the elite have access to the language, and the student admission process has actually positioned English as a hurdle instead of an empowering tool for all members of society (Hu et al. 2014). Regardless of these differences, it can be said that Asia as a whole has exhibited a shift from its long-standing multilingual situation to one in which people need to be competent in English in addition to their native languages, described by Baldauf and Nguyen as "English knowing bilingualism" (2012, p. 637).

Likewise, within the specific region of Southeast Asia where Indonesia is situated, different countries also evidence varying perspectives. Such differences not only occur between countries where English is considered a second language (L2) such as Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines, but also between those where English is a foreign language (FL) such as Indonesia, Thailand, and Timor-Leste. In Thailand, for example, local students' preferences for EMI are reportedly determined by their "language classroom learning environment, social support, and mastery and integrated goal orientations" (Hengsadeekul et al. 2014, p. 42). In Vietnam, on the other hand, "globally inflected socio-cultural contextual factors" play more significant roles than the country's language policy in determining student teachers' use of English (Dang et al. 2013, p. 68). Further differences are found in Timor-Leste, where external forces such as the UN mission, the presence of NGOs, and English-speaking donor nations' contributions play prominent roles in how English influences the country (Macalister 2012). Indeed, even though Timor-Leste was part of Indonesia prior to independence, perceptions of EMI in this country are not necessarily similar to those of Indonesia.

A recent investigation into EMI in Indonesian schools between 2007 and 2013, when the International Standards Schools (ISSs) policy was in place (Aritonang 2013; Depdiknas 2007), found that teachers felt obliged to implement the policy even though they disagreed with it. Zacharias (2013) interviewed 12 teachers in two ISSs in a small town in Central Java about their perceptions of the policy. The teachers stated that they implemented three strategies in order to negotiate the EMI policy, necessitated by their lack of competence in English. These strategies included: (i) providing "notes in English on the power point slides" as the major means of input (p. 101), (ii) constantly code-switching between English and Indonesian, to the extent that "only a very few teachers used English all the time"

(p. 102), and (iii) openly admitting to and reminding students of their own "inadequacy in speaking English" (p. 103). Although drawing on a small sample size, the study suggests that teachers' use of English is not to be interpreted as support for an EMI policy, rather it may be viewed as a manifestation of their perceived duty to implement it as civil servants.

In a separate study in the Indonesian context, high parental demand for English teaching was identified even though the language was only compulsory at the secondary level. As a result, "almost all primary schools offer English" (Jamilah 2008 in Kirkpatrick 2014, p. 126). This indicates that the teaching of English at certain levels of schooling is driven not only by regulation, but also by social factors. In response to this situation, Kirkpatrick suggests that EMI should not be implemented too early, recommending a five-year period of studying English prior to commencing EMI itself so that students can gain "adequate proficiency to handle academic concepts" (2014, p. 130). In line with Kirkpatrick's suggestion, it might be assumed that students are ready for EMI at the tertiary level because they have been exposed to English for more than five years, having commenced in the first year of junior high school (Grade 7). In practice, however, this is not necessarily the case as exposure to English is not always consistent throughout the years or across different areas of the country.

3 Languages in Indonesian Education

Regardless of the diverse levels of exposure noted above, one common situation is that there are two major languages in the Indonesian education arena: Indonesian and English. In fact, this has been the case since long before the independence of Indonesia in 1945.

An important milestone in the national language movement was the second Youth Congress of 1928, when Malay was renamed *Bahasa Indonesia* (the Indonesian language). It was declared the Indonesian national language and the "language of unity" (Nababan 1991, p. 120). This declaration was made because Malay, already a lingua franca amongst different ethnicities, was believed to be the language of modernisation and was already taught in schools (Bertrand 2003). The Indonesian language became stronger over time because of its political context as one of "the pillars of nationalist expression and an important source of unity for the diverse ethnic groups" (Bertrand 2003, p. 269). In 1992, the language strongly positioned itself as one of the most dominant mother tongues (15.34%) along with Javanese (38.44%) and Sundanese (13.80%) (Grimes 1992 in Bertrand 2003, p. 269). Current support from the government for the dominance of the Indonesian language in education is also apparent. Two laws with a specific focus on MOI in education are now in effect—Law No 20/2003 concerning the National Education System (*Undang-undang Republik Indonesia nomor 20 tahun* 2003 *tentang sistem pendidikan nasional*) and Law No 24/2009 concerning the country's flag, language, and coat of arms as well as the national anthem (*Undang-undang Republik*

Indonesia nomor 24 tahun 2009 *tentang bendera, bahasa, dan lambang negara serta lagu kebangsaan*).

In terms of foreign languages, English has always been the most prominent in Indonesian education without being an official language. Several factors have contributed to this dominance. First of all, English is viewed as an international language (Dardjowidjojo 2000; Yuwono 2005). English is also seen as related to socioeconomic aspects of the society, and thus it has been taught in schools for the purposes of promoting social justice and prosperity through the enrichment of human and economic resources (Smith 1991). In line with the above, Dardjowidjojo has argued that "nowadays English is virtually the sole means for development… [and] nationalism in the form of the promotion of our national language should not be established at the expense of English" (2003, p. 50). Therefore, it is fair to suggest that opportunities to learn English should be further expanded.

To reinforce the learning of English, Rusli (2004) proposed that ELT in Indonesia include curriculum restructuring, technology provision, and broader professional development for English educators. These three propositions, however, do not guarantee the use of EMI unless "political and ideological grounds rather than educational ones" (Kirkpatrick 2006, p. 71) are considered, since language use is "easily politicized" (Crystal 2003, p. xii). A recent development seems to support the idea of making English a medium of instruction at university level. As previously mentioned, in late 2015 the Indonesian Research, Technology and Higher Education Minister, Muhammad Nasir expressed the government's intention to make English compulsory for all university students in Indonesia. In his statement, Nasir mentioned that both Bahasa Indonesia and English would feature in a bilingual university curriculum on a nationwide scale from 2016 (The Jakarta Post 2015). Even though there is no clarity regarding how this will take place, government support does dramatically increase the possibility of EMI eventually occurring across all tertiary level education. This is especially apparent now that "non-native sounding English" (Dardjowidjojo 2000, p. 27) is becoming more acceptable. This is also because the co-existence of English and Indonesian, where English is the language of "modern knowledge and technology" pursued for the sake of "national development" and Indonesian is the language for "media, and national unity" (Smith 1991, p. 43), is also more broadly recognised.

4 Perception of Language

Along with shifts in policies, stakeholder perceptions also play a significant role in whether or not (and how) EMI is implemented. A number of definitions of the term 'perception' exist. The Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics defines perception as "the recognition and understanding of events, objects, and stimuli through the use of senses" (Richards and Schmidt 2002, p. 391). Shaver (1981, p. 83) sees it as "the understanding of the world that you construct from data obtained through your senses”. The type of perception that is most relevant to this study is that of social perception, which Forgus and Melamed (1976, p. 328) delineate into four key phenomena. The first is how people perceive “interpersonal events”, which involves the reasons and purposes of actions. Another phenomenon is the ongoing changes that happen in relation to how people perceive themselves and others. The final two key phenomena are how social and cultural contexts affect a person’s perception, and the different aspects of perception related to value, attitudes and personality.

A fundamental connection underlying the above notions is that perception involves interaction between a person and objects, situations, society, or role relations around him/herself. Therefore, perception is highly context-dependent (Lowe 2000). Applying the same principle, it can be said that context determines how people perceive EMI. Thus, an “interpretive orientation”, whereby perceptions are viewed as “indicators of the realities for individual educators” (Johnson 1994, p. 476), is an appropriate concept to apply in EMI research.

5 Methodology

Based on Johnson’s argument that “reliance on multiple data sources may increase the convergence of perceptions and thus the likelihood of discovering a shared or objective reality” (1994, p. 479), this study relies on two data sources—questionnaires and interviews.

Thirty-six lecturers completed a questionnaire consisting of 15 statements and questions (see Appendix 1). Sixteen of the participants were English language lecturers, while 20 were lecturers of other subjects. They are presented as anonymous participants throughout this chapter to ensure confidentiality. Following the questionnaires, three English lecturers and three non-English lecturers participated in follow-up individual email interviews. To maintain confidentiality, these participants are assigned pseudonyms: Alpha, Beta and Charlie for the non-English lecturers; Delta, Echo and Foxtrot for the English lecturers. Six questions were used in the interviews (see Appendix 2). Together, the questionnaire items and interview questions incorporate three major themes: perceptions of EMI in Indonesian tertiary curricula, English and national identity, and English and the West.

Both in the questionnaire and interview, the participants were given the option of using English or Indonesian. The majority of participants preferred English, and these responses are quoted verbatim in this chapter while responses in Indonesian are translated by the researcher. Descriptive statistics are presented as quantitative snapshots of the situation, while qualitative data gained in the follow-up interviews are explored for additional explanation. It should be stated that this study is not aimed at providing generalisations about all Indonesian university lecturers’ perceptions of EMI. Instead, the study aims to explore and suggest emergent patterns in their views on this issue.

6 Findings and Discussion

A general, if somewhat obvious, opening observation arising from the data is that implementing EMI in Indonesia is not an easy task. The fact that choosing or not choosing EMI is largely determined by "political and ideological grounds rather than educational ones" (Kirkpatrick 2006, p. 71) complicates this issue. In this chapter it is suggested that these grounds include, in Indonesia's case, the relationship between English and national identity and the relationship between English and the West (English in Indonesia has commonly been referred to as the language of '*bule*' (Caucasians) who come from the West and bring Western culture with them).

Another general observation that can be made from this study is that English appears to be supported for inclusion in tertiary curricula, due to the need for it in international academic interactions and as a result of competition in the global job market. Item 37 of the questionnaire, for instance, concerns the participants' general perceptions of how English should be taught at the university level, asking them to complete the sentence "In my university, English should be taught as…", and providing three options: a foreign language, an international language, or a foreign and international language. Only three people suggested that they wanted English to be taught solely as a foreign language, with the majority stating that English should be taught at the tertiary level either as an international language ($n = 15$) or a foreign and international language ($n = 17$). Whether participants opt for the foreign or international language options is critical, indicating their general perception of the language for the sector. The fact that a majority of the participants suggested English be taught as an international language in their institutions shows that these educators acknowledge the need for their students to gain English competence for their future in the international arena. Elaboration on the findings from both the questionnaire and interview responses will be discussed in later sections of this chapter.

7 EMI in Indonesian Tertiary Curricula

As previously mentioned, there are two laws focusing on the use of certain languages as an MOI in Indonesian education, Law No 20/2003 relating to the National Education System and Law No 24/2009 relating to the country's flag, language, and coat of arms as well as the national anthem. Findings in relation to the themes underlying these laws are therefore of particular significance; firstly, EMI in the Indonesian education system, specifically at university level.

Six statements were offered in the questionnaire regarding EMI at the tertiary level (see Table 1). Looking at snapshots of the results, it can be said that the presence of English in tertiary level curricula is viewed positively by the participants in this study.

Table 1 Questionnaire respondents' perceptions of EMI

Question no.	Question	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
6.	English is a difficult language to learn	9	25	2
7.	There are more useful languages to learn than English	7	14	15
8.	English is a language worth learning	35	1	0
9.	English should be taught to all tertiary students in Indonesia	35	0	1
10.	A subject is confusing when it is delivered in English	6	24	5
11.	A subject is confusing when the textbook is in English	5	26	4

While categorical survey responses were generally in support of English, there were also those who expressed positive but more nuanced views. For example, one of the interview questions was intended to reveal which language was perceived to be the most suitable MOI ("Which language do you think is better as a medium of instruction at your university? Why?"). However, responses indicated that the choice was not simply between English and Indonesian in isolation from other factors. Some suggested that Indonesian was the most suitable MOI for their universities because Indonesian is the national language and therefore needs to be preserved. Participant Foxtrot, for example, responded by saying "Just Indonesian. It is the national language", while Charlie stated that "a language will disappear if it is not used by its speakers". Other responses also indicated a close relationship between Indonesian as the national language and the national identity of Indonesian people. Further discussion on this matter is presented in the next section of this chapter.

Similarly, in relation to the use of Indonesian as the sole MOI, interview responses were more nuanced: some indicated a belief that Indonesian should be the main MOI with English offered as an optional MOI. Alpha and Echo argued that this is because English plays a significant role in the international arena, including in academic interactions and the job market:

> Alpha: …maintaining and hand also encouraging students to be able to participate in the global academic interaction by mastering English.
>
> Echo: …it [Indonesian] still needs to be maintained, but a flexibility is needed where English is used as a companion medium of instruction. The urgency to prepare students in facing international job market is the main consideration in this flexibility.

Only Delta suggested that English was the best MOI at the tertiary level, but this is most likely due to her specific context: she believes that the only constraint in implementing EMI at her university is "a lack of 'strong will' to make it happen and translate it into 'rules'".

Regardless of the various views regarding which language is the best candidate for MOI, all participants agreed that their universities needed to empower students through English. The reasons varied, yet they were all related to access to information, whether through international interaction or reading and understanding academic literature and other sources of information. In further elaboration, the participants suggested that the empowering activities should not become a burden for universities. Charlie, for instance, suggested that English empowerment could be achieved through conversation clubs on campus, while Delta suggested that students needed to prepare themselves and be relatively competent prior to commencing university study.

The benefits of incorporating English in tertiary level curricula were certainly seen as outstripping its disadvantages. Benefits cited by participants Beta and Foxtrot, for example, were related to accessing and understanding books. On the other hand, there was one issue which was seen as potentially damaging and in need of anticipation: elitism. Charlie suggested that incorporating English in the curriculum is beneficial "as long as it is done proportionally and it does not create an impression of discrimination and exclusivism for its users".

Irrespective of the language believed to be the best MOI, participants evidently do not see English as 'neutral'; rather they view it as embedded with certain values. In this case there is a tendency for participants to view English as going beyond the simple dichotomy of the "integrative" ("a sincere and personal interest") versus "instrumental" ("practical value and advantages of learning") orientations as defined by Lambert (1973, p. 14). Instead, what becomes apparent is the perceived need for a "contemporary linguistic ecology" (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999, p. 20), where English and Indonesian co-exist, even if they are not necessarily given equal extent of use or status in the curriculum.

8 English and National Identity

The findings also suggest that English enhances the national identity of Indonesians because it facilitates communication, relation building, knowledge building, and economic development in the international arena. Within the country itself, English mastery is believed to function as an aid in gaining achievements and being competitive. As such, the participants see English as non-threatening to the Indonesian language, and even consider the two languages as able to co-exist. This is in line with findings of a previous study in the Indonesian context, where the participants viewed English as endorsing Indonesian national identity and providing opportunities to introduce Indonesia to the world (Dewi 2014). This also means that the findings in the present study are contrary to those in other contexts where "strong" languages, such as English, are viewed as threatening the presence of less dominant ones (see Dornyei et al. 2006; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999). Rather, it seems to reinforce the notion that the global spread of English can be

Table 2 Questionnaire respondents' perceptions of English and national identity

No.	Question	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
1.	Both Indonesian and English should be important in Indonesia	35	1	0
2.	All people in Indonesia should speak English and Indonesian	19	8	8
3.	English does not deserve a place in Indonesia	1	34	0
4.	English competence is needed for the future of Indonesia as a country	32	1	2
5.	English helps me to learn more about my own country	21	8	7

either "a blessing or a threat" (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1997) depending on the context.

Looking at responses to items 1 and 2 of the questionnaire (see Table 2), it is apparent that the majority of participants consider both English and Indonesian to be important, yet not everyone agrees that all Indonesians should speak both languages.

Given that participants generally disagreed with the statement that English does not deserve a place in Indonesia, it is clear that the participants' perception of English is positive. Responses to another item in the set indicate demand for Indonesian to stand side by side with it. This is in line with the concept of "contemporary linguistic ecology" (Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 1999, p. 20), where two or more languages co-exist harmoniously.

Indeed, the results reinforce the argument that the presence or existence of languages in any context is socially constructed. Nowadays where social interaction occurs on a global scale, awareness of which language(s) is/are used in international relations is important. As Pennycook argues, "we also need to rethink language in relation to changing global relations" (2010, p. 684). One of the participants stated that at the international level "everyone can only communicate to each other in English". Another respondent went further and suggested that "by understanding English, Indonesian people can interact with other people from other countries who speak English. They can share experience. This gives more benefits for Indonesia". A further comment demonstrates both a confidence in, and resignation to, the fact that English has become the international language: "if Indonesia wants to contribute in global cooperation, English is a must". Clearly, awareness that English is needed to ensure successful participation in the international arena is apparent amongst the participants.

A connection between English proficiency and competence in other skill areas was also one of the patterns found amongst responses to an open-ended item in the questionnaire. One person suggested that "high competence in other field will be less appreciated if somebody has no proficiency in English". Another participant suggested that English was a tool for "developing research and improving the quality of education". In terms of the economy, one of the strong points made was as follows:

> Indonesia is a big country but it has a weak economic power. So, to make Indonesia economically strong, we have to make Indonesians educated and able to survive in the global world, [so] English should be the language spoken by many Indonesians

Overall, the presence of English in Indonesia was not considered a threat to the Indonesian language, rather it was viewed as a natural phenomenon and even supportive of the mother tongue. One participant suggested:

> As Indonesia is highly integrated to global connection, there is no reason to isolate English from Indonesian people. It is by no means that Indonesian language is abandoned. Every Indonesian must master the national language and, at the same time, at least must be able to understand English.

