EMI Challenges in Japan's Internationalization of Higher Education

Ikuya Aizawa, *University of Oxford*
Jim McKinley, *University College London*

Aizawa, I. & McKinley, J. (2020). EMI challenges in Japan's internationalization of higher education. In H. Bowles & A. C. Murphy (Eds.). *English-Medium Instruction and the Internationalization of Universities* (pp. 27-48). Palgrave MacMillan.

Abstract

This chapter presents a literature-based overview of the potential challenges faced by Higher Education (HE) stakeholders (universities, faculty members and students) in Japan after the introduction of the Top Global University Project (TGUP) at their institutions. In 2014, Japan's Ministry of Education (MEXT) launched the TGUP, a large-investment initiative to internationalize HE that implicitly emphasised an increase of English-medium instruction (EMI) at Japanese universities (Rose & McKinley, 2018). Despite substantial funding behind this HE initiative, some recent studies (Rose & McKinley, 2018; Aizawa & Rose, 2019) investigating the Japanese context have revealed that the TGUP is interpreted and implemented inconsistently. Substantial differences have been found in the understanding of different HE stakeholders when disseminated from the macro (government), meso (institution) to micro (classroom) level, revealing underlying implementation challenges arising from policy diffusion. To discuss potential implementation challenges faced by the different EMI stakeholders, the chapter introduces recent Japanese government policy driving EMI at Japanese universities (i.e. TGUP), the implications for language planning, and how the policy is being put into practice at these universities in Japan at the different levels of policy.

2.1 Introduction

EMI and internationalization of higher education (HE) are inextricably intertwined, with some referring to the phenomenon as the Englishization of higher education (Galloway & McKinley, forthcoming; Kirkpatrick, 2011). In Japan, the most recent government HE initiative was initiated in 2016, known as the Top Global University Programme (TGUP). Compared to other previous initiatives (e.g. Go Global Japan,

Global 30), which were focused primarily on increasing the number of international students and EMI programmes, the TGUP expands on the objectives of these previous initiatives in its additional focus on the role of research in the internationalization of Japanese universities, such as research excellence and international collaboration. While the TGUP avoids identifying the expansion specifically of *English* taught programs, a significant part of the project's objectives still resemble previous initiatives, such as the Global 30's targeted expansion of EMI (see Rose & McKinley, 2018).

Although EMI is gaining momentum and TGUP is well-funded, to date, little research has been carried out to evaluate the impact of this policy implementation on language planning in its Japanese participant universities. To build on the Japanese education ministry's (MEXT) (2018) interim evaluation of the TGUP in 2016, this chapter will both critically review this recent interim evaluation and explore the literature around how stakeholders, including institutional managers, teachers and students, encounter various challenges associated with the implementation of EMI. The chapter concludes by arguing that the recent government policy is implicit yet aggressive in its aim to target improvement of the national and global profile of Japanese institutions in the ranks of top global universities. These reforms and change processes present complex challenges for university education and management at different policy diffusion levels.

2. Driving forces behind EMI expansion in Japanese higher education

EMI has been introduced rapidly in higher education in many countries, promoted by various government initiatives to achieve the perceived benefits, such as reinforcing mobility of international students and faculty members and enabling domestic students to improve English language proficiency. Coinciding with the global expansion of the English language, in recent Japanese government guidelines, such as the Selection for FY 2014 Top Global University Project (MEXT, 2014), a number of key reasons were proposed for the introduction of EMI, including nurturing global human resources by using English at universities to boost domestic students' career prospects and to improve the domestic labour market and the performance of Japanese companies internationally (Yonezawa, 2014). In essence, although we need more empirical evidence about improved job opportunities for domestic students via EMI,

we agree that improving domestic students' English proficiency should lead to enhanced career opportunities as envisaged by the Japanese government's objectives. This predominant focus on English and subsequent push for EMI is in line with the rising prominence of English as a lingua franca.

3. Overview of Japan's recent higher education initiative: TGUP

In Japan, various higher education policies (e.g. Go Global Japan, Global 30) have been introduced by MEXT in recent decades to secure the position of Japanese research universities in global rankings. These educational reforms include increasing the number of EMI courses and attracting high quality students, researchers and faculty members from overseas (see Rose & McKinley, 2018). As a result of this increased pressure to internationalize, in 2015, MEXT announced that over one-third of Japan's nearly 800 universities offered undergraduate EMI programmes, an almost 38% increase from 2008 (MEXT, 2015).

