

## **English-Medium Instruction in the Internationalization of Higher Education in Japan: Rationales and Issues**

Sae Shimauchi\*

*As internationalization has become part of the raison d'être of universities worldwide, English-medium instruction (EMI) has emerged as an irresistible force in the higher education systems of many non-English speaking countries. In a manifestation of its commitment to internationalization, Japan has seen a dramatic increase in the number of EMI programs now in place at universities throughout the country. This paper looks closely at EMI in Japan's system of higher education through an examination of the existing literature and an assessment of government policies and university practices designed to internationalize the system. The different rationales motivating the various stakeholders (nation, university, and individual) are identified, and the internal and external factors that have led to the introduction of EMI into Japanese universities are discussed. Insofar as EMI is more than a mere linguistic change, it will have a huge impact both on education and research. This paper then raises significant ideological and practical issues associated with English in education as a tool of "academic imperialism" in the unique Japanese context. It also addresses the different practices and adaptations of EMI at Japan's "elite" and "mass" universities. Finally, the double meanings of "internationalization" through EMI programs is conceptualized with using the terms of "internationalization abroad" and "internationalization at home" through examining the framework of nationalistic and cosmopolitan dimensions. For the further study and implications for university practices, the author asserts the importance of developing language education policy not to serve English imperialism but to facilitate focused research by students with a critical perspective.*

**Keywords:** Internationalization; English-ization; EMI; University; Japan

---

\* The Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University  
e-mail: saereal@gmail.com

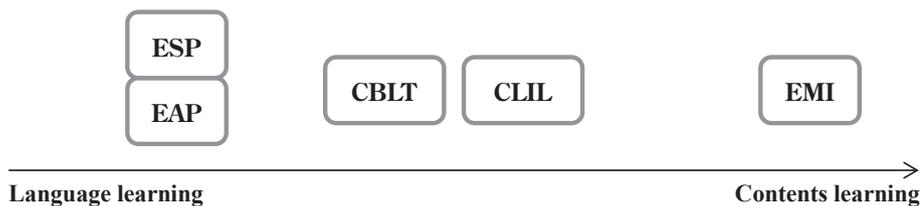
## Introduction

In today's global knowledge society, the internationalization of higher education has become part of the *raison d'être* for universities worldwide. Correspondingly, the “English-ization” of higher education—in particular, the introduction of English-medium education—has emerged as a growing phenomenon in non-English speaking countries. Many non-English-speaking countries are in the process of transforming their educational programs into English-medium instruction (EMI) as an alternative to teaching in the country's language. According to a series of studies, the number of English-taught programs (ETP)—that is, programs taught entirely in English—in European higher education has expanded rapidly (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). In addition to the traditional ETP leaders in the Central West European and Nordic countries, new providers, especially in the Baltic States, are emerging.

In the face of this growing trend, De Wit (2011) casts doubt on the notion that higher education offered in English equals internationalization, arguing that it can have serious unintended negative consequences, including a decreased emphasis on other foreign languages. He also notes that an insufficient focus on the quality of the English spoken by students and teachers for whom English is not their native language can lead to a decline in the overall quality of education (De Wit 2011: 2). Numerous other studies have discussed outcomes and critical issues related to EMI education in European universities, both with respect to policy analysis and institutional practices (Doiz et al. 2011, 2012, 2013; Coleman 2006; Phillipson 2009; Wilkinson 2005, 2013).

Compared to non-English-speaking countries in Europe and elsewhere, Japan has been relatively homogeneous in terms of its language and student demography in higher education. In addition, unlike many Asian countries, where medium of instruction policies are the legacy of colonial education (Pennycook 1998), Japan has never experienced colonialism and has long relished its own academic sphere established in the Japanese language. In many ways, English language colonialism has been revitalized, not by imperial invasion, but by the marketization and standardization of higher education embodied in such things as the global university ranking system.

Curiously, EMI remains an ill-defined concept and its meaning is still evolving (Airey 2016; British Council 2013). Although English education and education *in* English are often discussed in parallel or practiced in ways that mix the two, the nature, expected outcomes, and risks associated with each need to be treated differently. This study employs a working EMI definition drawn from several literature streams (British Council 2013; Dearden 2014; Taguchi 2014). While ESP (English for a Specific Purpose), EAP (English for Academic Purposes) and CBLT (Content-based Language Teaching) are mainly focused on English lan-



Source: author

Figure 1 English education and education *in* English

guage learning and teaching, and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) began with implementation of the plurilingual policy in Europe to facilitate both language acquisition and content learning, EMI is defined here as “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English” (Dearden 2014:4). Even with this definition, the practice of EMI in the classroom may vary. This paper focuses exclusively on EMI in Japanese higher education as a phenomenon of “English-ization.”