When asked about the relationship between English and their identity as Indonesians, participants responded with a range of ideas. Although Foxtrot believed that English was not related to Indonesian national identity because it does not involve a sense of belonging, most participants expressed the view that English had a positive impact upon Indonesian national identity. For example, Charlie saw English as "a symbol of modernity and intellectuality… the more fluent someone is in English, the higher position/social status in the society". Similarly, Echo said that English endorsed "my identity as an Indonesian in the international arena… understood by the international society". Evidently, both intellectuality and social status are found to be positive impacts of English. However, there was also a concern that English had the potential to erode national identity. Similar to Dewi's (2012) previous study that found there were perceived tensions between English and the role of Indonesian as the national language, Beta stated that "language is a reflection of culture, so if we use English more, we will lose our understanding of our own culture".

Indeed, the relationship between English and national identity is not a simple and straightforward one. For the participants, Indonesian was more than simply a language; it constituted a core aspect of their sense of self and nationhood. As Charlie suggested, "replacing an official language is similar to changing identities". In a similar tone, Echo stated that there was no need to make English an official language because "Indonesian is the unifying language and it is attached to the identity of Indonesia as a nation".

Adding to the complexity is the emerging idea of broadening the role of Indonesian (and Malay) in the Southeast Asia region instead of making English an official language in Indonesia. The establishment of a "*nusantara*" (archipelagic) cultural centre by Indonesia and Malaysia (ANTARA 2011) is one of the means of proposing Malay as an MOI in ASEAN. Such an idea is not entirely novel: national languages of diverse member countries have been put forward for consideration as ASEAN's official language. However, over the years English has proven to be the language that best operates as "the working language" of ASEAN (Low and Hashim 2012, p. 1), and this is generally acknowledged by members today.

9 English and the West

As previously discussed, English speakers in Indonesia, many of whom are Caucasians, are frequently referred to as '*orang Barat*' which simply translates as "Western people". In this case, there is a sense of otherness in identity—us and them, Indonesian people and Westerners. Therefore, in this final section we consider the perceptions of Indonesian lecturers about English in relation to the West. Some statements on this theme were put forward as questionnaire items 12–15 and results are tabulated in Table 3.

It is somewhat paradoxical that the participants do not consider British English or American English as Western products, yet they admitted that they learn many Western values from the language. In the follow-up interviews, two people strongly believed that English was not a form of Western imperialism. Participant Alpha, for instance, stated that English was not Western imperialism "because we are able to choose to use it". In a further response, Echo suggested that "the thought of imperialising and being imperialised should have been abandoned long ago, because by using English we can become a well-known nation in the world".

Some participants were somewhat in agreement that English was no longer a form of Western imperialism, yet they admitted that this used to be the case. Delta stated that changes in the demography of English users, from mostly 'native' speakers to the so-called 'non-native speakers', have resulted in the users developing distinctive identities. In her response, Delta expressed that the "'*ngomong tidak harus persis kayak bule*'[2] paradigm can become a powerful tool in determining English users' identities". This is an example of the English as an International Language (EIL) paradigm, where it is communicative intelligibility that matters more than the mimicking of native speakers. In other words, these participants have moved beyond a Western-centric view of English.

Participants also suggested that whether or not English constituted a form of Western imperialism depended on how its users positioned the language. For example, Charlie believed that even though English may remain a form of imperialism, individuals had agency in using it for their own benefits:

> It is not always the case that imperialism has negative and disadvantageous impacts. English has been welcome as an international language and this cannot be denied. The competence in using English well is the key to success, regardless of the scale of success. Moreover, in the globalised world, English is one of the skills that must be achieved by those who want to compete globally. If you want to conquer the world, conquer English.

The above excerpt indicates the complexity of perceptions of English and its relation to the West. Clearly, whether or not English is a form of imperialism depends more on the uses to which it is put than on any intrinsic properties of the language itself. As such, this study suggests that English is positively viewed based on its "functionality" (Crystal 2006, p. 427). It should also be noted that the role of

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[2] Translation: 'the way we speak does not have to be imitative of Caucasians'.

Table 3 Questionnaire items and responses on perceptions of English and the West

No.	Question	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
12.	I learn many values of western cultures via the English language	31	2	3
13.	I never speak British or American English because it is a western product	0	31	4
14.	English is the way through which western cultures permeate into my Indonesian identity	13	19	3
15.	Employing American or British teachers is the best way of conducting English language teaching	8	21	6

English nowadays, as also suggested by the participants, does not necessarily include ‘Westernising’ other nations. English is not viewed as having the capacity to make speakers ‘Western’ per se, since English is “a language of the world” (Smith 1976, p. 39).

In brief, the freedom to choose and the ability to drive the language instead of being driven by it are viewed as the main factors in determining whether English is a form of imperialism or not. This is in line with Li’s research on the Chinese context, where it was found that EIL cannot be viewed as linguistic imperialism, as speakers are not forced to use it, rather they voluntarily choose to use English to benefit themselves (Li 2009).

10 Final Remarks

Overall, it is clear that perceptions of EMI in the Indonesian context are highly complex. It is true that English is generally supported for inclusion in the tertiary curriculum for the sake of international academic interactions and global job opportunities. However, more empowerment is still required for students to be internationally competitive. It is understood that English is far from being a neutral language, but the opportunities afforded by it are seen as highly advantageous. Should Indonesian users of English have sufficient ability in handling and driving the use of it, English has the capacity to enhance the Indonesian people’s national identity through its facilitation in communicating, building relationships, sharing knowledge and developing an international economy. However, both the government and people of Indonesia need to be mindful that across the country English competence needs to be developed extensively and consistently, otherwise there is the potential for exclusive elites to develop. It is worth re-emphasising, therefore, that the reinforcement of English competence needs to be targeted at all members of society, not only at certain groups. The same principle needs to be applied in the context of Indonesian higher education. It is therefore the author’s view that the government’s announcement to implement a compulsory bilingual curriculum across all universities in Indonesia in 2016 should be supported because this has the potential to facilitate the empowerment of all tertiary level students, equally.

Appendix 1

Questionnaire items

Item		Response		
Question no.	Question	Agree	Disagree	Not sure
1	Both Indonesian and English should be important in Indonesia			
2	All people in Indonesia should speak English and Indonesian			
3	English does not deserve a place in Indonesia			
4	English competence is absolutely needed for the future of Indonesia as a country			
	If agree, please provide the reason…			
5	English helps me to learn more about my own country			
6	English is a difficult language to learn			
7	There are more useful languages to learn than English			
8	English is a language worth learning			
9	English should be taught to all tertiary students in Indonesia			
10	A subject is confusing when it is delivered in English			
11	A subject is confusing when the textbook is in English			
12	I learn many values of western cultures via English language			
13	I never speak British or American English because it is a western product			
14	English is the way through which western cultures permeate into my Indonesian identity			
15	Employing American or British teachers is the best way of conducting English language teaching			

Appendix 2

Interview questions

Question no.	Interview question
1	What do you think about the relationship between English and your identity as an Indonesian? Please elaborate
2	In your view, should English be one of the official languages in Indonesia? Why or why not?
3	There have been discussions on the use of English and/or *Bahasa Indonesia* as a medium of instruction in educational institutions. Which language do you think is better as a medium of instruction at your university? Why?
4	Do you think your university need to empower its students with English? Why?
5	What are the benefits and disadvantages of incorporating English in your university curriculum?
6	Do you perceive English as western imperialism? Why or why not?

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Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the Teaching of and Through English: Rethinking Linguistic Boundaries in an Australian University

Kathleen Heugh, Xuan Li and Ying Song

Abstract This chapter offers a contextual background to the teaching of English as an Additional Language (EAL) in Australian universities. The discussion then turns towards the efficacy of conventional approaches to languages in education in the context of current diversities, and the role that code-switching and translanguaging may play in teaching English in Asian and Australian contexts. Whereas there has been a recent interest in the potential of translanguaging as a pedagogical approach (e.g. Canagarajah 2011; García and Li Wei 2014), there has been little documentary evidence of a systematic approach to two-way translanguaging (Chinese to English, and English to Chinese) in written assessment tasks in university courses. Here we report on a micro-study in which there has been a systematic pedagogical shift in the teaching EAL for the purposes of preparing students to use English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) at an Australian university. In this study, an approach that builds on each student's bilingualism or multilingualism through practices of translanguaging is documented. We report on diagnostic coding and analysis of written assignments of students whose primary language is Chinese. We find a strong correlation between students' written proficiency in Chinese and in English. We also find a strong correlation of students' metalinguistic expertise in translation and their proficiency in their home language. We argue that the findings indicate value in shifting from a single objective to teach only English to the development of high level academic proficiency in both the primary language and English.

Keywords Chinese · English · Metalinguistic expertise · Translanguaging · Translation · Multilingualism · University education

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1 Introduction

In this chapter we discuss an attempt to re-think conventional boundaries of English language teaching in the context of increasing student diversity in Australian universities. International students who study in Australian higher education institutions (HEIs) bring linguistic implications for pedagogy that are not always clearly understood by the receiving institutions. The first implication is a necessary re-thinking of teaching English as a second or foreign language (ESL/EFL), more recently named English as an Additional Language (EAL). The second implication is a shift in focus from teaching English as a subject (possibly alongside academic literacy/development) by specialist teachers of English to teaching across the disciplines through English. (See also a related discussion of EMI in Humphreys' chapter "EMI in Anglophone nations: Contradiction in terms or cause for consideration?" in this volume.) International students now comprise at least 25% of enrolments, and overall English is an additional (not primary) language for at least 30% of university students (Australian Education Network 2015). This has implications for students, university teaching staff, and senior curriculum and financial planners. The responsibility is to provide quality teaching and learning opportunities for all students whether or not their home language is English.

Language education research in HEIs in post-colonial multilingual contexts elsewhere identifies a need for reconceptualising the pedagogy and theory of language education in relation to the role of language in teaching and learning across the university curriculum (e.g. Stroud and Heugh 2011). Awareness of the implications of linguistic diversity in education is evident in Asian countries where English is used as the medium of instruction (English Medium Instruction/EMI) in primary school and/or in secondary school, as well as in higher education. Angel Lin's work on code-switching in Hong Kong (e.g. Lin 2013) and Ajit Mohanty's work on mother-tongue-based multilingual education in India (e.g. Mohanty 2012) are two of many examples. Increasing global mobility and diversity have brought linguistic challenges throughout the education systems of most countries (Stroud and Heugh 2011). Research in former British colonies in 'Anglophone' Asia and Africa now offers insights into how challenges of EMI might be met in the UK, USA and Australia. It may also offer valuable insights for language education challenges elsewhere in Asia where the demand for EMI appears to be on the rise (for example in China, as discussed in Song 2015).

EMI is accompanied by practices of code-switching by both teachers and students in former British colonies, and also in countries which have opted for EMI although they have no earlier colonial association with Britain (e.g. Ethiopia, Korea, and Rwanda). Although code-switching is present in nearly all post-colonial education, it has been regarded as an illicit or stigmatised practice, for example in Hong Kong (e.g. Swain et al. 2011). Contemporary human mobility brings a need to understand multilingualism as it emerges on the ground (horizontal multilingualism) and how horizontal practices of multilingualism, such as code-switching, may inform and enrich language teaching and learning practices in formal education. In order to ensure that students have access to and develop their academic (vertical) proficiency in English in higher education, there may be much to learn from contemporary literature on multilingualism in education, particularly code-switching and translanguaging. There is already substantial scholarship on code-switching in Hong Kong (e.g. Li 2008; Lin 2013; Swain et al. 2011). There is more recent parallel research on 'translanguaging', a term that originates in bilingual Welsh-English education (Lewis et al. 2012; Williams 1996). This term has been adopted and reinterpreted elsewhere (García 2009; García and Li Wei 2014).

Here, we discuss the teaching of English in a first year EAL course with linguistically diverse students at the University of South Australia (UniSA). The first objective in this course is to harness students' repertoires of knowledge and language in order to enhance academic expertise in English as a subject and to support their use of EMI in undergraduate programs. The second objective is to use translanguaging as a pedagogy to explore whether explicit use of students' first/home or primary language supports high level achievement in English. A third objective is to find teaching and learning practices that may be portable to EMI in disciplines beyond English.

2 Contextual Background

Language education, internationally, is in something of a crisis (Lo Bianco 2010). Methodologies and theories of language education that evolved in Europe, North America and Australia in the late 20th century do not seem to be as robust or as appropriate as once thought (Stroud and Heugh 2011). Competing and contradictory trends currently feature in international debates. The first is the expansion of English as EMI in many parts of Asia and the Pacific. Parents and education authorities anticipate that EMI will deliver high returns on their investment. A second trend is that internationally there is growing interest in linguistic diversity as this articulates with multilingualism (Singleton et al. 2013) and different approaches to multilingual education (e.g. Sierens and Van Avermaet 2013). 'Translanguaging' (Lewis et al. 2012) is one of these. Another is mother-tongue-based multilingual education (MTB-MLE) (Mohanty 2012; Ouane and Glanz 2011) which has been adopted (in policy documents) in several countries of South and South-East Asia (e.g. Benson and Kosonen 2013).

There is stakeholder interest in EMI because of an expectation that proficiency in English will lead to economic benefits at the individual and possibly also at industry level (Song 2015). Yet, research on the efficacy of EMI in Asia (and Africa) brings sobering and disappointing results for most students in post-colonial contexts of Asia and Africa (Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh 2012). The exceptions are those who come from socio-economically advantaged families or who come from families in which English is a home/primary language (Coleman 2011). Coleman (2011) furthermore indicates that EMI at school level in Indonesia seems to increase rather than reduce the socio-economic divide. Researchers concerned with linguistic diversity, education and socio-economic equity, are turning towards various approaches to multilingual education in several Asian, African and Latin American contexts, e.g. in India (Agnihotri 2014; Mohanty 2012; Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh 2012) and in Europe (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2013).

The emphasis on EMI in the educational systems in Asia (where students are required to study through only English) is fuelled by expected returns on investment, including high levels of student proficiency in English, high-level achievement across the curriculum in secondary school exit examinations, successful entry to and passage through higher education (often at international universities), and access to high-level careers with economic benefits. However, as suggested above, EMI programs may not deliver expected returns on the investment in countries where English is seldom used for daily communicative purposes (e.g. Coleman 2011; Ouane and Glanz 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas and Heugh 2012). International students from Asia who enrol in Australian universities challenge the prevailing position of English as the sole medium of teaching and learning. Research in receiving countries points towards difficulties experienced by international and domestic students who as EAL users are obliged to study at university through EMI (e.g. Arkoudis and Tran 2007; Dunworth 2013). What seems to be missing is research that investigates attempts to build on a possible relationship between students' academic proficiency in their home language and in English in higher education. There is also a gap in regards to how such an investigation might contribute to student learning in both the local context (e.g. in Asia) and in the host context (e.g. in Australia).

2.1 University Provision of English for EAL Learners

As discussed above, the conventional approach to English in Australian education has been concerned with English as a subject rather than EMI. Provision has been made for a limited number of courses based on English ESL, EFL and EAL pedagogy/ies for students who are EAL learners. In other words, the needs of international students or domestic students with home languages different from English have not been understood in relation to teaching and learning through EMI and the focus has seldom been towards how university staff across the disciplines adjust to the pedagogical implications of EMI. Whereas there is a long tradition of research elsewhere on the implications of EMI, for example, code-switching in education (e.g. Li 2008; Lin 2013; Swain et al. 2011), this has not been a feature of research in relation to similar language or possible practices in Australian universities. Instead, the focus has been on academic literacies and provision of various forms of academic support for English language learners. This support usually extends to a limited number of courses in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (see also Humphreys, this volume).

Owing to increasing mobility and diversification of the contemporary world, Australian HEIs will need to adjust towards a pedagogical and theoretical understanding of the consequences of diversity for education. This includes understanding the multilingual resources, constraints and opportunities that students (whether Indigenous, migrant or international) bring. Adjustment will become a matter of pressing concern over the next decade for at least three reasons. The first relates to the need to foster social cohesion in the context of increasing diversification. The second has to do with Australian contributions to international priorities such as 'global citizenship education' (GCED) (UNESCO 2014), which includes engaging with diversity. The third reason concerns Australia's economic interests that (1) depend on versatile graduates equipped for global diversity, amongst other portable sets of expertise; and (2) offer innovative and quality university education to international students. The challenge therefore is how to provide quality university education in English with optimum opportunity for student learning. Conventional responses to EAL and EMI are unlikely to deliver these outcomes (Coleman 2011; Stroud and Heugh 2011).

Below we discuss a modest intervention and micro-study that may contribute towards effective English language learning for students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds at UniSA. We hope that this study may contribute to conversations with Australian colleagues (see also Humphreys, this volume), and also with colleagues in the Asia-Pacific region about teaching English and the use of EMI in linguistically diverse university classes.[1]

2.2 *Languages, Education, Code-Switching and Translanguaging*

The critical edge of language education pedagogy is shifting towards realities which require a response to student diversity (Stroud and Heugh 2011). The theoretical underpinnings and pedagogical approaches of teaching a second language, conceptualised and based on a monolingual view of each nation state (Gogolin 2009) and a separation of each (usually European) standardised language, are no longer sustainable. We are being drawn inexorably towards multiple languages and repertoires in each teaching and learning context in addition to EMI and these have consequences for pedagogy (Stroud and Heugh 2011).

Most people from bilingual or multilingual contexts engage in 'code-switching' (as discussed by Myers-Scotton and Urry 1977), and 'code-mixing' or 'mixed languages' (Muysken 2011). These, we argue are normal everyday occurrences in bilingual and multilingual societies and have been the subject of on-going research, for example in three decades of Angel Lin's (2013) research in Hong Kong. Although code-switching and code-mixing were stigmatised practices in ESL teaching in former British colonies in the past, it is now fairly well-accepted that this process is inevitable and can, if used systematically, function as a productive process in learning and teaching (e.g. Swain et al. 2011; Wolff 2000).

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[1] We acknowledge the support for diagnostic coding of student writing in Chinese and English provided by the Research Centre for Languages and Cultures at UniSA.