In 2014, MEXT proposed their most recent initiative; the Top Global University Project, or 'TGUP', a 10-year, multimillion dollar investment initiative with the aim "to enhance the international compatibility and competitiveness of higher education in Japan, and to offer prioritized support for the world-class and innovative universities that lead the internationalization of Japanese universities" (MEXT, 2014, p. 1). A total of 37 universities were selected: 13 universities classified as Type A given annual funding (JP¥420m, US$3.5m), viewed as research-oriented universities that are expected to compete for ranking in the top 100 world universities, and 24 universities as Type B, or 'global traction universities' (JP¥172m, US$1.4m), identified as innovative universities that can provide models for the internationalization of Japanese society.

According to the most recent figures from MEXT (2018), by the end of this 10-year initiative, in 2023 these 37 TGUP funded universities are expected to achieve the goals identified in Table 1 to internationalize their institutions. The evaluation criteria included diversity, mobility, support systems for domestic and international students, language ability, the number and percentage of courses in a foreign language and the number of degree programmes that students can complete in a foreign language (generally understood to be English) only (JSPS, 2014).

Table 1: TGUP Goals from 2013 to 2023

Goals	2013	2023	Approximate change / notes
1. International students	49,618	102,757	2.07 times
2.Domestic students with university study abroad experience	16,055	61,517	3.83 times (increase to one in ten)
3.Courses taught in a foreign language	19,533	55,928	2.86 times
4.Students with sufficient English proficiency	78,589	264,881	3.37 times (increase to one in two)
5.Courses requiring only foreign languages to graduate	652	1,226	1.73 times
6.International students living with Japanese students in a mixed student dormitory	5,184	19,471	3.76 times
7.Foreign faculty members	12,401	21,842	1.76 times

Source: 'MEXT' (2019)

In addition to these 10-year goals, after two years of the implementation of this initiative, MEXT also carried out an interim evaluation of the progress of these 37 universities based on the criteria in 2016 presented in Table 2, overall offering positive results of this policy dissemination (MEXT, 2018).

Table 2: Results of TGUP interim evaluation in 2016

Reported goals	2013	2016	Approximate change / notes
1.International students	49,618	69,119	1.39 times
2.Domestic students with university study abroad experience	16,055	23,532	1.46 times
3.Courses taught in a foreign language	19,533	32,846	1.68 times
4.Students with sufficient English proficiency	78,589	N.A.	"Although the number of students reaching the English language requirements has risen to some extent,

			we still require further efforts to achieve the target." (p.1)
5.Courses requiring only foreign languages to graduate	652	873	1.33 times

Source: 'MEXT' (2018, p. 1)

Despite this seemingly successful result of the implementation of TGUP, these perceived goals of TGUP on the policy statements are implicit. For example, the definition of 'courses taught in foreign languages', 'international students', 'teachers' criteria,' and 'sufficient language levels required for a university degree' are not explicitly defined. This means that stakeholders at the classroom level (university teachers and students) cannot consistently interpret these policy guidelines. To illustrate these implicit policy statements, Table 3 outlines potential issues around the lack of clarity of these policy statements associated with six of the TGUP objectives.

Table 3: Issues caused by vagueness of policy statements

Implicit statements	Issues	Research discussing this issue
1.International students	Given 93.4% of students are from Asia, more specifically 38.4% are from China and 24.2% (a total of 62.6%) are from Vietnam (Japan Student Services Organisation (JASSO), 2019), does 'international students' primarily mean Asian students? What is the definition of the phrase "international students"?	Rakhshandehroo & Ivanova (2019); Tamtam, Gallagher, Olabi & Naher. (2012)
2.Domestic students with university study abroad experience	The policy only states "Study abroad that gives students credits". Does this include intensive short-term study programs that also give students university credits (e.g. summer English courses)? Where are the students'	Murata, Iino & Konakahara (2019); Rakhshandehroo & Ivanova (2019)