In this era of globalization, the internationalization of higher education has begun to have a significant influence on the Japanese educational system, bringing new meaning and new challenges. As a non-English-speaking, non-Western and non-postcolonial Asian country, Japan faces this new stage of internationalization from a somewhat unique perspective. Because English as a medium of instruction in Japan cannot be decontextualized from the country’s social, geographical and historical context, it is necessary to provide an adequate description of its specific context (Hamid et al. 2013). In taking a closer look at EMI in Japanese higher education, this paper illustrates the various rationales and contributing factors that have brought EMI into Japanese universities (Section 1). A number of the ideological and structural issues associated with introducing English as the medium of instruction are addressed (Section 2), as is the diverse adaptation of EMI at Japan’s “elite” versus “mass” universities (Section 3). The multi-vocality of internationalization in EMI programs is examined (Section 4) through an analysis of the existing literature, government policies and university practices impacting the internationalization of higher education in Japan.

## 1. Why EMI in Japanese Universities? Rationales and Influencing Factors

As Earls describes the domestic and international developments that impelled the introduction of EMI programs in Germany, (Earls 2016). Japan faces both domestic (internal) and global (external) factors that drive “English-ization” of its higher education system. One of the most important international factors is the increase in global student mobility. As one of the world’s economic giants situated in a non-Western part of the world, Japan has traditionally been a receiver of international students, especially from Asian region. As of 2011, Japan had approximately 3.5% of all students studying outside their home country (OECD 2013). The Japanese government has focused on receiving foreign students and has promoted measures to attract more overseas students. In so doing, the government has identified five main systemic challenges, one of which is the development of academic courses taught in English to enable non-Japanese speaking students to obtain degrees by studying entirely in a “foreign language” (MEXT 2013). Although “English” is not specifically identified here, the reality is that a “degree in a ‘foreign language’” implies an English-medium degree program (EMDP). Indeed, English language learning is called ‘*Gaikokugo Katsudou* (foreign language activity)’ in Japanese primary schools.

There is little doubt that the linguistic complexity of the Japanese language can be a competitive disadvantage for universities attempting to attract international students, especially students not from the cultural sphere that uses Chinese characters. Because of this, EMI education, especially the introduction of EMDP, has become a key driver of the new flow of foreign students to Japan. More than 100 new EMDPs have been created within the selected

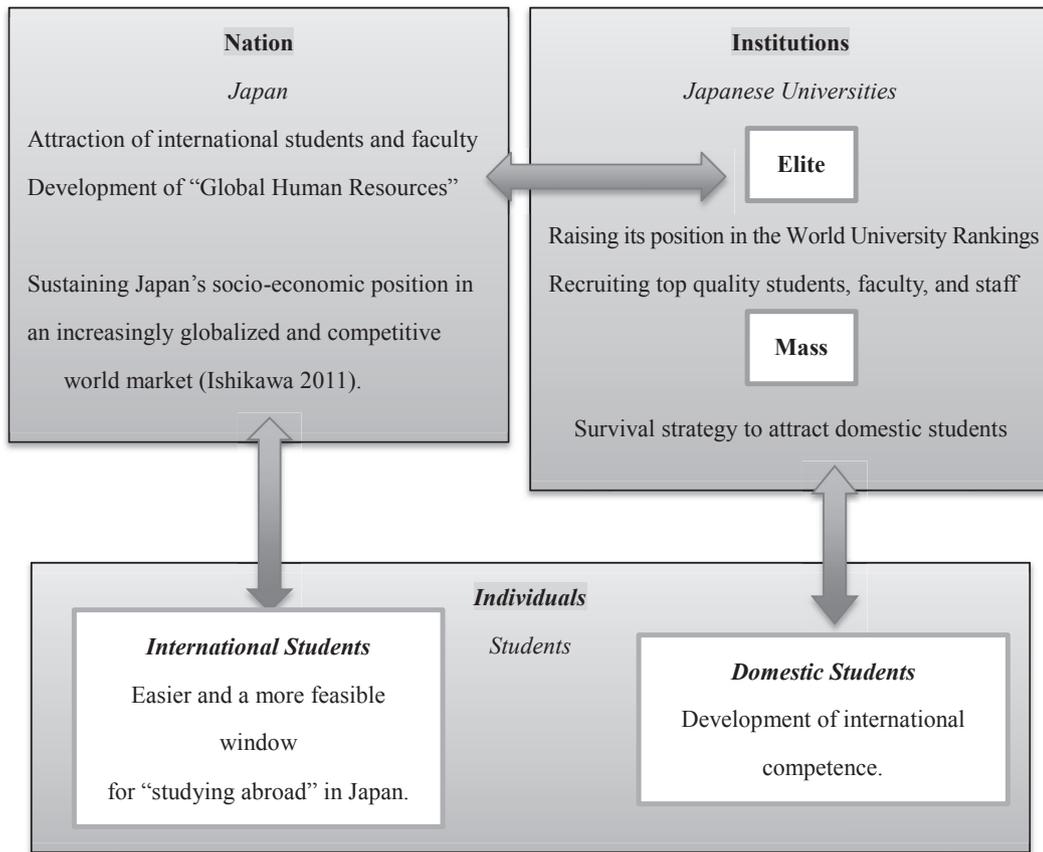
universities named in the “Global 30 Project (G30),” a project intended to facilitate the internationalization of Japan’s universities.