In North America and the UK, bilingual and multilingual education are often thought to be confined to approaches that keep the learning of each language as separate and in parallel with other/s (García and Li Wei 2014; Heller 2007). However, this is not the case in many countries of Africa and Asia, nor is it the case in European cities where classroom practices resist linguistic separation. Post-colonial multilingual societies defy, even in formal education, attempts to keep languages separated from one another (e.g. Agnihotri 2014; Heugh 2015; Sierens and Van Avermaet 2013; Swain et al. 2011).

While students' multilingual repertoires are often discussed as resources in learning (e.g. García and Li Wei 2014) we have not been able to offer adequate explanations of how these resources are employed or how they may be harnessed more effectively. We have also not sufficiently explored how the relationship between proficiency in the home/primary language and English may add value to student learning in EMI contexts. We also do not yet understand how best to encourage students to make explicit and optimal use of their whole linguistic repertoires (i.e. their informal spoken practices as well as more formal written practices) in the teaching and learning of English as a subject and as EMI across the university curriculum.

Purposive alternating between two languages, termed 'trawsieithu' (Williams 1996), later translated as 'translanguaging', has been discussed in respect of bilingual Welsh-English schools in Wales (Lewis et al. 2012; Williams 1996). The term 'translanguaging' has been borrowed by García in the US (García 2009) and reinterpreted by García and Li Wei (2014). For the latter, translanguaging differs from code-switching in that the focus is on the languaging process rather than on the code (form) of language. Canagarajah (2011) suggests that while García and colleagues discuss the process of translanguaging in spoken contexts, there is little documentation of the pedagogical use of translanguaging in written tasks. García and Li Wei (2014), for example, acknowledge that they find it difficult to address in practical terms how translanguaging can be included systematically in formal education.

We suggest that translanguaging is a useful term in contexts where the focus is turned towards how students, who come from a language background different from the mainstream, learn in an EMI setting. Secondly, we argue that even though translanguaging may be regarded as a contemporary name for old practices (cf. Edwards 2012), the advantage of this term is that it does not carry the negative stigma associated with others, such as code-switching (Heugh 2015; Swain et al. 2011). Thirdly, we argue that while this concept is not new or an alternative to either multilingualism or multilingual education, it emerges as a strand within a long history of research in bilingual and multilingual education in colonial and post-colonial settings. Although the early translanguaging literature focuses on process, we suggest that both process and practice of translanguaging are evident in spoken and written code-switching (e.g. Kerfoot and Simon-Vandenbergen 2015;

Lin 2013), functional multilingualism (Heugh 1999, 2015), functional multilingual learning (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2013) and multilinguality (Agnihotri 2014).

2.3 Translanguaging in English at the University of South Australia (UniSA)

At UniSA, we have stepped away from the conventional ESL/EFL/EAL approach to teaching English for academic purposes (EAP). In our context, multilingualism is multi-dimensional and multi-scaled. Australia has a long history of Indigenous multilinguality, nearly 250 years of migration from many parts of the world, and our student body reflects this history, as does a significant international student presence. Since 2009 we have been gradually changing from a conventional EAL approach towards a multilingual approach that uses translanguaging to teach courses in English to international and domestic students from varied language backgrounds. We understand and use translanguaging as an umbrella term for both (cognitive) processes and practices that include code-mixing, code-switching, translating and interpreting.

Since 2014 we have tried to strengthen the approach in relation to diagnostic analysis of student writing in English, in their primary written language,[2] and in their use of translanguaging. As mentioned above, we draw from research and practices that have been evolving in Africa and Asia, a growing body of literature on translanguaging in North America and Europe, and a resurfacing of interest in functional multilingualism in Europe (Sierens and Van Avermaet 2013). We also recognise an interrelationship among linguistic, cultural and epistemic knowledge, so we embed intercultural (e.g. Scarino 2014) and epistemological considerations within language teaching and learning (e.g. Andreotti and de Souza 2008).

3 A Micro-Study

We report here on a micro-study conducted during 2014 in a first year English course of a BA major in English as an Additional Language. We shall argue that the findings of this study, while in an EAL course, have implications for international students who have to study across their undergraduate degrees in English where this is their additional language. In other words, they are engaged in an EMI context at university (see also Humphreys this volume). The research component was built alongside regular assessment of students' written language in the course. The focus was on the student, the student's linguistic repertoire, and on ways to expand this repertoire in order to ensure that each student has optimal access to both the vertical gate-keeping language varieties of English (required at university and in professional employment) and at least one corresponding language in the student's repertoire.[3] We began with the following questions.

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[2] We use the term primary language as an alternative to home language or first language. Since students may have several spoken languages, but only one written language, this refers to the primary written language.

(1) How do we understand student (translanguaging) processes and practices when they use their primary written language alongside English?
(2) Can we find a relationship between students' writing proficiency in English and in their primary language?
(3) Can we find a relationship among:
    a. proficiency in the primary language and English, and also
    b. the kind of translanguaging practices used by students?
(4) Can we find evidence to support translanguaging in the teaching of English to international students?

3.1 Diagnostic Coding and Discussion of Proficiency in Writing

Students in this course have six oral and written assessment tasks. We focussed on four tasks written over a period of ten weeks and we designed a diagnostic instrument that would capture if and how students engage in language/languaging practices that might be identified as translanguaging (including translation[4]) when handwriting text in both their primary written language (P) and in English (E). These tasks were handwritten in class so that we could trace the actual written activity including evidence of translanguaging that might disappear through an electronic process of writing. Each task was designed so that students would need to adopt a different genre of writing, in two languages, across the four assignments. The first task in P involved explaining and summarising the student's own language learning needs and objectives, as identified in a series of preceding paragraphs written in English. The second task in P involved reflective writing in response to video and reading material on minority and endangered languages of the world.[5] The third task in P required students to write the summary section of a review of an

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[3] In 2015 we encouraged students to expand their horizontal (informal spoken or informal) repertoires (by learning additional languages from one another) whilst also focusing on developing their academic (vertical) repertoires in English and their primary language.

[4] We hoped to distinguish between the use of word-for-word translation and translation that involves adaptation and versioning. We understand versioning and adapting as a complex process that involves two-directional cognitive processes of translating back and forth to find suitable equivalences or substitutes and adapting expressions to suit the idiom or genre of the target language.

[5] Video material included multiple languages and sub-titles in English.

Australian film in their primary language. Tasks 1 and 2 made provision for students to draw from what they had already written in English, i.e. to be able to summarise and possibly to amplify what they had already written in English. Task 2 also made provision for students to draw on multiple media and language resources. In Task 3, the summary section of a film review in P is deceptively simple. However, it requires students to view and comprehend a visual text in E, to translate and (then) summarise from E to P, writing directly into P without the benefit of working with relevant written text in English to assist the double process of summary and translation.

The fourth task, a project, involved developing interview questions, conducting an interview, taking interview notes, writing these up and editing them into a biography. Students were invited to make use of any of their linguistic repertoire that might be appropriate (code-mixing, code-switching, translation) at various stages of the project. We asked students to submit a set of appendices (including all working notes, drafts and evidence of editing) with the final printed biography so that we could trace each student's written translanguaging activities (more than 10 pages per student). Most students interviewed someone from their own language background, and translated the interview questions, the project information and permission documents from English to their primary language. Most used P with code-mixing in English, while some used English with some P code-mixing when taking interview notes and drafting the biographies.[6] In the final editing stage they translated or replaced vocabulary and expressions in the primary language into English.

Although there were students from a number of different language backgrounds (from South, South East, and Central Asia, the Middle East and Africa), our focus is only on the writing of students with Chinese language backgrounds from Mainland China (hereafter, China), Hong Kong and Malaysia. We report here on diagnostic coding of 78 written assignments produced by 24 students from Chinese language backgrounds. Fourteen of these students are from China, four from Hong Kong, and six from Malaysia. Not all students completed each of the four tasks. The students speak at least one of Putonghua, Cantonese, Hokkien and Hakka at home. Regardless of which Chinese language/s they speak, they write in Modern Standard Chinese (MSC). Students from China use simplified Chinese characters, while students from Hong Kong and Malaysia use traditional Chinese characters when writing MSC. Diagnostic coding was designed to capture writing proficiency in both Chinese and English; and to capture the kind of translanguaging strategies used by students.

For each of the four written tasks, proficiency in writing in Chinese and English was coded according to sentence structure (S), appropriate use of vocabulary and terminology (VT), summarising skills (including coherence) (SS), and register (R).

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[6] Coding of the four tasks occurred independently from summative assessment and regular feedback. Students with languages in addition to Chinese accepted that owing to limited resources they would receive limited diagnostic feedback on their translanguaging practices.

Table 1 Diagnostic coding of proficiency in Primary language (P) and in English (E)

	Proficiency in primary language (Chinese): PC	Proficiency in English: PE
Diagnostic coding	Sentence structure (PC-S)	Sentence structure (PE-S)
	Vocabulary/terminology (PC-VT)	Vocabulary/terminology (PE-VT)
	Summarising skills (including coherence) (PC-SS)	Summarising skills (including coherence) (PE-SS)
	Register (PC-R)	Register (PE-R)
	On a scale between 1 and 9 (1 = weakest, 9 = strongest)	

The diagnostic scales were found to be inappropriate for coding appropriate use of register, so we abandoned this as a measure in our data discussed here

Table 2 Summary of diagnostic data

Coding focus	Number of written texts	Number of languages	Number of criteria	Number of data elements
Writing proficiency	78	2	3	468
Use of translanguaging strategies	78	2	4	624
Total				1092

When coding students' proficiency in writing in Chinese and in English, an initial three-point scale for each of the above categories was used. However, we soon found that most students fell on either side of a middle to upper-middle band and that we needed to expand this, which we did by moving to a nine-point scale (where 9 is the highest and 1 is the lowest level of proficiency). The diagnostic coding of proficiency in primary language and in English is illustrated in Table 1.

We averaged students' scores across the four written tasks in order to make comparisons between students' writing in Chinese and in English.

We also coded students' translanguaging practices according to evidence of code-mixing, code-switching, and translation (word for word or versioning/adapting), and we recorded the direction of translation, whether from Chinese to English or English to Chinese.

The analysis module of Bivariate Correlation (Two-tailed Pearson) in Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (Version 20) was also used to trace relationships between writing proficiency in Chinese and in English for these students, and also the relationship between translation and proficiency in both languages.

Altogether, in this paper, we report on 1092 elements of diagnostic data (see Table 2).

4 Findings and Discussion

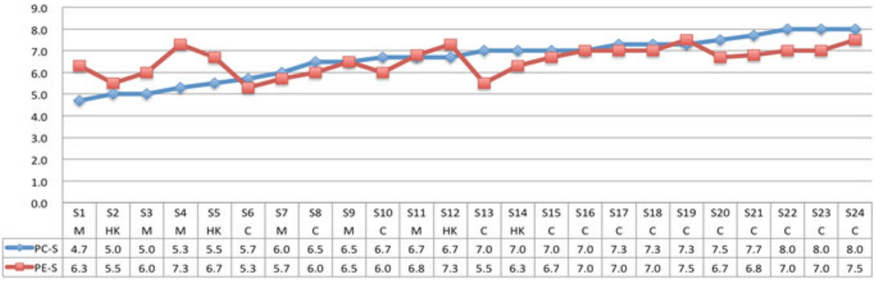
The diagnostic data for each student were consolidated across the four tasks. Apart from expected differences among students in the sample, there appeared to be some consistencies of achievement across the categories for proficiency in both Chinese and English in relation to sentence structure, use of vocabulary and/or terminology, and summarising.

In each of the following Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4, the vertical axis represents 9° of proficiency, with 1 as the lowest degree and 9 as the highest. On the horizontal axis, the country of origin of students is represented as follows: C = China, HK = Hong Kong, and M = Malaysia. Students are plotted according to overall proficiency in Chinese and English from weakest on the left hand side (LHS) to strongest on the right hand side (RHS).

There seems to be some consistency and similarity of student proficiency in relation to their sentence structure and appropriate use of vocabulary and terminology in Chinese and in English as shown in Figs. 1 and 2. Sentence structure and vocabulary use is fairly similar and consistent in both Chinese and English. Students from China appear to be stronger in their written Chinese than in their written English, whereas students from Hong Kong and Malaysia seem to be stronger in their written English than in their written Chinese.

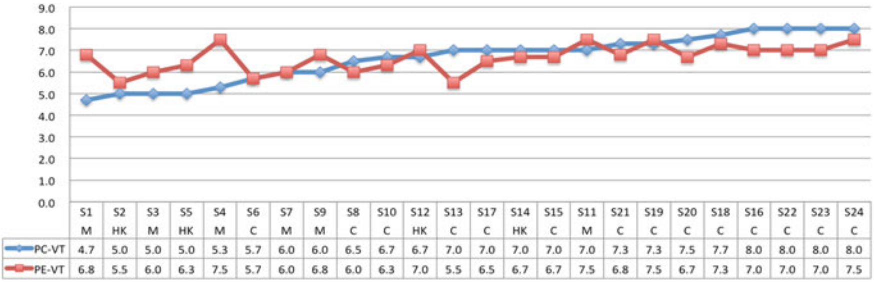
Again we see a similar pattern when we look at summarising. However, the gap between Chinese and English is wider for several students. Again students from China demonstrate stronger summarising expertise in Chinese than in English, whereas students from Hong Kong are slightly stronger in English, and most students from Malaysia are noticeably stronger in summarising in English. Summarising is the most challenging of the three criteria we have used to measure proficiency.

Overall, we can see similar trajectories in Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4. The trajectories suggest that there seems to be a correlation between the writing proficiency in Chinese and English which we explore further through SPSS analysis.



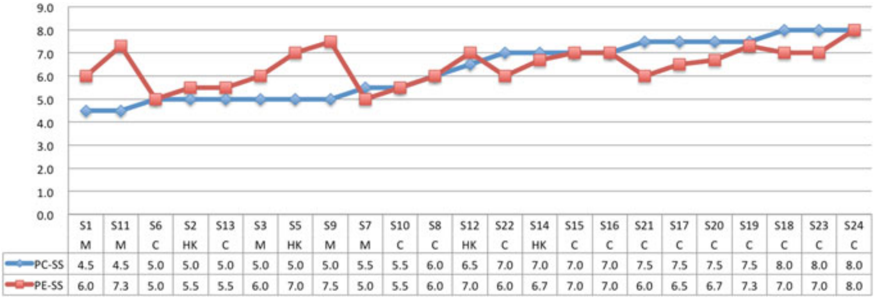
	S1 M	S2 HK	S3 M	S4 M	S5 HK	S6 C	S7 M	S8 C	S9 M	S10 C	S11 M	S12 HK	S13 C	S14 HK	S15 C	S16 C	S17 C	S18 C	S19 C	S20 C	S21 C	S22 C	S23 C	S24 C
PC-S	4.7	5.0	5.0	5.3	5.5	5.7	6.0	6.5	6.5	6.7	6.7	6.7	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.3	7.3	7.3	7.5	7.7	8.0	8.0	8.0
PE-S	6.3	5.5	6.0	7.3	6.7	5.3	5.7	6.0	6.5	6.0	6.8	7.3	5.5	6.3	6.7	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.5	6.7	6.8	7.0	7.0	7.5

Fig. 1 Sentence structure: Comparison of students' writing proficiency (P) in Chinese (C) and in English (E)—in relation to sentence structure (S)



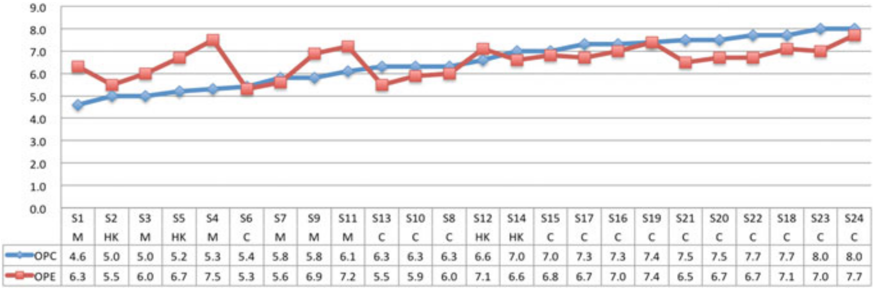
	S1	S2	S3	S5	S4	S6	S7	S9	S8	S10	S12	S13	S17	S14	S15	S11	S21	S19	S20	S18	S16	S22	S23	S24
	M	HK	M	HK	M	C	M	M	C	C	HK	C	C	HK	C	M	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
PC-VT	4.7	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.3	5.7	6.0	6.0	6.5	6.7	6.7	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.3	7.3	7.5	7.7	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0
PE-VT	6.8	5.5	6.0	6.3	7.5	5.7	6.0	6.8	6.0	6.3	7.0	5.5	6.5	6.7	6.7	7.5	6.8	7.5	6.7	7.3	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.5

Fig. 2 Vocabulary and/or terminology: Comparison of students' writing proficiency (P) in Chinese (C) and in English (E)—in relation to use of vocabulary and/or terminology (VT)



	S1	S11	S6	S2	S13	S3	S5	S9	S7	S10	S8	S12	S22	S14	S15	S16	S21	S17	S20	S19	S18	S23	S24
	M	M	C	HK	C	M	HK	M	M	C	C	HK	C	HK	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
PC-SS	4.5	4.5	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.5	5.5	6.0	6.5	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.5	7.5	7.5	7.5	8.0	8.0	8.0
PE-SS	6.0	7.3	5.0	5.5	5.5	6.0	7.0	7.5	5.0	5.5	6.0	7.0	6.0	6.7	7.0	7.0	6.0	6.5	6.7	7.3	7.0	7.0	8.0

Fig. 3 Summarising: Comparison of students' writing proficiency (P) in Chinese (C) and in English (E)—in relation to summarising (SS)



	S1	S2	S3	S5	S4	S6	S7	S9	S11	S13	S10	S8	S12	S14	S15	S17	S16	S19	S21	S20	S22	S18	S23	S24
	M	HK	M	HK	M	C	M	M	M	C	C	C	HK	HK	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C	C
OPC	4.6	5.0	5.0	5.2	5.3	5.4	5.8	5.8	6.1	6.3	6.3	6.3	6.6	7.0	7.0	7.3	7.3	7.4	7.5	7.5	7.7	7.7	8.0	8.0
OPE	6.3	5.5	6.0	6.7	7.5	5.3	5.6	6.9	7.2	5.5	5.9	6.0	7.1	6.6	6.8	6.7	7.0	7.4	6.5	6.7	6.7	7.1	7.0	7.7

Fig. 4 Overall proficiency in both languages: Comparison of students' overall writing proficiency (OP) in Chinese (C) and in English (E)

Correlations of students' writing proficiency (P) in Chinese (C) and in English (E)—in relation to sentence structure (S), use of vocabulary and/or terminology (VT), summarising (SS), and overall proficiency (OP) in different genres of texts across four written tasks in both languages are shown below:

Table 3 Correlations—of writing in Chinese and English for students from China, Hong Kong, and Malaysia

PE	PC			
	PE-S	PE-VT	PE-SS	OPE
PC-S	0.515*			
PC-VT		0.474*		
PC-SS			0.455*	
OPC				0.508*

Note: Correlations marked with an asterisk (*) were significant at $p < 0.05$

Table 4 Correlations—for students from China and Hong Kong

PE	PC			
	PE-S	PE-VT	PE-SS	OPE
PC-S	0.649**			
PC-VT		0.725**		
PC-SS			0.693**	
OPC				0.736**

Note: Correlations marked with two asterisks (**) were significant at $p < 0.01$

The figures in Table 3 refer to the criteria we have used to examine writing proficiency. Sentence structure (S), use of vocabulary and/or terminology (VT), and summarising skills (including coherence) (SS) in written Chinese are significantly correlated with those in written English for students in this sample. We find for sentence structure (S), $r(22) = 0.515$, $p < 0.05$; for use of vocabulary and/or terminology (VT), $r(22) = 0.474$, $p < 0.05$; and for summarising skills (SS), $r(21) = 0.455$, $p < 0.05$. We also find that the overall writing proficiency in Chinese (OPC) is significantly correlated with the overall written proficiency in English (OPE) for students in this sample, $r(22) = 0.508$, $p < .05$.