	study abroad destinations? They can be Anglophone countries or the Outer and Expanding circles (e.g. China, Singapore, Thailand).	
3.Courses taught in a foreign language	Does a foreign language mean English or does it refer to any other foreign language? What are the criteria required for a course to be classified as EMI? We have seen numerous examples where EMI, in reality, is a mixture of L1 and English. What are the definitions and aims of these EMI courses?	Rose & McKinley, (2018); Pun & Macaro (2019); Macaro, Curle, Pun, An & Dearden (2018)
4.Students with sufficient English proficiency	Does "students" only refer to domestic students? Seeing that the majority of international students are non L1 English speakers (from China and Vietnam), should they also benefit from English language support? How do we measure students' English proficiency? Do the universities use their own version of English tests or standard tests e.g. IELTS? What is the sufficient English level set by the universities?	Rakhshandehroo & Ivanova (2019); Mori (2011); Brown & Bradford (2018)
5.Courses requiring only foreign languages to graduate	Does this refer to the entire degree or single modules? Are any particular disciplines more conducive to EMI, such as STEM subjects?	Aizawa & Rose (2019); Macaro (2018)

It appears that these implicit policy guidelines are not only problematised in Japan but also in other EMI contexts, according to research pertaining to the implicit policies

analysed for their studies. For example, in Malaysia, Ali (2013) identified vague specification for students' language proficiency in a Malaysian university's policy, stating that students must have "excellent English proficiency", and "the ability to communicate in English through their academic courses" (p.80) to study through EMI. Considering the high level of English proficiency needed to study in English (Mori, 2011), an explicit threshold policy seems more appropriate. These studies suggest that explicit policy statements enable stakeholders at the classroom level to implement the policy more effectively and alleviate current challenges when the policy is translated top-down. The drive for EMI normally comes from policymakers, HE administrators and university leaders, often in response to government initiatives, rather than being sought by stakeholders (i.e. students and teachers) themselves (Botha, 2013). This has led to gaps between EMI policy and practice, discussed next.

4. Gaps between EMI policy and practice

The EMI phenomenon is expanding so rapidly that keeping up with this movement requires considerable effort for universities with EMI offerings. Leong (2017) indicates that the implementation of EMI requires a rapid change in university operation, such as developing professional development courses for lecturers, and supplementary English courses for domestic students to help them adapt to the new English-speaking situation. Furthermore, Byun et al. (2011) also note that instructors face severe challenges in making adaptations as not only are they required to deliver courses in English, but also to write articles in English for publication in internationally renowned journals. Despite these efforts, various researchers (e.g. Yip, Coyle & Tsang, 2007) have conceded that positive outcomes of EMI are not guaranteed.

In Japan, an in-depth qualitative study was conducted by Leong (2017) to investigate how EMI policies are enacted in universities. The findings were based on semi-structured interviews with deans and directors of language centres in four Japanese universities with EMI offerings to illustrate how stakeholders had responded to the push for EMI in their institutions. The study concluded that there were a range of activities planned and undertaken by the universities but also a number of negative factors (e.g. a lack of certified EMI teachers, insufficient stakeholders' English competence) which severely impeded the successful implementation of the EMI

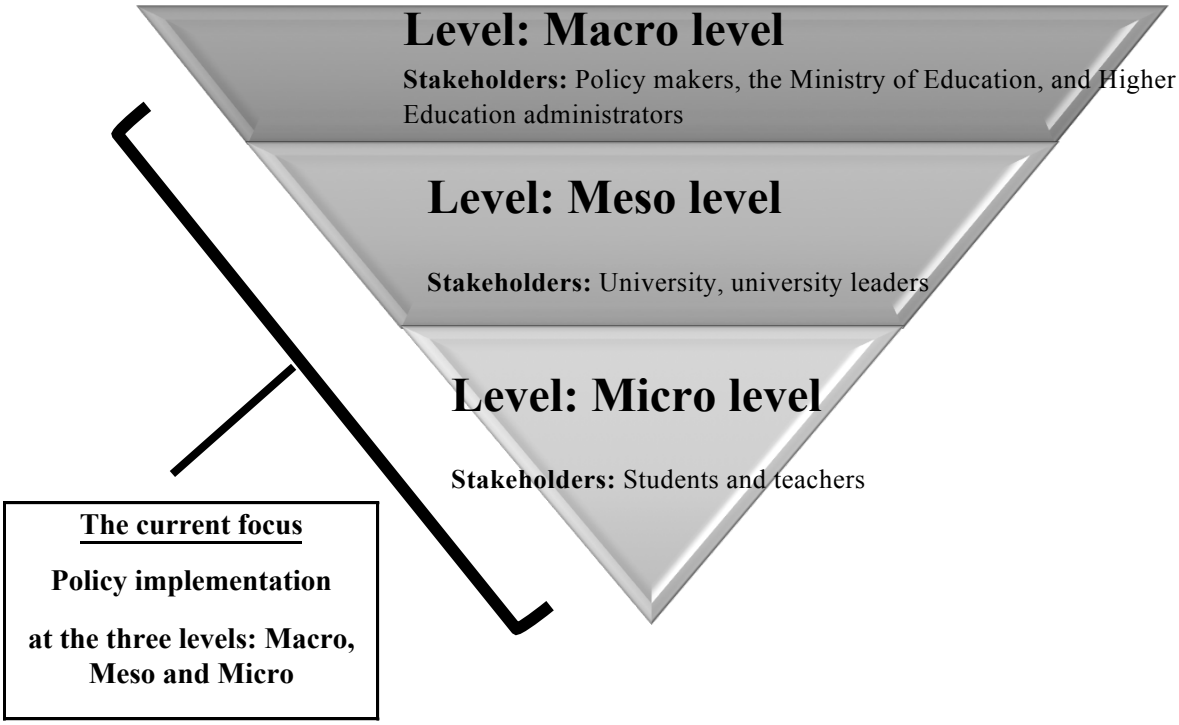
policies. This highlights a clear gap between the aims of the policy and the consequences of the practice.