At the same time, there appears to be an “inward-looking tendency” among Japan’s younger generation, which has been a point of concern for the Japanese government and for global industries in Japan. Partially in response to the huge demand of industry for developing a global workforce, sometimes referred to as “global human resources (*global jinzai*),” the interim report by Council on the Promotion of Human Resources for Globalization Development indicates the importance of enhancing the English communication skills of young Japanese and the need to create English-medium courses in higher education (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet 2011). Moreover, there does appear to be a general desire among Japanese to acquire English language skills. Although the actual need for English is still rather limited in Japan, there is a strong sense in Japanese society that English is an indispensable tool for its industry (Terasawa 2015).

A number of government policies are closely connected to the demand for a global workforce. The Project for Establishing a University Network for Internationalization was begun in 2009 (*Global 30 Project*), while the Project for the Promotion of Global Human Resource Development (*Global Jinzai Ikusei Jigyo*) was launched in 2012, followed by the Top Global University Project (*Super Global Daigaku Sousei Jigyo*), which began in 2014. Under these programs, universities chosen as “Global 30 universities” or “Top Global universities” have introduced EMDPs that allow a wider range of students to obtain a degree entirely in English. In the face of pressure from the prevailing world university rankings and a fear of lagging behind the international competition, the Japanese government has concentrated its funding on these leading universities in order to elevate them to world-class status. However, this concentration exacerbates the disparities among Japanese universities in terms of their ability to become internationalized.

Despite the intensive prioritization of dozens of universities, many other Japanese universities have been keen to introduce EMI to enhance their internationalization. The demographic crisis has added to the urgency. While there are nearly 800 universities in Japan, including public and private institutions from elite to mass market, the number of potential students continues to decrease (MEXT 2016). The scarcity of students raises issues of financial stability and sustainability for many of the institutions, especially those mass market private universities located outside of major cities. For these institutions, the introduction of EMI can be used to attract both international and domestic students. (See more details in Section 3). The opportunity to receive an EMI education “at home” (in Japan) can serve as an attractive option for many domestic students when numbers of Japanese students may be reluctant to study abroad because of the need to be present during job hunting season or family financial difficulties (Yokota & Kobayashi 2013).

In this paper, the rationale and practical forces driving the introduction of EMDP in Japan are demonstrated by three primary stakeholders: (1) individuals, including international and domestic students, (2) institutions, universities in Japan, and (3) Japan as an entire country (Figure 2). At the individual level, international students and domestic (mostly Japanese) students likely have different motivations to pursue an EMI education. At the institutional level, various types of institutions differ in their motivation for introducing EMI. For example, for the so-called “elite” universities, the global ranking paradigm is likely to be a strong influencing factor. By offering an academic curriculum in English, these “elite” universities



Source: author

Figure 2 Rationale driving EMI for the three primary stakeholders

hope to enroll more talented students and researchers and increase their research outcome in the international market. For the non-“elite,” “mass” market universities, EMI works as a billboard for attracting domestic students, as English-medium education can enhance the image of the university and is considered beneficial for domestic students who seek international experience and competence (Brown 2014). At the national level, the country as a whole, and the Japanese government in particular, are eager to ensure the overall competitiveness of Japanese universities, especially those receiving extra government support— seeing higher education as an important projection of Japan’s soft power.

The factors influencing the introduction of EMI in Japanese universities can be classified as either internal (domestic) or external (global) (Table 1). Internal factors encompass current Japanese domestic and social issues; external factors include a range of internationally-shared factors that heavily affect the implementation of EMI in higher education.

A number of case studies regarding the educational effectiveness of EMI and the problems associated with raising the language competence of students have been reported (Doiz et al. 2011, 2012; Lei & Hu 2014; Taguchi 2014; Wilkinson 2015). While such studies have explored important practical issues, a more structured analytical framework is needed to guide institutional changes and provide context for micro-level discussions. Therefore, the

Table 1 Internal and external factors affecting the introduction of EMDPs in Japanese Higher Education

Internal (Domestic) factors	External (Global) factors
✓ Graying population and declining supply of domestic students (EMI as a billboard and as “studying abroad at home”)	✓ Globalization and worldwide student mobility in higher education
✓ Overcoming linguistic barriers (the difficulty of Japanese as an academic language)	✓ English as the most widely used language in communication (Crystal 1997; Graddol 2006)
✓ The government’s internationalization policy and its distribution of internationalization funds to global minded universities	✓ The World University Rankings
✓ The demand for Global Human Resources who can communicate in English	✓ ‘Publish “in English” or Perish’
✓ The people’s belief in the need for English in internationalization	✓ Academic imperialism (Altbach 2007)
	✓ Linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 2009)
	✓ Worldwide competition for international students as global talent and future labor force

Source: author

following section examines ideological and potentially critical issues in English-medium higher education in Japan by sorting through the many studies done in Japan and in other non-English speaking countries that have introduced English-medium education into their universities ahead of Japan.