Because in Figs. 1, 2, 3 and 4 there seems to be a wider difference in proficiency between English and Chinese for some students from Malaysia than is the case for students from China and Hong Kong, we removed the Malaysian Chinese students from the dataset and recalibrated the correlations, with data only from students from China and Hong Kong in Table 4. Here we see that the correlations are even more significant.

Figures in Table 4 above indicate that each of the categories for writing proficiency in Chinese were strongly correlated with those in English for students from both China and Hong Kong. We find the correlations as follows: for sentence structure (S), $r(16) = 0.649$, $p < 0.01$; for use of vocabulary and/or terminology (VT), $r(16) = 0.725$, $p < 0.01$; and for summarising skills (SS), $r(16) = 0.693$, $p < 0.01$. We also find that the correlation of overall writing proficiency between Chinese and English is even stronger, $r(16) = 0.736$, $p < 0.01$.

Therefore, our data shown in Tables 3 and 4 indicate a strong positive correlation between proficiency in Chinese and English. Overall, our findings are consistent with international literature on bilingualism (e.g. Cummins 2007).

Of more immediate relevance is that they are consistent with a number of studies in China and Hong Kong. Brimer et al. (1985), for example, found that Chinese language proficiency is strongly correlated with proficiency in English for students in Hong Kong secondary schools. Two studies conducted on Chinese university students by Wang and Wen (2004) and Huang et al. (2011) both find a positive relationship between proficiency in Chinese and in English. Students with a stronger proficiency in Chinese are likely to develop a stronger proficiency in English. Our data seem to support the findings of both of these studies in an Australian HEI.

Our findings are mostly consistent with those discussed above, particularly for students from China and whose written Chinese is stronger than their written English. However, although the samples of students from Hong Kong and Malaysia are small (N = 4; N = 6, respectively) and despite the strong correlation between proficiency in both languages (unlike students from China), students from Hong Kong and Malaysia reach a higher level in their written tasks in English than they do in Chinese across all three criteria. Dissimilar historical, socio-cultural and language policy contexts in the three countries may account for these differences. We discuss these briefly below.

English for most students in China is seldom heard or used outside of school and its functional use in the wider society is therefore limited. Most students complete their secondary school through the medium of Chinese but are taught EFL as a subject, with a focus on reading and writing rather than listening and speaking (Song 2015). In our study, students from China have a stronger written proficiency in Chinese than in English and there is a very strong correlation between proficiency in both languages. Teaching and learning English as a subject has not compromised students' proficiency in written English compared with other Chinese speaking students in this sample. However, there is increasing pressure to move towards bilingual (Chinese-English) school education in some subjects in China, especially in cities in Eastern China (Feng 2005). Since 2001, there has also been a trend towards offering some university courses in English in anticipation of enhancing student proficiency in English (Wan and Hu 2007) and to attract international students to Chinese universities (Kirkpatrick 2014). Hu and Lei (2014) report, however, that students and teaching staff find themselves obliged to use code-switching, and that students need to read textbooks in Chinese.

Hong Kong has a colonial and post-colonial administrative history in which English has had a significant role alongside Cantonese. Since the handover to China in 1997, the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region (HKSAR) government has adopted a policy of biliteracy (English and Modern Standard Written Chinese) and trilingualism (spoken Cantonese, Putonghua and English). Cantonese, Putonghua, and English hold equal status as co-official languages (Tsui 2004). A mandatory mother-tongue education policy was implemented in 1998 with Putonghua as a compulsory subject for the first nine years of school education. Most public secondary schools have shifted from EMI to Chinese (Cantonese) Medium Instruction (CMI) (Tsui 2004). Government resources for promoting spoken languages have been largely allocated to English and Putonghua (Poon 2010). Despite controversy over language education policy since 1998 (Li 2009), learning through the mother tongue has had a positive effect on students' academic performance, motivation, and self-confidence (Tsui 2004). The biliteracy policy may also have an impact on student writing and may explain why students from Hong Kong appear to be slightly stronger in their writing in English than in Chinese.

There may be several reasons why Chinese-speaking Malaysian students seem to have noticeably stronger writing expertise in English compared with Chinese. Bahasa Malaysia, as the official language, and English, with its long colonial and post-colonial history, are prioritised by government, whereas Chinese has a lesser status. An attempt to implement an EMI policy for teaching mathematics and science between 2002 and 2010 failed to improve either proficiency in English or academic achievement in mathematics and science, so the policy was abandoned in 2011 (Kirkpatrick 2014). This policy was in place for some years of our students' secondary education and may have had a negative impact on their development of proficiency in Chinese. Chinese Malaysian students at UniSA may speak Hokkien, Hakka and Cantonese with family members, and they learn to read and write Chinese, Bahasa Malaysia and English at school. They also identify as speaking 'Manglish' or 'Malaysian English' in daily transactions.[7] Our Chinese-speaking Malaysian students may demonstrate stronger proficiency in written English because of the comparatively low level of institutional support for academic proficiency in Chinese and their broad linguistic repertoire does not correspond closely with written Chinese.

4.1 Translanguaging Strategies

We now turn to translanguaging strategies used by students in writing Chinese and English. In Figs. 5, 6 and 7 below, CM indicates code-mixing; CS indicates code-switching; Vers indicates translation that involves versioning and adapting (see footnote 4); and WW indicates word-for-word translation.

We find that in the four tasks students use code-switching infrequently; code-mixing in 20% of cases (when drafting, taking interview notes, and translating terms); word-for-word translation in 20% of cases; and 'versioning' translation in the majority of cases.

In each of the following Figs. 6 and 7, the translanguaging strategies are linked to overall writing proficiency in both Chinese and English, beginning with students who exhibit lower levels of proficiency on the LHS and those with higher levels of proficiency on the RHS of the figure.

It seems that students with a higher level of academic proficiency in both Chinese and English make more use of versioning when translating. Students with a

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[7] Our classroom observation data show that Malaysian students often act as language agents or brokers during tutorials in order to bridge communication gaps among students from China, Hong Kong and Taiwan.

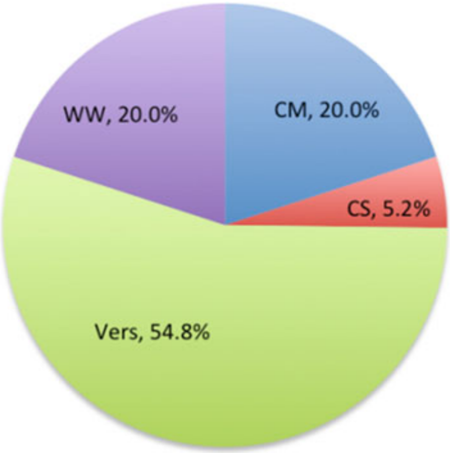
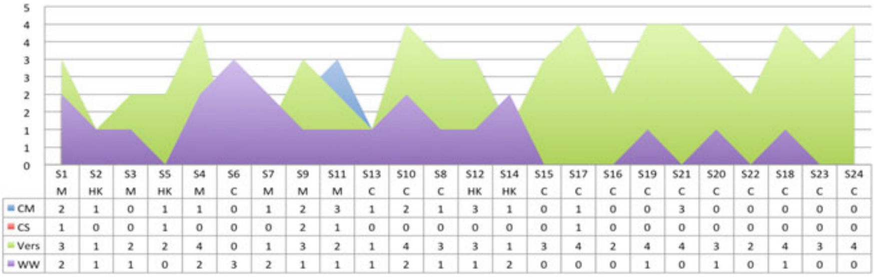


Fig. 5 Proportion of translanguaging strategies used by participating students



	S1 M	S2 HK	S3 M	S5 HK	S4 M	S6 C	S7 M	S9 M	S11 M	S13 C	S10 C	S8 C	S12 HK	S14 HK	S15 C	S17 C	S16 C	S19 C	S21 C	S20 C	S22 C	S18 C	S23 C	S24 C
CM	2	1	0	1	1	0	1	2	3	1	2	1	3	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
CS	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Vers	3	1	2	2	4	0	1	3	2	1	4	3	3	1	3	4	2	4	4	3	2	4	3	4
WW	2	1	1	0	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0

Fig. 6 The distribution of translanguaging strategies used by students

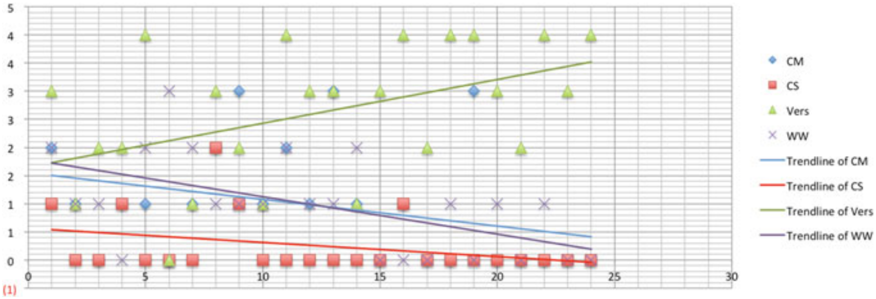


Fig. 7 The trendlines of translanguaging strategies used by students

lower level of academic proficiency in both languages make more use of word-for-word translation. This suggests that high level proficiency in both languages allows students to process cognitively demanding (academic) information/knowledge in both languages. Students who have a sound academic proficiency in Chinese are therefore able to use this as a resource in their academic engagement through English and vice versa. The use of word-for-word translation may suggest that students are having linguistic and/or cognitive difficulty in making use of knowledge in one language when using their other language. We take a closer look at student use of translanguaging in Fig. 7.

Use of translanguaging strategies are plotted in relation to overall proficiency in both languages for each student (lowest on the LHS to highest on the RHS of the horizontal axis). Here we see that students with higher levels of proficiency in both languages make most use of versioning in their translation and also appear to make less use of code-switching, code-mixing and word-for-word translation. We also see that students with lower levels of proficiency in both languages use more word-for-word translation and they also appear to make more use of code-switching and code-mixing, but less use of versioning translation. This offers further indication of a relationship between the use of translanguaging strategies (particularly translation) and writing proficiency in both languages. Again we used Bivariate Correlation (Two-tailed Pearson) in SPSS to establish a correlation between overall proficiency in both Chinese and English, and translanguaging strategies. We found no correlation between proficiency and use of code-switching and code-mixing, but we did find correlations with versioning and word-for word translation as evident in Table 5.

Figures in Table 5 below indicate that for these students:

1) OPC is significantly correlated ($r(22) = 0.420$, $p < 0.05$) and OPE is strongly correlated ($r(22) = 0.643$, $p < 0.01$) with the use of Vers;
2) OPC is strongly (negatively) correlated ($r(22) = -0.560$, $p < 0.01$) and OPE is significantly (negatively) correlated ($r(22) = -0.454$, $p < 0.05$) with the use of WW.

This indicates (1) a positive correlation between writing proficiency in each language and the use of versioning; and (2) a negative correlation between writing proficiency in each language and the use of word-for-word translation.

In summary: we find a strong correlation between proficiency in Chinese and English across three criteria (sentence structure, use of vocabulary and

Table 5 Correlations—the use of Vers/WW translation and overall writing proficiency in Chinese (OPC) and English (OPE)

	OPC	OPE
Vers	0.420*	0.643**
WW	−0.560**	−0.454*

Note: Correlations marked with an asterisk (*) were significant at $p < 0.05$

Correlations marked with two asterisks (**) were significant at $p < 0.01$

summarising) for all students, particularly those from China and Hong Kong in our data. We also find a relationship between the kind of translation and translanguaging practices used by students and their proficiency in written Chinese and English. Students who demonstrate a higher level of written proficiency in both languages overall make most use of versioning, and less use of literal (WW) translation. Students who have a lower level of proficiency in both languages make greater use of literal translation and less use of versioning. This suggests that in an EMI academic context, where students have a strong proficiency in Chinese, this is an advantage and an academic resource. These students are able to make use of highly complex cognitive (trans)lingual expertise in both languages in order to grapple with academic knowledge. Three tentative findings may be posited from these data: (1) They indicate that it is important to ensure high level academic proficiency in the primary language in order to support high level academic proficiency in English. (2) They indicate that it is important to develop academic use of both languages simultaneously in order to maximise opportunities for bi-directional exchanges and use of academic knowledge available in both languages. (3) High-level cognitive engagement with and processing of academic knowledge may be enhanced through high levels of bilingual proficiency. At the very least these data indicate positive value in a pedagogy that makes explicit use of translation to strengthen academic proficiency in both languages simultaneously. A more holistic assessment of each student's linguistic proficiency and their understanding of academic knowledge is likely through translation.

5 Conclusion

We have shown that in response to Canagarajah (2011) and García and Li Wei (2014), it is possible to integrate systematic use of translanguaging that involves students' primary language and English in written assignments. We have demonstrated a strong positive relationship between academic proficiency in written Chinese and English in an undergraduate university course. We have gained some understanding of translanguaging (as process) through diagnostic coding of bi-directional written practices of code-mixing, code-switching and translation; and of a relationship between translation and academic proficiency in writing.

Our micro-study has limitations, including the sample size, languages included, and omission of spoken translanguaging. The differences we find in relation to the small number of students from Hong Kong and Malaysia need to be explored with larger samples; however, they do point to the possible influence of different contexts, policies and practices in bi-/multilingualism. We can say that different translanguaging strategies used in written text correspond with overall proficiency in both Chinese and English. Those who make greater use of more complex linguistic processes in translation (versioning) are those who have the strongest proficiency in both languages. These data support on-going development and academic use of the primary language in order to facilitate academic use of English. We find no evidence to support a shift from the primary language or CMI to EMI, particularly for students from China where English continues to function as a foreign, rather than a second language (see Hu 2009). Instead, the findings indicate value in high-level development of bilingualism in the primary language and English. Our data therefore support a pedagogical shift from developing academic proficiency in a single target language, English, to a twin-objective, that is, development of academic writing in students' primary language and English simultaneously whether this is in Australia or in other countries of Asia. Translanguaging is one way to achieve this.

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English Medium Education in a University in Brunei Darussalam: Code-Switching and Intelligibility

Athirah Ishamina and David Deterding

Abstract Although Malay is the official language of Brunei Darussalam, English is also widely used, especially in formal domains such as education, as it is the medium of instruction for most classes in secondary school and at the main university, Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD). This chapter traces the historical background for adopting English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) in Brunei, and it then discusses recent developments at UBD, particularly for the new undergraduate programme, called GenNEXT, adopted in 2009, and the number of students graduating from English-medium and Malay-medium programs is analysed. Finally, the use of code-switching among university undergraduates is discussed, particularly the incidence of misunderstandings arising from the use of Malay that occurred when UBD students were talking in English to people from elsewhere, and it is shown that, out of a total of 152 tokens of misunderstanding that have been identified in three and a half hours of conversation, 12 involved the use of Malay.

Keywords English medium instruction (EMI) · Bilingual education · English in brunei · Intelligibility · Code-switching · Intercultural communication

1 Introduction

Malay is specified as the official language of Brunei Darussalam and it is regarded as the language of national culture and spiritual identity. However, English is learned as a second language and is generally seen as providing access to the

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outside world, so it has a high status and is linked to educational success (Ożóg 1996a). Indeed, most Bruneians can be considered bilingual in Malay and English, and many can also speak a minority language such as Dusun or Chinese (Martin and Poedjosoedarmo 1996). Saxena (2006) further states that Bruneians frequently view those who are fluent in English as being modern, educated and westernised.