In the same vein, case studies have been conducted at Japanese universities to explore EMI practices. One investigated three EMI classes in three different faculties (McKinley, 2018), showing that while language support may be fundamental in one area, it may not exist in others. In another case study undertaken by Aizawa and Rose (2019), a university was investigated for how the TGUP is being enacted in practice at two different levels: the meso (university) and micro (stakeholder) levels. The study illustrates how one Japanese university has interpreted the HE policy in its strategic plan (meso level), and how students and teachers have manifested the university's plan and put it into practice (micro level). In-depth textual analysis and semi-structured interviews were conducted to explore students' and teachers' views on EMI implementation at their university. The findings suggest that the meso language policy goals put out by the university did not trickle down to the micro level as envisioned, indicating underlying challenges arising from policy provision and dissemination. Therefore, implementation of EMI initiatives may be understood differently at the meso (university) and micro (stakeholders) levels, suggesting that in a particularly centralised educational system such as Japan's (Goodman & Phillips, 2003), decision-making on educational policies is typically dominated by top-bottom management without teacher or student input. Reporting this gap in EMI implementation between the meso and micro levels, various scholars (e.g. Bradford, 2012 Tsuneyoshi, 2005) express serious doubts about the successful EMI implementation and indicate that EMI implementers, including universities (meso) and the students and teachers (micro), encounter a range of challenges associated with the introduction of EMI in Japan.

5. Conceptual framework to understand EMI challenges evolving from TGUP

To explore the EMI-related challenges stemming from the implementation of TGUP, the following conceptual framework (Figure 1) inspired by a study conducted by Ali (2013) in Malaysia, is invaluable. Ali's study explored data at three levels of policy implementation: national (macro), university (meso), and stakeholders (micro).

Figure 1: Policy implementation at the three levels (macro, meso, micro level)



Ali's (2013) study primarily reveals gaps among macro, meso and micro levels. For example, at the macro level, students are expected to improve English through content learning; however, at the meso level, policy guidelines did not provide specific plans to facilitate students' learning, such as English language support. At the micro level, it was found that content and language teachers did not communicate with each other sufficiently to discuss their roles as to whether they were solely responsible for content or/and language teaching. Therefore, Ali (2013) found that the disconnect between the multiple levels of policy implementation risks impacting on students' learning of both language and content.

This multi-layered framework highlights the usefulness of examining policy implementation at several levels to fully understand how an EMI policy is being translated from one level to another, and to explore challenges regarding EMI policy implementation.

6. Aims of EMI at the TGUP universities

As EMI is believed to offer various benefits to institutions and stakeholders, there is a considerable variety of ways to interpret the overall aims of EMI. For example, in Japan, a study exploring success in EMI at one of the TGUP universities in Tokyo (Rose, Curle, Aizawa & Thompson, 2019) concluded that success in EMI is interpreted by business majors as a combination of final grades, lecture comprehension, English language proficiency gains, and long-term career advancement. One of the main perceived benefits of EMI is students' development of English proficiency in addition to content knowledge (Galloway, Kriukow & Numajiri, 2017). However, the oft-cited definition of EMI in Japan as proposed by MEXT is 'courses conducted entirely in English, excluding those whose primary purpose is language education' (MEXT, 2014). Based on this definition, EMI focuses exclusively on content knowledge transmission through English without the explicit aim to achieve English language learning goals. This implicit policy may create a situation where students are expected to complete their degrees with no expectations of language learning, which may in turn affect content learning. Wilkinson (2015) echoes this single aim of EMI in the Japanese HE setting, noting that EMI professors see themselves as subject specialists rather than English language experts (also reflected in McKinley, 2018); they merely use the language to convey content knowledge. This content-focused primary aim of EMI also mirrors the definition of medium of instruction introduced by UNESCO (2003):