## 2. English as a Tool of “Academic Imperialism” and the English-speaking Paradigm

The dominance of English in the global academy is undeniable. Today, English is presented as “the first foreign language in almost all education systems” (Beacco & Byram 2003: 52) and is now regarded as a component of basic education rather than a part of the foreign language curriculum (Graddol 2006). At the higher education level, the extent of a university’s English offerings is often used as a simple but powerful indicator of the degree to which the institution has been internationalized.

“English-ization” is closely connected to the academic dominance of English-speaking countries (McArthur et al. 1992; Phillipson 2009). Kachru (1985) defines those countries where English is spoken as a native language (ENL) as the “Inner circle.” The United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Ireland are included in this category. According to the 2011 and 2017 Times Higher Education *World University Rankings* (Table 2), more than half of the top 200 universities in the world are in ENL countries, dominated by the United States, although the percentage has decreased slightly over the past six years. Among non-ENL countries, the number of Asian universities in the top 200 decreased from 25 to 17, while the number of universities in the top 200 remained unchanged in Hong Kong and Singapore, two countries in the outer circle (former colonies of English-speaking countries) in which English is commonly used in higher education. At the same

Table 2 World University Ranking of universities and its home country

Countries and Regions	Universities Ranking in Top 200 in 2010-2011	Universities Ranking in Top 200 in 2016-2017
ENL (inner circle) countries	122	116 ▼
Non-ENL countries	78	84 △
3 EMI leaders in Europe	30 - Netherlands 10 - Germany 14 - Sweden 6	41 △ - Netherlands 13 - Germany 22 - Sweden 6
Asia	25	17 ▼ - Hong Kong & Singapore 6

Source: The Times Higher Education *World University Rankings 2011 & 2017*

time, in the three leading EMI countries in Europe—the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden—the number of universities in the top 200 grew markedly. This is how “English-ization” is intertwined with the academic dominance and hegemony of this ENL “inner circle”, and brings universities in non-ENL countries presence in the World University Rankings.

Without question, the standardization of university rankings imparts superior status to English-speaking higher education and makes this status highly visible. English is not only an international language; it is the academic “lingua franca” by which knowledge and ideas are transmitted through prestigious academic journals, majority of which are written in English. Non-English-speaking countries, including Japan, must deal with this academic hegemony and English-speaking paradigm that impose an international benchmarking of educational quality and academic culture originated in the West.

Phillipson (2009) criticizes this as “English Imperialism,” which has often been the case in colonial and post-colonial contexts, especially in African and Asian countries, where local languages are taught in the early grades, followed by a switch to languages that are viewed as more prestigious at the university level. According to Phillipson, people “spontaneously” agree to study in English under this English hegemony. The hegemony is reinforced as people travel abroad for study from a periphery country to a country in the center, which generally means from a non-English-speaking to an English-speaking country in West, and then move back to their home country.

In his criticism of “English Imperialism”, Phillipson also points out that “what emerges unambiguously is that in the Bologna Process (which aims at ensuring comparability of standards and quality in European higher education), internationalization means “English-medium higher education” (Phillipson 2009: 37). In Europe, as the flow of international students increases through implementation of Bologna Process policies, the number of “international programs” will grow, which mostly means the “English-ization” of the curriculum to open the door to diverse overseas students. Once EMI programs are introduced in the universities of non-English-speaking countries, it is expected that most textbooks and materials will be inevitably in English and that faculty members will need to produce academic works in Eng-

lish.

EMI programs, therefore, extend the dominance of the academic literature, pedagogy and culture of the English-speaking regions. EMI is more than a linguistic change; it has been described as a geopolitical, economic and ideological phenomenon that impacts university eco systems broadly (Madhavan Brochier 2016). While EMI clearly facilitates student access to diverse information and knowledge written in a language other than their own, it risks an over-reliance on academic resources written in English, so as Altbach (2007) describes it as “academic imperialism.” Within Japanese higher education, the humanities and social sciences have enjoyed a strong reputation based on the long-term accumulation of high-quality publications written in Japanese. However, the limited number of publications written by Japanese scholars in English is becoming a serious obstacle to further development in these fields (Yonezawa 2017). Transition from the Japanese medium to the English medium will doubtless have a huge impact both on education and research, especially in fields related to culture, values, and the uniqueness of the Japanese society and system.