Since 1985, a bilingual system of education has been in place in primary, secondary and tertiary education. The oldest and largest tertiary institution in Brunei, *Universiti Brunei Darussalam* (UBD), was originally intended to be a bilingual institute, but although there continue to be some Malay-medium programmes, particularly in Malay Language and Malay Literature, the overwhelming majority of courses are now taught in English. However, even though English predominates as the medium of instruction at UBD, Malay is also widely used, and furthermore code-switching between English and Malay is common, especially among students in informal situations. This raises a question about the intelligibility of the students when they are speaking English to non-Bruneians: how often are they misunderstood, and to what extent does code-switching interfere with the intelligibility of their speech?

This chapter provides an overview of the adoption of the bilingual system of education in Brunei, including the historical rationale and the current status of English-medium instruction at all levels of education. It then discusses the situation at UBD, including the status of English-medium education after a new curriculum called GenNEXT was introduced for undergraduate degrees in 2009. Next, it examines the use of code-switching by students in UBD and the effect that this has on the intelligibility of their speech. This is investigated by means of the analysis of misunderstandings that occurred in recordings of ten conversations between Bruneians and speakers from other countries. The chapter finally discusses the impact of English-medium education in Brunei on language use and language proficiency, and it suggests future pedagogical directions.

2 The Bilingual Education System

There have been substantial shifts over the years in the use of English as a medium of instruction in the education system in Brunei. This section provides a brief overview of the changes that have taken place in the schools in the country, before we consider in the next section the languages that are used in the main university in Brunei, *Universiti Brunei Darussalam* (UBD). Although the medium of instruction in schools is distinct from that adopted at the tertiary level, the policies promoted in the school system have a direct influence on the use of language in the university as they shape the linguistic background of local undergraduates in Brunei.

Until 1984, most schools in Brunei were either Malay-medium or English-medium, and a few Chinese schools taught mainly in Mandarin. However, following independence in January 1984, there was a call for the integration of all schools into a single education system (Gunn 1997, p. 155). The bilingual system of education or *dwibahasa* ('dual languages') was introduced in 1985, aiming both to maintain Malay and also facilitate the acquisition of English (Jones 2007, p. 246). The new system was adopted by all schools except for an international school and two religious schools (Jones 1996, p. 123; Martin 2008, p. 213).

Under the *dwibahasa* system, at lower primary level all subjects except English Language were taught in Malay, and then from the fourth year of primary school onwards, English was used as the medium of instruction in most subjects such as mathematics, science, history and geography, while a few subjects like Malay Language, physical education, art, civics and Islamic religious knowledge were taught in Malay (Martin and Poedjosoedarmo 1996, p. 4; Jones 1996, p. 125).

Even when English is specified as the medium of instruction, the reality of classroom practice varies. Many pupils struggle with English as they have little exposure to the language outside the classroom (Jones 1996, p. 130), and many local teachers claim that they often have to speak Malay to explain concepts properly (Wood, Henry, Malai Ayla and Clynes 2011, p. 62) and to build rapport with their pupils. On the other hand, Saxena (2009) reports that some teachers insist on using only English in English-medium classes even though their pupils speak Malay both with their classmates and to their teachers.

One major current concern is the educational divide between those with a privileged background and those without (Jones 2007, p. 256). Jones (2002, p. 131) reports that the last decade of the twentieth century saw a large increase in the number of elite private schools, and Deterding and Salbrina (2013, p. 19) suggest that the existence of these private schools exacerbates the educational divide, as those who attend the best schools have an advantage in developing a good ability in English. Nicol (2004) reports that, for secondary school children, in the five years up till 2003, an average of only 12.8% of pupils taking the 'O' level exam in English Language obtained a credit pass, so the overwhelming majority of students were failing in English, and she argues, on the basis of a survey of teachers, that the exam is not appropriate for most of the pupils who take it. Finally, also for secondary schools, Wood et al. (2011) illustrate the educational divide in their investigation of the use of the past tense in narrative compositions by pupils in four different schools in Brunei, showing that those from a good school in the capital city had the best English and improved substantially over the years, while pupils from a rural public school had poorer results and showed no improvement over two years.

Aside from this educational divide, Jones (2007, p. 253) reports that, twenty years after the implementation of the bilingual education system, many of the original concerns about it were unfounded, particularly that it would result in Malay being marginalised and Western culture dominating. In fact, Poedjosoedarmo (2004, p. 363) suggests that the system appears to be quite successful because Bruneians who become proficient in speaking, reading and writing Standard English do not lose their Malay identity, and Kirkpatrick (2010, p. 35) notes that the bilingual education policy in Brunei is probably the most successful in all the member states of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) in developing good competence in English while at the same time maintaining use of the first language. Furthermore, the outcome of bilingual education is consistent with the government's insistence when the policy was implemented that, as a small country, Brunei could not afford to isolate itself from the world by failing to encourage its citizens to have a good knowledge of English (Asmah 2007, p. 358). Indeed, this widespread encouragement of English has been reported to be true throughout ASEAN, including even those countries that were never colonised by Britain or the USA (Kirkpatrick 2012).

January 2009 saw the introduction of a new system of education for primary and secondary schools called SPN21 (*Sistem Pendidikan Negara Abad Ke-21*, 'The National Education System for the 21st Century'), aiming to prepare pupils to face the social and economic challenges in the modern world. One of its central objectives is to encourage pupils to take part in classroom discussions and activities (Ministry of Education 2009, p. 26), so a student-centred pedagogical approach is promoted in the new system rather than the traditional teacher-centred practice under which teachers held an authoritative role while their pupils were more passive.

A major change under the new system is that mathematics and science are now taught in English from the first year of lower primary school (Jones 2012). One advantage of this change is that there is no longer a sudden switch in the medium of instruction for these two subjects in the fourth year of primary school, which means that Bruneian children now learn words for concepts in mathematics and science in English at an early age and therefore do not have to learn a new set of technical terms when they reach the fourth year of primary school.

The shift in the medium of instruction in some subjects from Malay to English at the start of their primary education highlights the country's emphasis on the importance of English. Indeed, the new system seems increasingly to favour English-medium education. This presents a stark contrast to Malaysia, where at almost the same time that Brunei adopted the new education system, a similar policy was rescinded, and the medium of instruction for mathematics and science in Malaysia has now reverted from English to Malay (Kirkpatrick 2010, p. 27; Jones 2015).

Having outlined the linguistic environment that students experience as they progress through primary and secondary school, we will now discuss the medium of instruction in tertiary-level education, focusing on the situation in UBD.

3 Bilingual Education at Universiti Brunei Darussalam (UBD)

There are currently four universities in Brunei: apart from UBD, *Universiti Teknologi Brunei* (UTB) has recently been upgraded from a technical college to become a university; and there are also two Islamic universities, *Universiti Islam Sultan Sharif Ali* (UNISSA), and *Kolej Universiti Perguruan Ugama Seri Begawan*

(KUPU-SB), both of which have also recently seen their status upgraded. The main medium of instruction at UTB is English, while the two Islamic universities mainly use Malay and Arabic. There is no explicit policy on the medium of instruction for universities set by the Ministry of Education, so each institute determines its own system. Here, we will focus on the medium of instruction in classes at UBD, the most prestigious university in Brunei (ranked 118 in Asia in the 2015 QS rankings, while the other three universities currently have no QS ranking).

UBD was set up in 1985 as a bilingual university that offered both Malay- and English-medium programmes. The establishment of the university was in line with the need for national development, and formal academic links were made with several universities in the UK and Malaysia to help in devising the first degree programmes (Jones 1997, p. 16). The University of Leeds and University College, Cardiff supervised the development of English-medium programmes, while *Universiti Sains Malaysia* and *Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia* assisted with the introduction of Malay-medium programmes.

The expansion of UBD in 1994, including moving to a larger campus, saw an increasing number of local and overseas students. Though the majority of programmes and courses offered at UBD were English-medium, there continued to be many Malay-medium programmes, including Malay Language, Malay Literature, some courses in history, and programmes offered by the Academy of Brunei Studies (ABS). In addition, there was a compulsory course for all Bruneian students on the national ideology MIB (*Melayu Islam Beraja*, ‘Malay Islamic Monarchy’) which was conducted in Malay.

In 2009, UBD introduced a revised undergraduate degree termed GenNEXT, which saw the expansion of programmes offered, including revised bachelor degrees in Arts, Business, Health Sciences, and Science. The GenNEXT curriculum aims to provide students with a broad knowledge of different disciplines so they can pursue a flexible choice of careers (UBD 2016), and therefore students have to take courses from different faculties as part of their undergraduate programmes. One other major change in 2009 was that the training of teachers was subsequently undertaken at the masters level, so the bachelor’s degree offered by the Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Education (SHBIE) was discontinued.

In two respects, the GenNEXT programme appears to favour English as the medium of instruction. First, one of the entry requirements to the GenNEXT degree is a minimum of grade C in English ‘O’ Level or an IELTS grade of 6.0, and this now applies to all students, including those who are taking Malay-medium programmes, whereas in the previous system, the pre-GenNEXT degree, this entry requirement for English only applied to those who wished to take English-medium programmes. Second, Malay-medium students are now required to take modules offered by other faculties, and these modules are all taught in English.

There are now substantially more undergraduates in English-medium than in Malay-medium programmes, and this seems to be increasing. Table 1 presents a comparison between the total number of English- and Malay-medium graduating students in 2006 (pre-GenNEXT) and 2014 (GenNEXT), listing the faculties as follows: Academy of Brunei Studies (ABS), Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences

Table 1 Number of students graduating with a bachelor's degree in 2006 and 2014

Faculty	2006		2014	
	English	Malay	English	Malay
ABS		21		28
FASS	9	25	186	70
FOS	19		108	
IHS			28	
SBE	72		137	
SHBIE	235	123		
Total	335 (66.5%)	169 (33.5%)	459 (82.4%)	98 (17.6%)

(FASS), Faculty of Science (FOS), Institute of Health Sciences (IHS), School of Business and Economics (SBE), and Sultan Hassanal Bolkiah Institute of Education (SHBIE). The statistics show that there was an increase in the proportion of English-medium graduates from 66.5% in 2006 to 82.4% in 2014, while the proportion of Malay-medium graduates has fallen correspondingly.

The greatest change is that most of those who previously might have obtained a teaching degree from SHBIE now study for a BA (in FASS) or BSc (in FOS). However, while the number of students taking a Malay-medium degree in FASS has increased from 25 to 70, this is hugely overshadowed by those taking an English-medium degree in either FASS or FOS. It seems that most students now recognise that proficiency in English is important in order to be more employable (though statistics on the employability of graduates have not been published), and given that they are all entitled to take English-medium degrees as they all now have the English-language entry requirements, most of them are choosing to do so.

Although English seems to be becoming increasingly important in Brunei, it still has no official status outside the domains of education and also law, where English is used in the courts even though many of the defendants do not speak the language, so everything has to be translated for them (Masmahirah 2016). Elsewhere, Malay is still promoted as the official language (Saxena 2006). Indeed, all Bruneian undergraduates at UBD have to pass the module in MIB (*Melayu Islam Beraja*, 'Malay Islamic Monarchy'), which is taught in Malay, as a requirement for completing their degrees, so the education policy still stresses the importance of the national language and bilingualism for local students. Nonetheless, the new education policies of SPN21 at primary and secondary level and the GenNEXT programme at university level reflect an increasing role for EMI education.

4 Code-Switching in Brunei

Code-switching is a means of negotiating meaning in a multilingual society, and it is extremely common throughout East and Southeast Asia (McLellan 2010). The various chapters of the volume edited by Barnard and McLellan (2014) document widespread code-switching in English-medium classes in Bhutan, Brunei, China, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand and Vietnam, and Ożóg (1996b, p. 176) reported that code-switching is common at all levels of society in Brunei. McLellan (2005) investigated two online Brunei discussion forums and suggested that sometimes the writers switch from English to Malay deliberately in order to emphasise the Malay phrases. There seems to be a higher proportion of English insertions in Malay-based texts than Malay insertions in English-based texts (McLellan and David 2007, p. 76), and Faahirah (2016) found that there were 238 instances of switching into English during ten conversations by female UBD undergraduates engaged in a map task in Malay, while there were only 43 instances of switching into Malay in the comparable English conversations. However, both kinds of switching are common.

Switching between English and Malay is the norm in Brunei (McLellan 2010), and using only one language when one knows that the other person can speak both languages may make one sound rather strange or even rude. Possible reasons for switching include: inability to think of a word in one language; using religious terms and items of food, for which there may be no straightforward equivalent in English; explaining something which may be easier in another language; giving direct quotations; and for stylistic reasons (Deterding and Salbrina 2013, pp. 111–115). One may also surmise that use of indigenous terms for local things is probably the most effective way of referring to them within the country, though at the same time this may result in visitors to Brunei being confused.

It is no surprise, then, that Bruneian students at UBD tend to code-switch even in the classroom. As Noor Azam et al. (2014) report, students often code-switch when talking among themselves and also when they are speaking with their local tutors. Mixed feelings are expressed by the tutors about their students code-switching in the classroom, and many themselves try to avoid code-switching, but it seems inevitable among students who share two languages. However, Deterding and Salbrina (2013, p. 107) report that code-switching almost never occurs when students at UBD are conversing with English-speaking academic staff, because the students are accustomed to talking to their expatriate lecturers in English.

Even though students are adept at using English when talking to their lecturers, use of Malay terms does sometimes occur when Bruneians are interacting with non-Bruneians, and here we investigate what happens when Malay terms are used with foreign students at UBD. English is generally the lingua franca between Bruneian and foreign students who do not speak Malay, but because Bruneians are so used to mixing English and Malay, especially in informal contexts, they occasionally code-switch when speaking with foreign students. The current study investigates cases in which this causes misunderstandings to occur.

According to Kaur (2010), there is a difference between ‘misunderstandings’ and ‘non-understandings’: a ‘misunderstanding’ occurs when the listener interprets a word or utterance with a meaning that is not intended by the speaker; whereas there is a ‘non-understanding’ when the listener is unable to make sense of a word or utterance. However, Deterding (2013, p. 13) notes that, in reality, it is often difficult to classify instances as misunderstandings or non-understandings, as listeners may make a guess about the meaning of words or utterances but not be certain, so no attempt will be made here to differentiate the two concepts.

We acknowledge that conversations are two-way interactions involving the negotiation of meaning, and the role of both the speaker and the listener should be considered when analysing breakdowns in communication (Smith and Nelson 1985; Lindemann 2010). In the context of code-switching in Brunei, in many cases listeners from other countries are familiar with the Malay terms, so there is no problem; but sometimes code-switching does lead to misunderstandings occurring, and here we will analyse some examples of this.

5 Misunderstandings Caused by Code-Switching at UBD: A Case Study

This section analyses some instances in which code-switching interferes with intelligibility and causes misunderstandings to occur.

5.1 Research Methodology

The corpus analysed in this study consists of ten audio recordings collected at UBD over a period of six months in late 2013 and early 2014. UBD now has a substantial body of international students from a wide range of different countries, so it is of interest to see how well Bruneians cope when talking to their international classmates in English.

Each recording consists of a conversation in English between two participants, a Bruneian and a non-Bruneian. Seventeen participants took part, eight Bruneians and nine non-Bruneians, and they are identified by their gender (F or M), followed by a two-letter code representing their country of origin. The Bruneians are identified as FBr1, FBr2, FBr3, FBr4, FBr5, MBr1, MBr2, and MBr3. Of the non-Bruneian participants, four were from China (FCh1, FCh2, FCh3, FCh4), and there was one each from Korea (MKo), France (MFr), the Maldives (FMd), Oman (FOm), and Vietnam (FVn). Sixteen of the participants were students at UBD and one, MFr, was a visiting researcher. All of them listed English as either their second or foreign language. Convenience sampling was used in the selection of these participants. One essential criterion was that they were all able and willing to meet the researchers after the recordings to help with the analysis. They were aware that the purpose of the research was to investigate patterns of interaction in English between Bruneians and non-Bruneians in a relatively informal context (though of course the fact that they were being recorded and that the conversations took place in a lecturer's office on the university campus means that the interactions were not truly informal). The participants were not aware that code-switching might be one of the factors that we would investigate as giving rise to misunderstandings. (Indeed, at the time of the recordings, the researchers did not expect it to be a contributory factor.)

In the recordings, the Bruneian participants were being interviewed by the non-Bruneians, who were encouraged to ask questions about the culture and history of Brunei, though this was not fixed, and the participants were allowed to talk freely to enable us to obtain some data involving Bruneians interacting with non-Bruneians. The researchers were not present when the recordings took place. While the informal setting is distinct from the more formal classroom setting of most research into EMI, these recordings enable us to determine the extent to which Bruneian speakers are able to converse intelligibly with people from elsewhere, and the current study provides an insight into the occurrence of code-switching and how often it gives rise to misunderstandings.

Altogether, as shown in Table 2, the ten recordings are just over 3 h and 39 min long, with each recording lasting an average of about 22 min. The identifying code for each recording consists of the codes of the two participants, the first being the interviewee (a Bruneian) and the second being the interviewer.

The recordings were conducted in a quiet room at UBD using a Handy H4n recorder. When transcribing the conversations, any problems involving unclear speech were resolved by asking the participants for clarification. Deterding (2013, p. 25) notes that it is important to obtain this kind of feedback from participants, because it allows researchers to correct the transcription of speech that is not clear, and it also facilitates the identification of occurrences of misunderstandings that are not signalled in the recordings. In fact, the interactions generally proceeded smoothly with few breakdowns in communication, as even when speakers did not understand something, they had a tendency to adopt a ‘let-it-pass’ strategy in the hope that failure to understand a few words would not matter in the long run (Firth 1996; Mortensen 2013, p. 35).