> The language of instruction in school is the medium of communication for the transmission of knowledge. This is different from language teaching itself where the grammar, vocabulary, and the written and the oral forms of a language constitute a specific curriculum for the acquisition of a second language other than the mother tongue (p. 17).

Although MEXT's definition of EMI is exclusively linked to content knowledge acquisition, literature centred in Japan suggests that EMI, in reality, serves a dual aim in which students are expected to improve both content and linguistic knowledge in parallel, aligning with Taguchi's (2014) definition: "curricula using English as a medium of instruction for basic and advanced courses to improve students' academic English proficiency" (p. 89). Galloway, Kriukow & Numajiri (2017) found from her large-scale survey study (n=455) that 183 Japanese university students (40%) who

elected to study through EMI expressed their perceived linguistic improvement as the primary reason for enrolling in EMI courses. Although there is very little robust empirical evidence to claim that EMI improves students' English language skills (Jiménez-Muñoz, 2014), the development of language skills is one of the key drivers for students and parents to enrol in EMI degree programmes (Chalmers, 2019).

Regarding terminology confusion around EMI and its various approaches that can range from being primarily focused on language teaching to neglecting language issues (see the *continuum of additive bilingual education programs* in Thompson & McKinley, 2018), Bradford and Brown (2017) argue that in Japan there is no shared understanding of learning aims of approaches in EMI such as content and integrated learning (CLIL), integrating content and language in higher education (ICLHE), or content-based instruction (CBI); researchers in wider global contexts also adopt these terms synonymously without explicitly articulating the differences in their intended learning aims (Ament & Pérez-Vidal, 2015). MacGregor (2016) also found from her case study exploring the perceptions of language-teaching experts in Japan that her participants did not also differentiate CLIL from CBI/EMI. For EMI to prosper in Japan, EMI should be conceptually differentiated from other similar yet inherently different terms.

Overall, MEXT's definition of EMI is problematic because its macro level policy decision is not being interpreted by the stakeholders (i.e. university teachers and students) at the meso and micro level as envisaged by policymakers at the top. Instead, the interpretation of its definition remains context driven based on personal decisions of individual EMI instructors. Currently, the relative positions of language and content in learning objectives are unclear. Consequently, the absence of a clear structural arrangement of a curriculum discourages content and language teachers from working effectively together to achieve synergy between the two domains. The extent of language support provided to students from their content teachers ultimately boils down to the decisions of individual EMI instructors.

In response to the government's content learning oriented policy, Brown and Bradford (2017) acknowledge problems with the definition of EMI, offering a new version reflecting its dual aim to more sufficiently explain the nature of EMI adopted in

Japan, and to acknowledge that institutions do not consistently include a language learning aim: 'it may or may not include the implicit aim of increasing students' English language abilities' (p. 330). This is not to suggest that institutions *should* have the choice, but rather, that some choose not to include language learning in EMI. Given that English language acquisition is widely accepted as a by-product of EMI, the lack of explicitly formulated English language learning goals suggests that universities see language learning goals as a subsidiary aims of EMI courses. It is presumed that English is learnt secondarily and incidentally, yet this implicit goal is considered to be sufficient (Unterberger & Wilhelmer, 2011). To ensure successful EMI implementation, MEXT should make the aim of language learning in their policy statements explicit so that stakeholders are able to implement the policy more effectively and alleviate the current confusions that emerge when the policy is translated from the top to the bottom.