On the provider side of education, English-speaking academics are highly valued, especially those educated in English-speaking academic systems (most notably in the United States). This tendency is clearly visible in other Asian countries such as South Korea. Presently, Japanese higher education remains largely self-sufficient relying on *home-grown* researchers, but who knows the future? As Phillipson critically states, we need to consider how (one can) go along with the use of English to promote Japanese research capability without exposing oneself to the risk of being anglicized in one’s mental structures, without being brainwashed by linguistic routines.

Another risk of (over)emphasizing English is the demise of multilingualism (Doiz et al. 2012). Not only has the English supremacist nature of Japanese internationalization been questioned (Yoshida 2014), but a recent study of emerging International Liberal Arts (ILA) programs (Shimauchi 2017a) shows that ILA programs that are offered in EMI actually underplay multicultural education as compared to those offered in Japanese-medium instruction. ILA programs taught in Japanese typically include multilingualism and multi-language learning in their curriculum in forms such as “English plus one” learning. On the other hand, EMI requires students to devote much of their time to learning English in order to be sufficiently proficient to deal with course content written and presented in English.

As stated by Shohamy, although English is considered the global language, “the real meaning of globalization is multilingualism” (Shohamy 2007: 132). If EMI does indeed impede multilingual education, both the ideological and educational capability of the EMI curriculum should be examined very closely at every level.

### **3. EMI in Diverse Universities: from “Mass” to “Elite”**

In many countries, the decision to boost internationalization has overwhelmingly been made by education authorities and not as the result of grass-roots initiatives (Doiz et al. 2012; 2013). The situation is similar in Japan, where internationalization has been driven by national policies through a top-down approach and concentrated among “elite” institutions to enhance the nation’s university competitiveness and attract talented academics from all over the world—largely in response to the pressures of a world university ranking system. One of

the indicators used to rank universities is the citation index, which is based predominantly on publications appearing in English language journals. Although Japanese scholars in the science and engineering fields have transitioned to English with relative ease (Ishikawa 2011), and academic “English-ization” has until now been largely confined to the STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) disciplines, it is now extending its reach into the humanities and social sciences. As a consequence, some universities provide incentives to faculty to publish in English (Ishikawa 2011: 93). The pressure seems to be even more severe in other Asian countries such as South Korea, China and Malaysia.

EMI programs, especially those offering degrees (EMDP), have been instituted mostly at the postgraduate levels of STEM and spread among the “elite” national universities (Shimauchi 2016). These STEM EMDPs follow the “*Dejima*” model, with only a few international students and a relatively high number of staff (Shimauchi 2017b). These EMDPs are extremely generous to international students and are not sustainable without additional funding. This makes them all but impossible for “mass” market private universities, which tend to lack sufficient financial capacity or the advantages of “eliteness”.

More recently, EMI programs in the humanities and social sciences have begun to increase and expand, especially at private universities. However, a comparison of the number of EMDPs in the humanities and social sciences versus the STEM fields reveals a marked imbalance: 72% of all EMDPs at private universities are in the humanities and social sciences, while at the national universities, 73% are in STEM programs (Shimauchi 2016: 118). The most recent data show that there are 24 universities and a total of 48 departments at undergraduate level that offer degree programs where students can graduate having taken only EMI classes, while there are more than 88 universities and 208 degree programs at the postgraduate level that offer this possibility (MEXT 2016). A 2014 study reinforces this reality, showing that EMI programs serve less than 5% of the undergraduate student population (Brown & Iyobe 2014). Thus, although the number of EMI programs has increased in the past decade, they are still a partial and limited phenomenon in Japanese higher education, especially at the undergraduate level.

Despite the focused internationalization policy and the public attention given to internationalizing “elite” universities, a close examination of the latest numbers of international students accommodated by each university (2016) calculated by the author shows that only a quarter of Japan’s international students are accommodated by the 37 “Super Global” (mostly “elite”) universities chosen by the Top Global University Project. This means that a majority of the universities enrolling international students are not particularly “elite” or “internationalized.” Unfortunately, there are no official data regarding the medium of language, nor do individual universities disclose the number or percentage of students who study in English versus Japanese. However, as Goodman (2007) pointed out, universities with a high proportion of international students tend to be small to middle-sized, lower-level private universities. EMI classes and degree programs are unlikely to exist at these universities and international students there are very likely learning in Japanese-medium classrooms.

One of the obvious issues of EMI education is English language proficiency. In countries where English is not the official language, both faculty members and students often lack sufficient English proficiency to prosper in a setting in which English is the medium of instruction (Kirkpatrick 2017). In Japan, even after 11 years of learning English, most students have difficulty fully engaging in EMI education (Taguchi 2014; Toh 2016; Wilkinson 2015).