We are only concerned here with instances where the non-Bruneian participants did not understand the Bruneians. Although there are a few instances where a misunderstanding was signalled in the recordings, the majority of tokens only

Table 2 The recording codes and duration

Recording code	Duration (min:sec)
MBr2 + FCh1	20:48
FBr3 + FCh2	22:46
FBr4 + FCh3	20:56
FBr5 + FCh4	20:27
MBr3 + MFr	22:28
MBr3 + MKo	21:04
FBr1 + FMd	21:45
MBr1 + FMd	21:31
MBr1 + FOm	22:29
FBr2 + FVn	25:12
	Total: 3:39:26

became apparent from subsequent feedback from the non-Bruneians. In obtaining this feedback, instances were identified where misunderstandings might have occurred, and these instances were extracted from the recordings. The non-Bruneians were then asked to listen to them, transcribe what they heard, and discuss their understanding of the Bruneian speech. We must admit that we cannot be sure on the basis of this kind of feedback that a misunderstanding actually occurred in all instances in which the subsequent transcription by the non-Bruneians is inaccurate or where they claimed they did not understand something, but we believe that most of the tokens do represent genuine instances of loss of intelligibility.

Following Deterding (2013), the term 'token' is used to refer to a word or phrase that has been identified as misunderstood by the non-Bruneians. Altogether, a total of 152 tokens of misunderstanding were identified from the corpus.

5.2 Results

Of the 152 tokens of misunderstandings, 12 involved code-switching. Five of these tokens, involving discussion of local things such as food and clothing, are listed in Table 3. (In these tables, the location of the extract from the start of the recording is shown in seconds. In cases where some words are omitted from what is shown in the table, this is indicated with three dots '…'. More details about the transcription conventions are provided in the Appendix.) Tokens 1, 2 and 5 involve words for which there is no easy English equivalent.

In Token 1, FBr3 was talking about Bruneian traditional activities, and she used the Malay word *gasing* ('spinning top'). The wider context is shown in Extract 1. FCh2 indicated that she did not understand *gasing*, and FBr3 then used the English equivalent 'spinning top' and further elaborated on it. FCh2 subsequently told the researchers that she still did not know what *gasing* was, as she did not know the meaning of 'spinning top' either, but she did realise that it was something to play with.

Table 3 Tokens of misunderstanding involving local things

No.	Location	Context
1	FBr3 + FCh2:457	traditional games like do you know about ***gasing***?
2	FBr3 + FCh2:766	have you tried ***ambuyat***? … yeah the food
3	FBr4 + FCh3:690	it's just straight like that … yeah if this one ***cani***? and then
4	FBr4 + FCh3:692	like that … yeah if this one ***cani***? and then ***ada*** buttons?
5	FBr4 + FCh3:844	it's not tiny yeah it's not as what you call ***sepet*** in english

Extract 1 FBr3 + FCh2: 457 (Token 1)
Context: FBr3 is talking about the customs of Brunei.

FBr3: it's quite nice k- from cuisine ah traditional games like do you know about ***gasing***?
FCh2: ***gasing*** no
FBr3: yeah it's like ah a spinning top something like that like you throw that thing and then it just spins like that
FCh2: is this fun
FBr3: well ah not really but it's fun to learn like something like it

In the same recording, in Token 2 shown in Extract 2, FBr3 used a Malay term *ambuyat* (a Bruneian delicacy, consisting of sticky paste made from sago). FCh2 indicated that she did not know the word by repeating it and asking for clarification. One reason why FBr3 used the Malay word is that there is no English equivalent, but because it is a popular dish in Brunei, she probably expected that FCh2 would have heard of it. In fact, Deterding and Salbrina (2013, p. 95) report that even in the local English-language newspapers, traditional food in Brunei such as *ambuyat* is often referred to using the Malay term. In this case, although FBr3 did not understand *ambuyat*, there was no breakdown in communication, because she knew it was a kind of food, or perhaps she deduced that from the context.

Extract 2 FBr3 + FCh2: 766 (Token 2)
Context: FBr3 is talking about food in Brunei.

FCh2: hey can you tell me anything interesting about brunei
FBr3: ah there's a lot of things have you tried ***ambuyat***?
FCh2: ***ambuyat*** is it
FBr3: yeah the food
FCh2: food
FBr3: yeah
FCh2: maybe i tried before but i can't remember the name

Tokens 3 and 4, both shown in Extract 3, are a little different. FBr4 was talking to FCh3 about different styles of Malay dresses, including *baju kurung* (a long tight-fitting Malay dress), *baju kebaya* (a traditional blouse-dress combination), and *tudong* (Islamic headscarf). FCh3 subsequently said that, having been in Brunei for at least six months when the recording took place, she was familiar with terms such as these. However, in addition, in Extract 3 FBr4 used the Malay words *cani* ('like this') and *ada* ('have'), possibly triggered by the use of the Malay terms for types of clothing. In fact, FCh3 did not understand these function words, and in the subsequent feedback, she was unable to make out the word *cani*, and she heard *ada* as 'the'. While there is no evidence of any breakdown in communication, it is also true that FCh3 did not understand either of these words in Extract 3.

Extract 3 FBr4 + FCh3: 690 (Tokens 3 and 4)
Context: FBr4 is describing local Malay clothes.

FCh3: i cannot tell the difference
FBr4: if it's *baju kurung* just there's no button here? and it's just straight like that
FCh3: ah
FBr4: yeah if this one ***cani***? and then ***ada*** buttons? it's *baju kurung*
FCh3: ah
FBr4: i mean *baju kebaya*

In the same recording, in Token 5 shown in Extract 4, FBr3 used another Malay term *sepet* ('slant-eyed') because she did not know an English equivalent. FCh4 told FBr3 that at times she is mistaken for a Malay and FBr3 tried to explain that it may be because of her unconventional eye shape. FCh3 signalled that she did not know the meaning of the word by repeating it. Perhaps because FBr4 mentioned 'eyes', FCh3 understood that FBr4 was referring to her eye shape, and so eventually the conversation progressed smoothly.

Extract 4 FBr4 + FCh3: 844 (Token 5)
Context: FBr4 is telling FCh3 why she might be mistaken for a Malay.

FBr4: yeah you look less chinese now that yeah cause your eyes is not erm <tsk> tiny as it's not tiny yeah it's not as what you call ***sepet*** in english
FCh3: ***sepet***
FBr4: ***sepet*** it's ***sepet*** is
FCh3: it's a malay right it's a malay word
FBr4: yeah that's a malay word cause
FCh3: ah you mean long?
FBr4: yeah l- long like that yes
FCh3: ah
FBr4: that's chinese japanese koreans
FCh3: ah <1> yeah yeah yeah yeah </1>
FBr4: <1> yeah they have that kind of </1> yeah and you have like (.) ah the single lid eye single lid
FCh3: ah
FBr4: one eyelid and you have two eyelids <2> like malay </2>
FCh3: <2> ah i understand </2> you this this point two eyelids

The next four tokens all involve aspects of education. They are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Tokens of misunderstanding involving education

No.	Location	Context
6	FBr1 + FMd:54	been teaching in ***sekolah rendah mata-mata***… in gadong?
7	FBr1 + FMd:729	for the ah religious school yeah in ***ugama*** school?
8	FBr1 + FMd:930	i think it's ah … ***penilaian menengah bawah***
9	FBr2 + FVn:694	i also teach at (.) kindergarten school the ***pra***? school?

The wider context for Token 6 is shown in Extract 5. FBr1 told FMd where she previously taught and she used Malay for the name of the school *Sekolah Rendah Mata-Mata* ('Mata-Mata Primary School'). FMd asked for clarification, and it seems that FBr1 did not understand the request, thinking that FMd had not understood *Gadong*, the name of an area in Brunei with a wide range of supermarkets and shops. In fact, FMd was familiar with *Gadong*, having already been in Brunei for several months when the recording was made. We might say that there is some evidence of a breakdown in communication here, as FBr1 explained the wrong word.

Extract 5 FBr1 + FMd: 54 (Token 6)
Context: FBr1 is talking about her job as a primary school teacher.

FBr1: since then i've been teaching in ***sekolah rendah mata-mata*** in it's it's in *gadong*? erm and
FMd: sorry it's
FBr1: in *gadong*
FMd: the school's name
FBr1: the school name is ***sekolah rendah kampong mata-mata***
FMd: uh-huh

In Token 7, shown in Extract 6, FBr1 explained to FMd how Muslim children in Brunei are required to attend a separate religious school. She first referred to it as 'religious school', but she then used the Malay term *ugama*. FMd was not familiar with this word, and instead she heard 'government'. It seems that FBr1 was not aware that this misunderstanding had occurred, as she then talked about government schools. We might note that *ugama* was redundant here, but it being a common term in Brunei, FBr1 assumed that FMd would be familiar with it. Deterding and Salbrina (2013, p. 92) note that many non-English words, especially words form Arabic, are used in Brunei English when referring to Islamic rituals and customs.

Extract 6 FBr1 + FMd: 729 (Token 7)
Context: FBr1 is talking about religious schools in Brunei.

FBr1: for a religious school yeah
FMd: so what are what are the subjects ah they study <1> in the yeah yeah </1>
FBr1: <1> in ***ugama*** school? </1> erm ah they
FMd: you mean government?
FBr1: in the government will be like how you say ah?

Token 8 is shown in Extract 7. In this case, FBr1 used the Malay name of an exam *penilaian menengah bawah* ('lower secondary exam'), perhaps because she could not think of an English equivalent. FMd did not understand, and she therefore asked for confirmation that it refers to a local exam.

Extract 7 FBr1 + FMd: 930 (Token 8)
Context: FBr1 is talking about the exams pupils take at different levels.

Table 5 Miscellaneous tokens of misunderstanding involving code-switching

No.	Location	Context
10	FBr5 + FCh4:49	i don't know (.) <tsk> ***entah*** when i was little? i guess
11	FBr5 + FCh4:137	but it's so cute i mean like (.) y-the star ***apakan*** but yeah
12	MBr3 + MKo:836	erm the others part is the ***sungai***? i mean the ri:ver

FMd: which exam do they do <1> the students </1>
FBr1: <1> erm </1> form ah form three they ah if they sit until form three they will be (.) i think it's ah (.) <spel> p p m b </spel> is ah ***penilaian menengah bawah*** it's i think yeah
FMd: a local exam?
FBr1: yeah no i think it's ah yeah that's will be local exam.

Finally in this category involving education, in Token 9, FBr2 repeated herself by saying the Malay term *pra* (lit. 'pre' = 'kindergarten') right after saying 'kindergarten school'. In her subsequent feedback, FVn said that she heard 'prass' and did not know that *pra* is the Malay term for 'kindergarten'. Once again, *pra* is a common term in Brunei, and FBr2 did not realise that FVn was not familiar with it.

In the miscellaneous category, there are three tokens in which the speaker seemed to slip into Malay for no particular reason, perhaps forgetting that the listener might not understand. They are shown in Table 5.

In Token 10, FBr5 used the Malay word *entah* ('perhaps', 'don't know') immediately after the English equivalent, and in the same conversation, in Token 11 she used the expression *apakan* ('what the heck') when talking about something excitedly. It seems that she sometimes forgot that she was speaking with a non-Bruneian who did not understand Malay. However, we might note that, although FCh4 did not understand these words, there is no evidence of a breakdown in communication. Finally, in Token 12, MBr3 said *sungai* ('river') but then realised that MKo did not know Malay and so he straightaway explained it in English 'i mean the river'.

To conclude, although it is clear that the misunderstandings in the 12 tokens discussed above occurred because of code-switching, only a few tokens involved a breakdown in communication. In Token 1 FCh2 failed to understand *gasing*, in Token 5 FCh3 took a while to understand the meaning of *sepet*, in Token 6 FMd did not realise that *Sekolah Rendah Mata-Mata* is the name of a school, in Token 7 she misheard *ugama* as 'government', and in Token 8 she asked for clarification that *penilaian menengah bawah* is a kind of exam. In the other tokens, although there may be one or two words that were not understood, they did not interfere with the successful continuation of the conversation.

While it seems that Bruneians sometimes unknowingly or habitually slip into Malay when talking to people from elsewhere, this only occasionally causes misunderstandings to occur, and even when there are misunderstandings, it is rare for a breakdown in communication to occur, though obviously it is hard to generalise based on just 12 tokens, and further research is needed to establish how often

Bruneians code-switch when talking to non-Bruneians and how often this causes a problem for intelligibility. Furthermore, the current study only considers informal settings, and from the perspective of EMI at university, it would be valuable to determine how intelligible Bruneian speakers are in more formal settings, how often they switch into Malay in the classroom, and the degree to which code-switching causes problems for intelligibility when international students are present.

6 Conclusion and the Future of English Medium Instruction in Brunei

We have shown that English Medium Instruction (EMI) is well-established throughout the education system in Brunei, especially in the largest national university. However, even within EMI, code-switching into Malay is common, and it sometimes extends to conversations with people from elsewhere.

One would expect code-switching to be more common in informal conversations among students, and when it occurs with foreign students who do not speak Malay, it occasionally leads to misunderstandings. Nevertheless, it rarely results in serious breakdowns in communication, because Bruneian tertiary students are adept at using English. Furthermore, the English that they use is generally well understood by people from elsewhere, as the total of 152 tokens of misunderstanding in over three and a half hours of conversation is not very many. (It is about one every one and a half minutes.)

It seems likely that EMI will continue its dominant position in tertiary education in Brunei into the foreseeable future, as indeed is common in universities in the region, especially in Singapore, the Philippines and Malaysia. However, there is little evidence that it will undermine the continued use of Malay. Students still regularly use Malay among themselves while at the same time they are quite proficient in English. Furthermore, the practice of code-switching between English and Malay is also likely to continue, but it only occasionally undermines the intelligibility of speech when it occurs with people from elsewhere. Bruneians generally know when to avoid code-switching into Malay, and they are (usually) successful at avoiding it.

In conclusion, though English is the medium of instruction for most courses at UBD, it seems inevitable that code-switching into Malay will continue to occur regularly among UBD students, even sometimes in the presence of non-Bruneians, but it rarely causes a problem or interferes with the successful implementation of English as the medium of instruction at tertiary level. Finally, English as the medium of instruction is likely to continue its dominant position at UBD, and indeed throughout the education system in Brunei, but it seems unlikely to undermine the continued use of Malay in most domains of Bruneian society. While academics teaching on the Malay Language and Malay Literature programs sometimes express concern about the future of Malay in academic contexts, particularly because of the threat of the increasingly widespread use of English, there seems to be little danger of Malay losing its dominant overall role in Brunei society.

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

The transcription conventions are based on those outlined in VOICE (2007), with the addition of italicised/bold font to indicate Malay words that were misunderstood and italics for Malay words that are understood.

?	rising intonation
(.)	short pause
ri:ver	lengthened vowel
@	laughter
<tsk>	speaker noise
<1>, </1>	overlapping speech
<spel>, </spel>	individual letters spelled out
italics and bold	Malay words or phrases that are misunderstood
italics	Malay words or phrases that are not misunderstood
…	omitted speech.

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Unwritten Rules: Code Choice in Task-Based Learner Discourse in an EMI Context in Japan

Paul J. Moore

Abstract This chapter reports on an exploratory study into learners' perspectives on the use of their first language during an oral presentation task in a Japanese EMI context. Data included video- and audio-recordings of task-based peer-interaction and stimulated recall interviews collected from first year undergraduate English majors (ten learners in five pairs) in a university in Japan. Qualitative data analysis involved the iterative coding of instances of L1 use according to functions identified in previous research, as well as those emerging from the data. These data were then triangulated with stimulated recall data to identify salient features of L1 use as identified by the learners themselves. Learners also provided their perspectives on the principled use of L1 in L2 interaction and learning, with many expressing support for the 'English only' policy of their institution, as well as an indication of how and why they draw on their L1. The results provide evidence that learners in EMI contexts naturally and productively draw on the linguistic resources available to them to complete classroom L2 tasks. In recognition of this, the chapter concludes with suggestions for task-based language policies which take into account learners' perspectives and the variable cognitive complexity of classroom tasks.

Keywords English-medium instruction (EMI) · Code-choice · First language (L1) use · Japanese · English as a foreign language (EFL) · Task-based language teaching (TBLT)

1 Introduction

English-medium instruction (EMI) is gaining in popularity across the Asia-Pacific, especially in countries where English is taught and used as a foreign language (EFL) (Dearden 2014). This is despite there being no agreed-upon definition of

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EMI, with different interpretations influenced by idiosyncrasies of local educational policy, language ideology and other contextual issues (Hashimoto 2013; Kirkpatrick 2011, 2014a; Tollefson 2015). Some researchers (Ball and Lindsay 2013; Lo and Macaro 2015; Morizumi 2015) equate EMI with content and language integrated learning (CLIL). Others, like Dearden (2014) and her colleagues, distinguish between the two in terms of historical and/or geographical context—CLIL emanates from plurilingual European contexts with no specification as to which language is the 'second' language; EMI is focused on the use and learning of English in more generalised EFL contexts. Dearden's working definition of EMI is "[t]he use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English" (p. 4).

The growth of EMI in higher education in such contexts has been attributed to the global spread of, among other things, educational ideologies of internationalisation, international competitiveness (both of universities and economies), and a competitive concern with the measurement of quality (Tollefson 2015), all of which are dependent on interaction and performance in the language of international communication, English. While macro-level policy has been a major focus of research into EMI, investigations into classroom interaction are of major importance in determining the implementation and outcomes of such policy, at the micro-level, on teaching and learning practices in the language and/or content classroom (Chapple 2015; Hamid et al. 2013; Ramanathan and Morgan 2007; Vu and Burns 2014).