7. Language-related issues faced by students and teachers in EMI

One of the oft-reported issues in relation to EMI implementation at the micro level is language-related challenges experienced by students (e.g. Tsuneyoshi, 2005; Hellekjaer, 2010; Wilkinson, 2013). Students' linguistic challenges have been researched extensively in a growing body of EMI literature, often summarised as difficulty in taking notes from academic texts (Andrade, 2006); comprehending classes (Hellekjær, 2010); understanding instructors' accents (Tange, 2012); and understanding academic texts due to insufficient vocabulary knowledge (Kırkgöz, 2005). The lack of English proficiency among EMI students is one of the most recurrent obstacles to EMI implementation (e.g. Chapple, 2015; Hu, Li & Lei, 2014). Some researchers (Hellekjær, 2010; Wong & Wu, 2011) assert that EMI students who lack adequate English proficiency graduate without sufficient content knowledge.

While students' low English proficiency level is one factor hindering EMI, instructors' English proficiency must also be taken into account. Linguistic challenges presented by EMI instructors include: teachers' reduced ability to use accessible language (Tange, 2012); the lower academic content quality and quantity due to lack of proficiency (Wilkinson, 2005); and increased workload and preparation time due to the limited language ability (Tsuneyoshi, 2005). In EMI, teaching and language skills are closely intertwined. Instructors' limited English skills can serve as a serious factor

negatively affecting the quality of EMI teaching (Werther, Denver, Jensen & Mees, 2014; Başıbek et al., 2014), leading to simplified lecture content (Chapple, 2015). This in turn undermines their own confidence (Goodman, 2014), and changes how much they can accommodate students' needs (Vinke, Snippe & Jochems,1998).

In Japan, a limited number of studies have been carried out to explore EMI teachers' language-related challenges (Ishikura, 2015). Bradford (2012) interviewed 27 members of three Japanese EMI universities to examine linguistic challenges experienced by teachers, claiming that most of the faculty members expressed their own perceived limitations with using English, noting in particular that longer preparation time was necessary for delivering an EMI lecture. In addition to achieving sufficient language proficiency, EMI instructors are also expected to change their usual pedagogical style and develop new teaching skills to meet the demands of EMI pedagogy in multicultural classroom contexts in which both domestic and international students study in English. In other words, teachers are also required to achieve both linguistic and pedagogical development through teaching EMI. Although teachers' linguistic challenges are evident in a growing body of literature, no organisational or pedagogical guidelines exist which explicitly state expectations of English ability of EMI instructors (Mahboob, 2014). Aizawa and Rose (2019) consistently found that at the macro and meso level, TGUP policy guidelines do not explicitly discuss the specific criteria for EMI teachers' linguistic ability, yet expect them to be equipped with sufficient proficiency to deliver courses in English. It is a matter of debate as to whether any specific criteria for teachers should be explicitly stated within the guidelines. Leong (2017) provided evidence from a case study in Japan that one university had to institute a new recruitment policy, claiming that explicit criteria for teachers' English proficiency enables EMI universities to avoid recruiting teachers who are not competent enough to explain content knowledge in English.

Despite being a crucial factor particularly evident in the literature, faculty members' English proficiency is not emphasised in the policy documentations. We can see that there is a discrepancy between policy and practice—the absence of the discussion of teachers' English proficiency on the policy, and the necessity of more explicit discussion on this matter expressed by stakeholders. One issue, however, is that EMI

provision is outpacing its research. EMI can be interpreted as a relatively new pedagogical approach to content and L2 learning; research into stakeholders' sufficient linguistic levels is still scarce (Ament & Perez-Vidal, 2015; Dafouz, Camacho & Urquia, 2014). Although we have established that English skills and EMI learning and teaching are closely related, evidence has to be substantiated to confirm the level of English required for both students and teachers at no cost to their disciplinary teaching and learning.

8. Medium of instruction

Not only hindering students' academic performance, the low linguistic proficiency level among EMI students in some cases also serves as a challenge for an EMI course to be considered genuine EMI (Borg, 2015; Macaro, 2005). In numerous EMI settings, it has been shown that a course identified as EMI does not necessarily mean English-only instruction (Borg, 2015; Botha, 2013; Hu et al., 2014). Codeswitching (i.e. shifting between L1 and L2 for convenience) and translanguaging (i.e. resourcing the L1 to support the use of the L2) are common (see Bowles & Cogo, 2016), often due to students' insufficient linguistic ability and instructors' attempts to clarify lecture contents in the L1 (see e.g. Evans, 2002 regarding EMI in Hong Kong). In Japan, Tanabe (2004) emphasises the need to examine the question of language usage in EMI, stating that MEXT's policies expect the exclusive use of English for university teaching and learning. Comparing the difference between Korea and Japan, Byun et al. (2011) also acknowledge the difficulty in implementing an exclusively English policy in universities, claiming that the situation is similar in Korea. Various Japanese studies (e.g. Galloway, Kriukow & Numajiri, 2017) have claimed that EMI instructors with Japanese L1 continue to use Japanese due to their students' insufficient linguistic knowledge.