Consequently, many university curricula include English language classes to prepare students to actually learn *in* English. Shimauchi (2016) shows that the inclination toward a western-centered curriculum and native-modeled English language learning is more visible in Japan's "mass" market universities than in their "elite" counterparts. This seems quite reasonable: the highly qualified students who typically enter "elite" universities tend to require less help in refining their English skills; as a consequence, the "elite" schools have only limited offerings in English language learning. As most participants in EMI education in Japan are Japan-born, Japanese-speaking students, intensive English language programs taught by native speakers can serve as an effective marketing tool for Japan's lower-tier universities.

#### 4. The "Multi-vocality" of Internationalization in EMI

"Internationalization" has become a catchall phrase describing anything that is even remotely linked to worldwide, intercultural, global or international activity (Knight 2011). In Japan, the concept of *kokusaika*, a direct translation of internationalization, is used in different ways by different institutions. Such "multi-vocality" can be useful in complex organizations such as universities.

Japanese economic growth and success in international markets are linked with "boundary-strengthening," characterized by hardening attitudes toward foreigners and ethnic minorities. Today, the simultaneous growth of nationalistic sentiment in Japan and Japan's movement toward internationalization is again in evidence. In 2014, the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination issued a report on right-wing hate speech in Japan, especially speech directed at Koreans and Korean-Japanese residents. Globalization accelerates social change and can engender a strong backlash, fanning nationalism and strengthening a sense of national identity in an exclusive way, as can be witnessed in Japan on a daily basis.

Japan's simultaneous embrace of nationalism and cosmopolitanism has been widely noted in the media. In assessing the relationship of this phenomenon to Japanese education, a 2014 article (The International New York Times 2014) pointed out the current dilemma: On the one hand, there is economic and political pressure to internationalize the country's universities, while at the same time there has been a rightward shift in education policy that seeks to impose a nationalistic agenda on the nation's school system. In such writings, internationalization is commonly presented as cosmopolitanism—that is, as an ideology inclined toward openness to other countries and cultures. However, several studies have pointed to the nationalistic ideology within the internationalization of higher education. According to Goodman (2007), internationalization (*kokusaika*) is based on strengthening the individual's perception of his or her Japanese-ness and aids the spread of "Japanese values" throughout the wider world, although there are those who see it as transcending any idea of national identity.

This multi-vocality of internationalization – containing both nationalistic and cosmopolitan dimensions – plays a role in our understanding of EMI education in Japanese higher education. On one hand, EMI programs can be considered as a part of the regime of Japanese soft power diplomacy. By offering Japanese and Japanese studies to international students, university education becomes one of the tools for spreading Japanese values to foreigners. Shimauchi (2017a) describes the nationalistic inclination present within emerging international

Table 3 Internationalization concepts in EMI education in Japanese Higher Education

	<b><i>“Internationalization abroad”</i></b> of EMI	<b><i>“Internationalization at home”</i></b> of EMI
Vision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To spread “Japanese values (e.g., culture, language, and products)” by creating global human resources</li> <li>- To nourish in domestic students their identity as Japanese</li> <li>- To cultivate “Japan-loving foreigners” or Japanophiles</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- To change educational content to fit the global society</li> <li>- To nurture multicultural skills and global awareness among domestic students to facilitate mutual understanding of different others</li> </ul>
Examples of activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Accommodating more international students through the creation of EMI programs</li> <li>- Teaching Japanese language and Japan-related contents to international students</li> <li>- Encouraging domestic students to become more familiar with their traditions and nurture ‘output’ skills to disseminate to the world</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Teaching domestic students by foreign faculties using EMI in an internationalized curriculum</li> <li>- Teaching foreign languages and cultures to domestic students</li> <li>- Encouraging domestic students to attain international perspective and knowledge</li> <li>- Sending domestic students overseas through university programs</li> </ul>

Source: author

liberal arts programs in EMI. Such programs, she argues, not only present Japan-related educational contents to international students, but also empower domestic students to become “global human resources” with “Japanese identity” able to compete with their foreign counterparts while disseminating values and attractiveness of Japanese cultures and products throughout the world.

In this sense, the role of EMI in the internationalization of higher education in Japan contains a basic dichotomy. Knight’s technical terms to categorize internationalization activities into “internationalization abroad” and “internationalization at home” (2004) are useful in explaining this dichotomy; the former originally focusing on activities such as mobility, and the latter focusing on what happens on university campuses. Unlike the original meanings, the “*internationalization abroad*” feature of EMI in Japan’s higher education includes activities intended to spread “Japan” across the world, while “*internationalization at home*” refers to Japan’s efforts to transform itself to meet the demands of the global society (Table 3). EMI education fits this dual role well, serving both international and domestic students. It is driven by national education policies and at the same time is influenced both by the global academic paradigm and domestic issues such as the country’s decreasing population.