This chapter explores one important aspect of EMI in a Japanese university context at the micro-level: the role of a shared L1 (Japanese) in classroom L2 (English) interaction and performance on paired oral presentation tasks. I begin with a brief overview of the state-of-play with regard to EMI in Japanese higher education, followed by a review of literature related to teachers' and learners' use of the L1 in L2 classroom interaction. This research has generally involved a focus on teachers' code choice practices, as often investigated via survey methodology (e.g., Glasgow 2014; Lasagabaster 2013), with comparatively few studies into learner interaction data or the learners' perspective on their own code choice (Moore 2013; Scott and de la Fuente 2008; Storch and Wigglesworth 2003). I then present data from a study involving micro-analysis of learner interactions leading to the performance of oral presentation tasks, followed by stimulated recall interviews, intended to gain insights into learners' construals of their own language learning in the context of a Japanese university. As such, the chapter aims to extend research into policy and practice related to code choice in EMI in Asian EFL settings (see studies reported in Kirkpatrick and Sussex 2012; Barnard and McLellan 2013b) by focusing on how languages intersect in the unfolding of a classroom task which is common to content and/or language courses in EMI in higher education.

2 Literature Review

2.1 EMI in Japan

While Japan holds a place in the modern history of international English language teaching methodology (Howatt 1984), and the English language is now taught from primary school (as 'foreign language activities'; cf. Hashimoto 2011), its population continues to rank poorly on English language proficiency indices (Chapple 2015). As part of its internationalization strategy, the Japanese government, through the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), has undertaken initiatives to improve English language capabilities of Japanese students, in conjunction with initiatives at all levels of schooling to: address the decline in the number of university-aged Japanese students by attracting international students to Japanese universities, by relieving the pressure on them to learn Japanese (Chapple 2015; Howe 2009); to improve the comparatively low English language proficiency of Japanese students (Chapple 2015); and to prepare Japanese students to perform in the global economy, through Japan's 'Global *Jinzai*' (lit. global human resources) program.

At the senior secondary level, the initiative involves a proposal, in principle, to teach "English in English" (cf. Hashimoto 2013; Glasgow 2014), and at the university level, the "Global 30" and "Global *Jinzai*" programs aim to attract 300,000 international students to designated national universities by 2020, and to prepare domestic students for international engagement, respectively (Brown and Iyobe 2014; Glasgow and Paller 2016; Howe 2009). These were followed by the "Top Global University Project," providing ten years of funding to 37 universities in order to establish their global competitiveness (MEXT 2014). On the whole, these programs involve the creation of whole EMI courses or courses with EMI components (Brown and Iyobe 2014). Interestingly, government policy falls short of labelling English-only courses and activities as EMI, with Hashimoto (2013) arguing that this allows for "facilitating the co-existence of the national language and English without formalising the status of English as a medium of instruction" (p. 18). She adds that "the fundamental aim of Japanese internationalisation [*kokusaika*] is to promote Japan to the world" (p. 17, cf. also Ramanathan and Morgan 2007), suggesting a struggle between a Japan historically insulated from the outside world and a global context where international competitiveness (in English) is seen as an economic necessity.

In their recent review of EMI in Japan, Brown and Iyobe (2014) note that the Global 30 program had, as at 2013, funded 35 degree programs (with an exclusive focus on international students) across 13 national universities, while the Global *Jinzai* program (focused on domestic students) had funded 42 programs. Outside these funded programs, several universities have developed their own approaches to EMI, leading the authors to survey how EMI is being implemented in Japanese universities. While 194 Japanese universities had been offering some form of EMI as at 2006 (Brown and Iyobe 2014), and there has been expansion since then, the number of students taking these courses represents a small minority. They identified six approaches to EMI, ranging from “ad hoc,” with foreign language teachers teaching seminar courses, to “campus wide” with (nearly) all classes taught in English. In addition to issues related to the size and range of interpretations of EMI, Brown and Iyobe note issues related to fields of study, and uptake among staff. One participant in their study noted that there are trade-offs between language and content which may be unpopular with faculty specialists: “It’s really hard to tell the academic staff that you can’t teach something at a really high level because the students have to spend more time on the English” (p. 15). They further note difficulty with staffing, partly related to increased workloads, and that staff may be hired under short-term external grants, leading to program instability. The implication of this is the perception that “some models of EMI are becoming part of language teachers’ jobs. As EMI becomes more common, language teachers will be asked to take on more content classes in those programs” (p. 17).

While challenges in terms of teaching and learning content through EMI are highlighted by Brown and Iyobe’s findings, the role of classroom interaction in language development in EFL contexts is also an issue of major interest. Some researchers point to inconsistencies in government language policy and variability in application to institutional policy and classroom practice. With regard to the languages of classroom interaction (assumed to be Japanese and English; cf. Hashimoto 2013), institutional policy statements directing students to “use English only—our official language” may be written in course documentation containing mostly Japanese and accompanied by instructions for teachers to use Japanese at their discretion in order to help students’ understanding. This mismatch between EMI policy and classroom practice has been noted over time and across contexts (e.g., Kirkpatrick 2014a, 2014b; Xu 2014).

2.2 Code Choice in L2/EMI Task-Based Interaction

In EFL contexts like Japan, English language courses, where English language is both medium and content, may be seen as an integral part of EMI. These may be major courses in a degree in foreign languages, or minor courses in other programs. In such programs, as noted by Barnard and McLellan (2013a), “[t]he use of students’ first language has tended to be disparaged by textbook writers, methodologists and educational policymakers in many countries” (pp. 1–2). Kirkpatrick (2014b) further notes:

> It is common to find that where English is the medium of instruction, the policy is that only English should be used in the class. It is equally common to find that, in practice, there is frequent use of the L1 in the classroom. (p. 8)

As part of what have been termed the social and bi/multilingual “turns” in applied linguistics (cf. Block 2003, and Ortega 2013) there has been ongoing interest in the role of the L1 in L2 use, learning and teaching. Related research has established that, during peer L2 tasks, learners draw productively on their first language for social purposes, such as negotiating disagreement, and cognitive purposes, such as discussing the grammar of the L2 (Antón and DiCamilla 1998; DiCamilla and Antón 2012; Moore 2013; Storch and Aldosari 2010; Swain and Lapkin 2000; Villamil and de Guerrero 1996). With regard to recommendations for classroom pedagogy, the debate has moved from whether or not L1 should be ‘allowed’ in the classroom, to the development of principles for incorporating valid L1 use (Levine 2011; Macaro 2009; Moore 2013; Swain and Lapkin 2013; Swain et al. 2011). Swain and Lapkin (2013), drawing on Vygostky’s sociocultural theory and a review of related research, offer three general guiding principles for L1 use in classroom interaction: L1 should be permitted in collaborative dialogue or private speech to mediate learners’ understanding of complex concepts (languaging) in the production of L2 texts, though the reliance on L2 mediation should be encouraged as L2 proficiency increases; teachers should make their expectations clear and work to create a supportive classroom environment; and “use of the L1 should be purposeful, not random” (p. 123). Moore (2013) further notes that “any attempt to influence L1 use in the L2 classroom must take into account that L1 use arises naturally and productively in L2/bilingual discourse” (p. 251) and that the demands of the specific context, including task and participants, must be taken into account when deciding what kind of L1 use might be planned for or predicted.

The research above is mostly based on researchers’ analysis and interpretation of transcribed discourse, recorded while learners work on language learning tasks. While researchers have found that the L1 can play a productive role in L2 learning, learners may or may not perceive, or even agree with these benefits, based on their experience of peer interaction (Moore 2013; Storch and Wigglesworth 2003). Their perceptions may be influenced by factors such as interpersonal relationships with peers (Philp et al. 2010), what they think teachers or researchers expect of them (Storch and Wigglesworth 2003), or other contextual factors which may not be evident from analysis of transcribed discourse of peer interaction (Moore 2013). The remainder of this chapter reports on an investigation into learners’ perspectives on their use of L1 (Japanese) and L2 (English) as they collaborate in pairs to develop and perform oral presentation tasks in a Japanese university context. Reflective stimulated recall interviews, conducted immediately after task performance, were conducted to provide the best possible chance of learners recalling events and providing insights into their own use of L1.

3 The Study

3.1 Research Questions

1. How do learners in an EFL/EMI context in a Japanese university draw on their available linguistic resources to complete a pair oral presentation task in English?
2. What is the learners' perspective on their own use of L1 and L2 to complete the task?

3.2 Context and Participants

The data for this chapter were collected from first-year (second semester) students in the Faculty of Foreign Languages of a private university in Japan, where they studied courses in English, other languages, and/or international communication. The university had EMI courses at both undergraduate and postgraduate level, with the undergraduate program funded under MEXT's Global *Jinzai* program (see above). As is common in such contexts in Japan, English language (and some other) classes and some common areas in the university were covered by an 'English only' policy. Data collection occurred outside regular classes in a research office, and students were invited to participate via email and participant information sheets which were distributed in their classes, as per ethics approval for the study. Ten students (three male, seven female) agreed to participate in the study and each was paid a nominal sum (JPY2000) for their participation. Participant data is provided below in Table 1 (pseudonyms used).

Table 1 Participant data

Pair no.	Name (sex, age, CEFR level[a])
1	Mika (female, 20, B1); Haruka (female, 20, B1)
2	Hanako (female, 18, B2); Luis[b] (male, 20, B2/C1)
3	Yuriko (female, 19, B1); Michiko (female, 19, A2-B1)
4	Ren (male, 20, B1); Yuuta (male, 20, B1-B2)
5	Maki (female, 19, A2-B1); Emi (female, 18, A2-B1)

Note [a]Equivalent CEFR levels, based on scores TOEIC and/or *EIKEN*-STEP. [b]Luis spoke Japanese and Spanish as first languages

3.3 Data Collection

Data collection sessions lasted approximately 90 min, and involved the following activities:

1. Introductions, explanation and equipment testing (5 min)
2. Task description and explanation of materials (5 min)
3. Preparation for presentation (20 min)
4. Presentation (3–5 min)
5. Stimulated recall (30 min)

All ten interactions were recorded with digital video cameras. Immediately after the task, I showed each dyad the video recording of their interaction and conducted a stimulated recall session (cf. Gass and Mackey 2000), which lasted approximately 30 min. I asked students questions about their language use during interaction, and they were invited to pause the recording if they wanted to make comments. These sessions were generally conducted in English, but participants were free to comment in Japanese if they desired.

The oral presentation task

Participants were presented with task instructions, including a topic, seven pictures and summarised content information.

The task instructions are reproduced below:

Presentation Task instructions

Presentation task

Planning time: approximately 20 min

Length of presentation: maximum 5 min

In pairs, create a presentation using the seven pictures and information provided. Share planning and presentation time equally. The topic of the presentation is “The Great Wall of China.” In planning your presentation, please think about:

(1) *structure (introduction, body, conclusion);*
(2) *grammatical accuracy*;
(3) *use of voice, eye contact and gesture;* and
(4) *use of images*.

As an example of the content information provided, the first group of pictures showed images and a map of the Great Wall, with the following prompts:

1. Long

a. +8000 km
b. 8 m high; 7 m wide
c. West (west China); east (North Korea; Yellow Sea)

The task was designed to mirror oral presentation tasks the students were required to perform in their language and content classes (cf. Moore 2013), without the need to negotiate and create content ideas, given time limitations. The particular topic was chosen as it was expected that the students would be generally familiar with the content, but not with the specific data provided. In the time allocated to the task, the participants were expected to collaborate with regard to how the provided content would be presented, both linguistically and physically.

3.4 Data Analysis

Interaction data (approximately two hours in total) were initially transcribed and analysed for individual amounts of L1 and L2 use. Instances of L1 use were then coded according to the functions they performed in the dialogue (cf. Moore 2013; Storch and Aldosari 2010). Following Scott and de la Fuente (2008), relevant portions of the stimulated recall transcripts were identified to gain insights into the learners' perspective on their own use of L1 in L2 task-based interaction. Transcription conventions, outlined below, are based on those used by van Lier (1988).

INT.	Interviewer—the author of this chapter
…	Interval between utterances of approximately one second
(6)	Interval between utterances if more than 5 s
e:r the::	Lengthening of the preceding sound
-	Abrupt cut-off
?	Rising intonation, not necessarily a question
!	Animated or emphatic tone
inheritance	Speaker emphasis
°word°	Utterance between symbols is noticeably quieter than surrounding talk
うん (yeah)	Japanese utterances are followed by free translation in brackets
(unint.)	Unclear or unintelligible speech
(guess)	Transcriber doubt about a word

(laugh)	laughter
((writing))	non-verbal actions or editor's comments
//	turns deleted for the purpose of analysis

4 Results

After providing data on participants' L1 use in interaction, this section presents results of the stimulated recall interviews. First, participant perspectives on their L1 use are presented, followed by their reflections on instances of L1 use during interaction. Table 2 shows the proportion of turns incorporating L1 use for each dyad.

Based on these data, pairs 1 and 2 can be classified as moderate L1 users, pairs 3 and 4, low L1 users, and pair 5, extensive L1 users (cf. Storch and Aldosari 2010).

4.1 Functions of L1 in Task-Based Interaction

All learners used *aizuchi* (backchanneling particular to Japanese) in Japanese in their interactions. It is not common for L2 pragmatics to be an explicit focus of language instruction in EMI settings, so it can be expected that learners may draw on L1 pragmatic resources when interacting with their peers (Kasper 2001). Second, learners may interact in their L1, or code-switch while interacting in L2. As shown in the example below from the study, codeswitching may occur while learners are engaging in *aizuchi*, or particularly Japanese-styled backchanneling devices to show the interlocutors' engagement with each other's utterances (LoCastro 1987; Ohta 2001; Kita and Ide 2007).

Table 2 L1 use by dyads

Dyad	Total turns	Turns with L1 use	Turns with L1 use (%)	Interaction length
1. Mika–Haruka	70	12	17.1	21′16″
2. Luis–Hanako	120	27	22.5	23′38″
3.Yuriko–Michiko	364	15	4.1	32′02″
4. Ren–Yoshi	91	3	3.3	20′45″
5. Maki–Emi	170	104	61.2	20′19″

Extract 1 *Aizuchi*

22 HARUKA: He is Chinese?
23 MIKA: Chinese
24 HARUKA: うん (yeah) (50) (writing silently)
//
40 HARUKA: へ (huh) three hundred yen
41 MIKA: It's so…reasonable!
42 HARUKA: Yes! (laughs)
//
61 MIKA: how to… あの (um) … how to access
62 HARUKA: access access

As can be seen above, both learners employ Japanese and English to keep their English conversation going, by showing interest in their partners' contributions (turns 24 and 41) and expressing surprise (turn 40). They also use it to manage shared thinking (turn 61), and use repetition to show engagement with their partner's contributions.

Low L1 users in the study only used the L1 for *aizuchi*, the use of English loan words with Japanese pronunciation and meaning, and, to a small extent, to negotiate lexical form. Ren & Yuuta used *aizuchi* (うん, yeah) on only three occasions. At one stage in their interaction, the following interchange occurred.

Extract 2 Negotiating lexical forms

24 REN: So…it…was the most famous architecture…in the world…we were interested in…
25 YUUTA: It's one of…it's one of…world heritages
26 REN: yeah yeah yeah

In the stimulated recall session, Ren noted that in considering whether to use either 'architecture' or 'world heritage,' "I thought about the meaning in Japanese."

In addition to using the L1 for *aizuchi*, Yuriko and Michiko used it for loan words and negotiation of form, as can be seen in extracts 3 and 4 respectively.

Extract 3 Loan word

35 MICHIKO: this one is like p.. プロフィール (profile; background information)
36 YURIKO: yeah プロフィール … which one?

Extract 4 Negotiating a lexical phrase

270 YURIKO: to…walk on the wall. (on the) wall
271 MICHIKO: it takes two hours 端から端 (end to end)
272 YURIKO: (laugh) I was too…the same same thing, but please…
273 MICHIKO: okay…
274 YURIKO: it's oh
275 MICHIKO: °端から端° (°end to end°; low whisper)
276 YURIKO: end…start to end?

In the stimulated recall session, Michiko noted as follows:

> 253 “so, first I I was thinking in Japanese, and then change into English. So, ahh… if I change into English so is it…correct sentence or … in Japanese sentence it’s okay, but if I change in English is it good sentence?”

Dyads with moderate L1 use, used the L1 for the above functions, as well as for task management and content creation, including negotiation of (grammatical and lexical) form and meaning, involving multiple turns.

Extract 5 Managing structure and collaborative content development

15 MIKA: このまえ? (before this?) I think I I want to say “This time I’d like to tell you about the Great Wall of China” but first I talk about how to how to say those those how to…explain about the (unint.) for the second and third Kanko talk about history and … souvenir?
16 HARUKA: Souvenir? How to…
17 MIKA: How to…access?
18 HARUKA: Yeah…
19 MIKA: access か (interrogative particle) (unint.)これ (this) this this one… out-outline.
20 HARUKA: なんと言うの (how can I say)
21 MIKA: part…big…uh big… much big…

Extract 5 shows Mika and Haruka drawing on the L1 minimally in managing the structure of their presentation (turn 15) and collaboratively negotiating the form of the content (turns19–21). Interestingly, when asked about which language they were thinking in during the interaction starting at turn 19, Haruka noted that she was thinking in English, while Mika noted the opposite:

Extract 6 Language choice

36 MIKA: When I make sentence, I えー(hm:?)…do you…. In in my in my mind I make sentence in Japanese and translate English…and write down English sentence.
37 INT.: Yeah? And how about you Haruka?
38 HARUKA: I tried make a sentence in English, but I I have no confidence about grammar so (laughs)

Luis and Hanako’s use of L1 extended to two multi-turn exchanges—the first where they were trying to collaboratively work out the meaning of a prompt:

Extract 7 Negotiating meaning

54 LUIS: 意味分かんない… (I don’t understand what this means)
55 HANAKO: by taxi…
56 LUIS: 意味分かんない … (I don’t understand what this means) two hours…
57 HANAKO: it takes a one hour from Beijing to there…by taxi か (interrogative particle) and it costs…by taxi…or?