Seeing that the L1 is commonly used in EMI in Japanese HE, policies present an unrealistic expectation of English language use without sufficient understanding of actual classroom practice. Aizawa and Rose (2019) identified two types of language of instruction policy in the TGUP participant universities' policy guidelines: explicit and implicit. Universities with explicit policies clearly delineate the exact proportion of English and Japanese, whilst those with implicit policies are less clear, with practices indicating indistinct boundaries around language use. Existing literature

claims that EMI national and university policies are predominantly explicit about the language of instruction (Evans, 2002; Tanabe, 2004). Ali (2013) suggests some concerns regarding implicit policy in university EMI policy in Malaysia, claiming that every stakeholder can interpret implicit policy differently and use both languages to varying degrees. Since implicit policy is poorly interpreted and is shown to be impractical in determining what percentage of each language to use, explicit policy seems to be more appropriate for Japanese universities. Currently, there is no guidance in the policy to suggest how much Japanese and English should be used and how this decision should be made.

The policy might also include new guidelines regarding how much Japanese should be permitted alongside English. As a result, teachers in particular could more autonomously use Japanese as a principal language and English as a supplementary one. This would help low-English proficiency students in EMI classes.

9. Discussion and Recommendations

To minimise this inconsistency between policy and practice, many researchers have suggested the importance of institutional and governmental support for stakeholders (e.g. Borg, 2015). As for teachers' support, for example, Al-Ansari (2000) suggests that students can achieve higher academic literacy when content teachers have received English-medium teaching training. Similarly, Vinke, Snippe & Jochems (1998) emphasises the need for screening teachers' English skills, and for offering teacher training programmes that focus on the use of English for teaching content lessons. As for students' support, Westbrook and Henriksen (2011) claim that students' English levels should be checked regularly through the programme, to allow them to benefit from language support and employ effective learning methods in EMI. Thompson, Aizawa, Curle & Rose (2019) highlight a subsidiary benefit of in-sessional academic English courses (e.g. ESP and EAP) in developing not only students' academic English but also their confidence (i.e. self-efficacy) towards success in learning through English.

The current pedagogical infrastructure does not ensure adequate support for EMI provision in Japan. Wilkinson (2015) summarised the EMI provisions of one EMI university in Japan, claiming that although the government has pushed through HE

policies to promote EMI, very little pedagogical training appears to have been offered to EMI teachers working under these new policies. Another study by Leong (2017), investigating the constraints of EMI implementation, administered five semi-structured interviews with L1 Japanese professors (n=5) at four EMI Japanese universities. The study revealed that the lack of teacher training and insufficient teachers' linguistic ability to run EMI courses were expressed as critical issues by all the participants. Thus, despite the challenges faced by stakeholders associated with EMI implementation, there seems to be a lack of governmental and institutional support in many EMI contexts, including Japan. Further investigation is needed to check whether Wilkinson's and Leong's results can be confirmed elsewhere.

A second way to improve the connection between policy and practice should come from EMI research. Further empirical research should be carried out to inform some of the research questions: the English language level required for EMI teaching and learning; whether EMI improves students' English language knowledge; aims of EMI; the role of L1 in EMI; challenges faced by students and teachers; support and training schemes offered to EMI teachers and students. As EMI phenomena have outpaced its research and theorisation, the current implementation of the TGUP initiative has not been substantiated by empirical research but subjected to different interpretations by its implementers at both the meso and micro levels. The chapter concludes that stakeholders should take into consideration the gap between policy goals and actual implementation in such a critical policy planning strategy for Japan's national higher education. The government and universities should make their policy statements more explicit so that stakeholders are able to implement the policy more effectively and alleviate current challenges when the policy is translated from the top to the bottom.

10. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the discussion around stakeholders' lack of proficiency in English compared to both governmental and institutional expectations, and highlighted that EMI courses are not, in practice, always English-conducted courses, but rather delivered in ways in which English features largely, but not exclusively. The inconsistencies in both university EMI policies and reported practices are problematic, as Japanese university students with lower English proficiency need language support. These students would therefore clearly benefit

from explicitly including language learning as an aim of EMI, and resourcing their L1 in EMI classes.

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