As has been noted, the ways of institutional implementation in which Japanese universities have interpreted internationalization and embraced its practice are highly diverse. Several newly established EMDPs clearly state that their vision is to cultivate global human resources

in order to deliver Japan's strength to the world. On the other hand, many EMDPs appear to focus on multicultural understanding (Shimauchi 2017a).

## Implications and Further Study

The implementation of EMI education in Japan has been largely promulgated at the macro-level (i.e. national policies) with the aim of increasing the number of international students in order to diminish the linguistic barriers and develop a global-minded and competitive workforce. At the meso-level, Japanese universities have a more concrete and strategic vision that includes using EMI programs as a marketing tool and a generator of revenue. A number of studies have warned that such aims are sometimes prioritized ahead of the educational benefits imparted to micro-level stakeholders (students) (Hamid et al. 2013; Kirkpatrick 2013; Wilkinson 2013).

Moreover, in most EMI programs in Japan, English is seen as the most important foreign language or even as the one and only foreign language. Stakeholders at every level need to consider what "English" means in their EMI curriculum. Is it a primary focus or merely a learning tool? How is English to be used, as a lingua franca, as an international language, or as a cultural representation of English speaking societies? Developing a language education policy that encourages bi/multilingualism at the university level should be a priority. Japanese educators also need to investigate ways to develop students and staff with academic skills in English and how to balance/encourage scholarship in both English and Japanese. Broader discussions that include policy makers, researchers and educational practitioners are clearly needed.

Future studies should pay particular attention to the educational impact of internationalization on the system's most important stakeholders—domestic and international students. EMI education and its related studies should be headed toward the way how it actually benefits for students, what are the educational risks and benefits for those who actually received that education. Studies should be done to cover practical and educational issues at the meso and micro levels and the challenges of EMI education faced in its own social context, since the challenges can be different in content and degree in each social and institutional context. EMI education should be both guided by and evaluated on the benefits it can offer to students. The educational risks and benefits to this critical constituency need to be objectively assessed. The analytical framework provided in this paper can serve as a guide to such an assessment.

## Reference

- Airey, J. (2016). CLIL and EAP (Content and Language Integrated Learning and English for Academic Purposes). In K. Hyland and P. Shaw (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of English for Academic Purposes*, 71-83, Abingdon: Routledge.
- Altbach, P. G. (2007). The imperial tongue: English as the dominating academic language. *Economic and political Weekly*, 3608-3611.
- Beacco, J.-CL. & Byram, M. (2003). *Guide for the development of language education policies in Europe: From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- British Council. (2013). British Council regional policy dialogue 2: The role of English in higher education: Issues, policy and practice. Doi:<https://www.britishcouncil.org.br/sites/default/files/region->

- alpolicydialogue\_emi.pdf
- Brown, H. (2014). Contextual factors driving the growth of undergraduate English-medium instruction programmes at universities in Japan. *The Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 1(1), 50-63.
- Brown, H. & Iyobe, B. (2014). The growth of English-medium instruction in Japan. In N. Sonda & A. Krause (Eds.), *JALT 2013 Conference Proceedings*, 9-19, Tokyo: JALT.
- Coleman, J. A. (2006). English-medium teaching in European Higher Education, *Language Teaching*, 39(1): 1-14.
- Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a global language*. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- De Wit, H. (2011). Internationalization of higher education: Nine misconceptions. *International Higher Education*, 64, 6-7.
- Dearden, J. (2014). *English as a medium of instruction –A growing global phenomenon*. Doi:<https://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/article/english-a-medium-instruction-%E2%80%93a-growing-global-phenomenon>
- Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. and Sierra, J. (2011). Internationalisation, multilingualism and English-medium instruction, *World Englishes*, 30 (3): 345-359.
- Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. and Sierra, J. (2012). Globalization, internationalization, multilingualism and linguistic strains in higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 1-15, Routledge.
- Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. and Sierra, J. (Eds.). (2013). *English-medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges*. Multilingual Matters.
- Earls, C. W. (2016). *Evolving Agendas in European English-Medium Higher Education: Interculturality, Multilingualism and Language Policy*. Springer.
- Goodman, R. (2007). The concept of Kokusaika and Japanese educational reform. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 5(1), 71-87.
- Graddol, D. (2006). *English Next: Why Global English May mean the End of 'English as a Foreign Language'*. London: British Council.
- Hamid, M. O., Nguyen, H. T. M., & Baldauf Jr, R. B. (2013). Medium of instruction in Asia: Context, processes and outcomes. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 14(1), 1-15.
- The International New York Times. (2014). "Japan's Divided Educational Strategy" (As of October 12, 2014)  
Doi:<https://www.nytimes.com/2014/10/13/world/asia/japans-divided-education-strategy.html>
- Ishikawa, M. (2011). Redefining internationalization of higher education: Global 30 and the making of global universities in Japan. In D. B. Willis & J. Rappleye (Eds.), *Reimagining Japanese Education: Borders, Transfers, Circulations and the Comparative*. UK: Symposium Books, 193-223.
- Kachru, B. B. (1985). Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: the English language in the outer circle. In R. Quirk and H.G. Widdowson (Eds.), *English in the world: Teaching and learning the language and literatures*, 11-30, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirkpatrick, A. (2017). The Language of Higher Education in East and Southeast Asia: Will EMI Lead to Englishisation?. In Fenton-Smith, B., Humphreys, P., & Walkinshaw, I. (Eds.). (2017). *English medium instruction in higher education in Asia-Pacific: From policy to pedagogy* (Vol. 21), 21-36, Springer.
- Knight, J. (2004). Internationalization remodeled: Definition, approaches, and rationales. *Journal of studies in international education*, 8(1), 5-31.
- Knight, J. (2011). Five myths about internationalization. *International Higher Education*, 62, 14-15.
- Madhavan Brochier, D. (2016). 10 Truths (and a lie) about EMI. IATEFL webinar.  
Doi:<https://divyamadhavan.wordpress.com/2016/10/12/10-truths-a-lie-about-emi/>
- McArthur, T. B., & McArthur, F. (1992). *The Oxford companion to the English language*. Oxford University Press, USA.
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology (MEXT). (2013). "Sekai no Seichou wo torikomu tameno Gaikokujin Ryugakusei no Ukeire Senryaku [Strategies of accepting foreign students in order to embrace growth worldwide]" (As of 18 December 2013).  
Doi:[http://www.mext.go.jp/a\\_menu/koutou/ryugaku/\\_icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/12/24/1342726\\_2.pdf](http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/ryugaku/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/12/24/1342726_2.pdf)
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). (2016). "The Situation of