58 LUIS: いや (no) … 何だろう (I wonder what) えっ (huh?) 有り得ない (that's impossible)
59 HANAKO: うんん…(yeah, maybe…)
60 LUIS: 有り得ないじゃん (that's impossible)
61 HANAKO: From Beijing ta- by taxi…one hour and by walk…
62 LUIS: hm:?…
63 HANAKO: two hours…

Extract 8 Stimulated recall

59 INT. You've jumped into Japanese. (laugh) So somewhere in there you you kind of jumped into Japanese. Why do you think that was?
60 LUIS: I think because we didn't know why make like walk two hours? We didn't know the meaning? Or we know the meaning, what take what take two hours? because it was just walk two hours. But Hanako said like "From Beijing it takes you one hour"…
61 INT.: Yep, I mean…I know. You went back into…it was pretty clear where you kind of started talking Japanese…um…(watching video) What are you thinking there? You said, "walk two hours" right? You're looking the paper. What were you thinking there?
62 LUIS: Why is it two…walk two hours?
63 INT.: Right, okay. And that's about right where you….And what are you thinking?
64 HANAKO: えー(um:) I thought first…at first, I thought…mm…by taxi one hour and walk…by walk two hours… but he said, uh…impossible!

Their second multi-turn exchange arose when they were trying to come up with the English translation for 世界遺産 (world heritage).

Extract 9 Negotiating form

88 LUIS: it's not so far…from here….and its…its ah…なんだけ?えっと.. (what is it? um…) 世界 (world) …
89 HANAKO: ahhh!…世界遺産 (world heritage)
90 LUIS: そう! (that's right!) it's ah:…and it's ah: … world … world … it's a world….it's world …. world … (unint.) no…it's a world … world …
91 HANAKO: Can I… use a dictionary?
92 LUIS: If you want … I think…
//
95 HANAKO: Okay okay…hmm…世界遺産 (world heritage)
94 LUIS: it's a world world
95 HANAKO: 遺産? (heritage?)
96 LUIS: そう、そう、そう (right, right, right) (10) world…
97 HANAKO: oh… I can't find it (9) oh…okay okay…
98 LUIS: ahh … in … inheritance.
99 HANAKO: in…inheritance? hm: …

The issue here is that the term 遺産 represents both ‘inheritance’ and ‘heritage’ in English, so the correct choice only becomes clear for Luis through a clarification request in the stimulated recall session (extract 10, turn 80).

Extract 10 Negotiating form

76 INT.: What’s this? What were you thinking?
77 LUIS: World inheritance? Why inheritance? In English…
78 INT.: Where where is this? Which part were you…
79 LUIS: At the conclusion. At the conclusion you must summarize. So, maybe you must say why you must be see this excellent place. And you have to take place because it’s not just a place…it’s a world inheritance.
80 INT.: a heritage?
81 LUIS: yeah, a heritage…
82 INT.: heritage, okay…
83 INT.: Oh did you say ‘inheritance’?
84 LUIS: inheritance. Yeah, it’s quite different.
85 INT.: Oh, it is slightly…okay, yeah, I wasn’t sure what you were talking about but…
86 HANAKO: I did.
87 INT.: The heritage…so it’s a place that’s got…
88 LUIS: It’s not just a place. It’s a world heritage. So, maybe if you say, ‘world heritage’…it’s like like ‘wow’!

Finally, Maki and Emi, the extensive L1 users, drew on the L1 for all the functions mentioned above. Backchanneling was performed mainly in Japanese, with うん (OK, yeah) used 43 times, various forms of ‘what?’ (何, え?) used 26 times, ね (right) used 17 times, and えっと(well, um) used 15 times. Extract 11 is typical of their interaction.

Extract 11 Extensive L1 use

40 MAKI: 規模、規模って何? (scale…what’s ‘scale’ (in English))
41 EMI: 規模という事はイコール (scale equals)
42 MAKI: OK. (laugh) えっと(um)…規模 (scale).
43 EMI: うん、規模 (yeah, scale)
44 MAKI: ((checking electronic dictionary)) sc-scale…
45 EMI: ううん (I see) scale
46 MAKI: scale…scale and … 目的だから (because it’s the purpose/aim) aim だっけ? (is it ‘aim’?) aim…and the aim…はあ (um) … the full distance なんかさ、全体はって、全体の距離は? (so, um, how do you say the whole or full… um … full distance?) so….ディスタンス (distance)… …about
47 EMI: 8000千キロはすごくない (Isn’t 8000 km amazing!)
48 MAKI: すごい (it’s amazing!) eight…eight (thousand)…thousand

Maki and Emi used their L1 to organise their interaction, negotiate form and meaning and create content. Extract 11 shows them using translation, supported by a bilingual dictionary (turns 40–46), creating content (turn 46), commenting on the content (turns 47–48) and engaging with each other's contribution (throughout). In other words, the learners appeared to be "using the L1 to manipulate the L2 content they were creating" (Moore 2013, p. 250). In their stimulated recall session, Maki and Emi noted several instances where they were able to negotiate grammar and vocabulary via their L1 interaction. On one occasion during interaction, the following exchange occurred.

Extract 12 Negotiating content development via the L1

77 EMI: ワズ (was)
79 MAKI: the first…emperor…ビルということ? (building, right?)
80 EMI: えー、ビルド(yeah, build)
81 MAKI: yes. build … the Great Wall of China …

In the stimulated recall, she noted "at first build … but past sentence" (turn 235), and during the presentation the correct form 'built' was used. On a different occasion, she noted: "I noticed it about my mistake and changed" (turn 220), though on this occasion the result was non-standard.

4.2 Participant Reflections on Their Own L1 Use

During the stimulated recall sessions, participants were asked to reflect on their L1 use. While there was variability among individuals, low to moderate L1 users, in explaining their low L1 use, referred to: the influence of a classroom English-only policy; related 'habits'; value judgements about the positive effects of using English and the negative effects of using Japanese; positive and negative emotions associated with language use; and the influence of translation on the final product.

In response to questions about code choice in their interactions, several students noted they were influenced by the university's English-only policy.

Extract 13

33 YURIKO: なんだろう? (I wonder what) 癖? (habit) … 習慣? (custom)
34 YURIKO and MICHIKO: habit! habit
35 INT.: habit…from?
36 MICHIKO: Freshman English class only…we have to only speak English

When asked how they usually prepare for oral presentations, the following exchange occurred between Luis and Hanako:

Extract 14

121 LUIS: 準備の時どうする? (what do you do when you're preparing?)
122 HANAKO: 準備のときは… (For prep I …)
123 LUIS: がんがん日本語しゃべるかな? (maybe you speak a ton of Japanese)

124 HANAKO: いや、授業中だけど、英語しか話せないけど。 (no, in class I can only speak English.)
でも、本当になんか、え、これって、みたいなの時は、小声で日本で話す授業中に。 (but actually in a class situation like this right now I would probably speak Japanese in a soft voice)
125 LUIS: 先生には? (how about to the teacher?)
126 HANAKO: え? せめられないように (huh? [I'd speak English] so I won't get criticised [for speaking Japanese]) (laugh)
127 INT.: So, how do you feel about speaking Japanese then?
128 HANAKO: ahh…it's easy to understand…. more…than English … so, but … if I prepare in English, uh: …uh …なに、やりやすいって何と言うの (what … how do you say 'easy to do')
LUIS: well?
I can speak, um: I can speak
INT.: well?
HANAKO: English well umm 本番で何と言うの (how do you say 'during the presentation')
129 INT.: In the actual presentation?
130 HANAKO: Yes yes, in the actual presentation.

It was common for participants to make apparently contradictory comments like Hanako's (turn 124), which contrasted what she was required to do according to the policy, which she stated that she supported, with her actual practice. Similar comments were made about learners' ideals of using English, with practicalities based on their perceived limitations in English.

Several judgements were offered by participants in support of the English-only policy. Extracts 15 and 16, for example provide two perspectives from low L1 users.

Extract 15

67 MIKA: ((it's better to use English in class)) because I want to speak English fluently…
68 INT.: Yeah
69 MIKA: and uh…if I always use Japanese in English class…
70 INT.: Yes…
71 MIKA: it's not good for me and uh … for for my friends
72 INT.: Yeah,
73 MIKA: and…not…I…I enjoy enjoy enjoy use…using English,
74 INT.: Okay.
75 MIKA: so I I'm okay. (laugh)
76 INT.: okay. Good. And how do you feel about it Haruka?
77 HARUKA: Using English…in my class?
78 INT.: Yes
79 HARUKA: Ah, I think it is good. Because so…if everyone speak English all the…all time?
80 INT.: Yes

81 HARUKA: So, they can enjoy speaking English…
82 INT.: Yes
83 HARUKA: And if someone speak Japanese, they are not interesting they are not interested in speaking English and maybe they are shy なんか (or something) … to speaking English.

Both learners in extract 15 make judgements about the positive and negative effects of using English (turn 67) and Japanese (turns 69–71), respectively, including references to emotional states or personality traits (turns 73 and 83). In extract 16, both learners provide reasons for their strong support for an immersion approach to language (if not content) learning.

Extract 16

247 REN: Mmm…once I'd decided to use English [during today's preparation]
248 INT.: Yes?
249 REN: I didn't think about it. About Japanese.
250 INT.: OK.
251 YUUTA: Uh…I think we shouldn't use Japanese when we studying English… so…yeah…
252 INT.: Why … why is that?
//
262 REN: translation from Japanese: (*Well, right we can talk in Japanese better so… it's better right? But even if you speak in Japanese you can't (say it) in English ... you can't, so… You don't learn anything from it. ... Science and other subjects, for example ... When you learn other subjects it's difficult (to use English) so we should use Japanese, but in the case of English....um...language... ... using words/language is the best, right?*) … to use is the best way do you put it, I think.
267 YUUTA: The more touch uh…the more we touch English the…
268 REN: more?
269 YUUTA: the more our English skills better.

Finally, the influence of translation on language production was seen as a negative by the following dyad.

Extract 17

307 MICHIKO: 英語でなんか、もの、文法とかを考えないと(ああ)なんか、日本語で考えちゃうから英語が日本語の文章みたいになっちゃう。(so, if we don't think of things and grammar in English, we'll um think of things in Japanese and our English sentences will sound like Japanese.)
308 YURIKO: あ、なるほど。 If we think of…past thing Japanese sentence….
309 INT.: yes
310 YURIKO: and translate…なんだけ? (what was it?)
311 MICHIKO: in?
312 YURIKO: translate English sentence is not good, we think.
313 INT.: right.

314 YURIKO: and [because] so, we have to think about only English sentence if I sp-speak English…
315 MICHIKO: so because um…if I…think, if I'm thinking in Japanese so English sentence like Japanese style so, it's not good for…us to learn study English, so…

Learners who were moderate to extensive L1 users, in contrast, explained their code choice with reference to their ability to explain complex phenomena in Japanese, and frustration with their own or others' perceived inability to do the same in English.

Extract 18

133 LUIS: of course … we write we write in English, but we talk our ideas we share our ideas in Eng. … Japanese //
so, it's not that we cannot speak English together. It's just that if we speak English we have to explain. It's more complicate…it's complicate to explain that. So, it's quite easy to speak Japanese.
135 LUIS: … in my class, almost nobody can talk English and if you're talking English you have to explain a lot of things stuffs … because if you talk like this you they cannot understand too much so maybe you have to // like use easier words // it is quite complicated I mean it's quite boring explaining all the guys all the stuff

In contrast to Hanako's use of English discussed in extract 14 above, Luis notes the convenience of using the L1 with a classmate of similar L2 proficiency (turn 133), as well as the frustration of using the L2 in interaction with classmates of lower L2 proficiency (turn 135).

Finally, in contrast with Ren's comments in extract 16, Maki and Emi explain their challenges as learners of lower proficiency, and as extensive L1 users.

Extract 19

74 EMI: translation from Japanese: (*um … in English…I can get a bit mixed up, but I feel I can get across what I want to say more in Japanese*)
75 INT.: OK. How about you, Maki?
76 MAKI: (*um, even trying in English I can't express what I truly think well…*)
77 INT.: Right…
78 MAKI: (*um, I don't know if the other person thinks…or really understands (what I'm saying in English), but in Japanese I have confidence (they understand)*).

5 Discussion and Conclusion

Like previous research into the use of available linguistic resources in task-based interaction (Antón and DiCamilla 1998; DiCamilla and Antón 2012; Moore 2013; Storch and Aldosari 2010; Swain and Lapkin 2000; Villamil and de Guerrero 1996), this study, conducted in an EMI context where English is used as a foreign language, has found that learners naturally and variably draw on their L1 linguistic resources to manage, negotiate and construct content in preparation for an oral presentation task performed entirely in their L2, English. The data show participants drawing on the L1 for social and cognitive purposes. Specifically, all learners used *aizuchi* for a range of purposes, including signalling, *inter alia*: dis/agreement (extracts 1, 7, 9, 11); surprise or amazement (extracts 1, 11); wondering (extract 1); or confusion (extracts 1, 5, 7). Low L1 users drew on the L1 briefly, in the use of loan words and the negotiation of lexical form (extracts 2–5). In addition to these functions, moderate L1 users drew on the L1 for a range of functions, including managing and structuring the task (extract 5), negotiating meaning (extracts 7–8) and negotiating form (extracts 9–10). In contrast, extensive L1 users appeared to manipulate the L2 content development via the L1, drawing on all the functions outlined above (extracts 11–12).

In explaining their L1 use, low to moderate users noted that they were influenced by the institution's English-only policy (extracts 13–15), and several participants spoke positively about the use of English and negatively about the use of Japanese (extracts 14, 15, 17). Positive affect-related comments linked English use to enjoyment and Japanese use to lack of interest or shyness (extract 15). Other comments related to the negative effects of Japanese-English translation on the finished product (extract 17). In contrast, moderate to extensive L1 users offered two complementary perspectives related to language proficiency: the frustration of higher proficiency learners not being understood by those of lower proficiency in English (extract 18), and the confusion, lack of confidence and difficulty experienced by lower proficiency learners in using the L2 (extract 19).

In light of these findings, Swain and Lapkin's (2013; cf. also DiCamilla and Antón 2012) first guiding principle for L1 use in classroom interaction (i.e., use L1 for languaging about complex concepts in the production of L2 texts) can be seen as a recognition of what many learners actually do, regardless of the existence or otherwise of an institutional language policy (Swain et al. 2011). Especially for learners of lower proficiency, and in tasks where the task performance is in the target language, Swain and Lapkin argue "[p]ermitting the students to use their L1 to language (at times when the complexity of the task makes it necessary to do so) still allows for the target language to play a key role in the activity" (p. 114). This signifies a move away from a generic English-only policy, to one which is task-centric (Moore 2013), or based on the expected demands of the task given to learners. The use of the term 'permitting' indicates both the influence of the teacher on learners' in-class behaviour (see extract 14, where Hanako notes that she would "probably speak Japanese in a soft voice" in class), and a recommendation for agreement between teachers and learners that there are valid uses for the L1 in L2 learning.

Swain and Lapkin's second principle (for teachers to make their expectations clear and create a supportive environment) relates to the perspective that there is an inextricable link between cognition and emotion in language learning. In the data for the current study, there were several instances where social/emotional negotiations were intertwined with the development of the task at hand. The extensive use of *aizuchi* was the most obvious of these, but all learners drew on both the L1 and

L2 to achieve intersubjectivity (Antón and DiCamilla 1998; Moore 2013), from expressing surprise (extract 1) or confusion (extract 7) at information provided in the prompts, to the use of laughter or repetition to engage with each other's contributions and keep the cognitive work of the task on track. Their third principle (for L1 use to be "purposeful, not random" [p. 123, see above]), is more difficult to achieve in learner-learner interaction than in teacher-fronted classrooms. The participant reflection data reported above suggest that individual learners develop their own principles for language use during interaction with their peers, and these appear to be influenced by a range of factors (noted above), including institutional policy, prior experience with similar tasks, their own and their peers' language proficiency, and perceived task complexity. Further research into raising learners' awareness of links between code choice in interaction and language performance is needed to determine whether code choice practices of extensive L1 users can be changed. It is interesting to note that several participants in the study expressed support for the ideal of the English-only policy of their institution, while noting that the practicalities of different situations led them to draw on their L1 in interaction. While this could be interpreted as learners simply adopting the policy as presented by their institution, the principled reflections provided by participants in this study suggest that the learners themselves may be a valuable source for discussions surrounding language policy and practice.

While the study does provide support for Swain and Lapkin's (2013) and others' principles of L1 use, it also supports the contention that L1 use emerges naturally in learner interaction, and that contextual factors need to be taken into account when planning language use or policy for the classroom (Moore 2013; Swain et al. 2011). In addition, it has been seen that learners interact based on their own working principles and language ideologies, informed by institutional policy, but they also diverge from these in practice in logical and potentially predictable ways, in response to their own or others' actual or perceived limitations. For the reason that code choice practice emerges and is influenced by the cognitive and emotional pressure of the task-in-process, teachers' task-based policies may be based both on the task as designed or implemented by teachers, as well as what is known about how learners adapt and respond to this in the task-in-process (Breen 1989).

The study was limited in terms of generalizability by the facts that it was conducted on a small number of self-selected dyads and that it was not conducted in the participants' classes. As such the study cannot be claimed to represent normal classroom interaction for these participants, or how participants who are unfamiliar with each other might perform the task. Nonetheless, participants commented on the similarity of the research task to tasks they had recently performed in class, and made reference to the influence of the institution's 'English only' policy on their interaction, indicating that findings are of value in understanding classroom interaction. The study provides valuable insights, from learners themselves, into how learners in the specific context of EMI in a Japanese university draw on their existing L1 and L2 linguistic resources to complete an oral L2 task which is representative of oral tasks in many international universities.

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