- Educational Innovation in Universities in 2016*” (As of December 13, 2016).  
Doi:[http://www.mext.go.jp/a\\_menu/koutou/daigaku/04052801/\\_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/02/17/1380019\\_1.pdf](http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/koutou/daigaku/04052801/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/02/17/1380019_1.pdf) (Published in Japanese)
- OECD. (2013). “Education at a glance 2013”. (Accessed January 7, 2015).  
Doi: [http://www.oecd.org/edu/eag2013%20\(eng\)--FINAL%2020%20June%202013.pdf](http://www.oecd.org/edu/eag2013%20(eng)--FINAL%2020%20June%202013.pdf)
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the discourse of colonialism*. Routledge: London.
- Phillipson, R. (2009). *Linguistic imperialism continued*. Routledge: New York and London.
- Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet. (2011). “An Interim Report of the Council on Promotion of Human Resource for Globalization Development” (As of 22 June, 2011). Doi: [http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/global/1206011interim\\_report.pdf](http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/global/1206011interim_report.pdf).
- Shimauchi, S (2016). *Paradigm Shift on International Student Mobility in East Asia: Comparative Analysis on Internationalization of Higher Education and English-medium Degree Programs in Japan and South Korea*. Toshindo. (Published in Japanese)
- Shimauchi, S. (2017a). “Development and its orientation of ‘International Liberal Arts’ Education in Japanese Higher Education”. Presentation at Japanese Educational Research (26 August, 2017). Obirin University. (Presented in Japanese)
- Shimauchi, S. (2017b). English-medium Degree Programs in Internationalization of Japanese Universities: Conceptual Models and Critical Issues. *Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, Institute of Asia-Pacific Studies, Waseda University, No. 29, 105-117.
- Shohamy, E. (2007). Reinterpreting globalisation in multilingual context. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 1 (2): 127-133.
- Taguchi, N. (2014). English-medium education in the global society. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 52 (2), 89-98.
- The Times Higher Education. (2016). *World University Rankings 2016-2017*.  
Doi:[https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2017/world-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/sort\\_by/rank/sort\\_order/asc/cols/scores](https://www.timeshighereducation.com/world-university-rankings/2017/world-ranking#!/page/0/length/25/sort_by/rank/sort_order/asc/cols/scores)
- Toh, G. (2016). *English as Medium of Instruction in Japanese Higher Education: Presumption, Mirage or Bluff?*. The Netherlands: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wächter, B., & Maiworm, F. (Eds.). (2014). *English-taught programmes in European higher education: The state of play in 2014*. Lemmens Medien GmbH.  
Doi:[http://www.aca-secretariat.be/fileadmin/aca\\_docs/images/members/ACA-2015\\_English\\_Taught\\_01.pdf](http://www.aca-secretariat.be/fileadmin/aca_docs/images/members/ACA-2015_English_Taught_01.pdf)
- Wilkinson, D. (2015). English-medium content courses: Student approaches and strategies to increase comprehension levels. *International Journal of Learning, Teaching and Educational Research*, 11(3).
- Wilkinson, R. (2005). “The impact of language on teaching content: Views from the content teacher”. Presentation paper at conference in Helsinki.  
Doi:<http://www.palmenia.helsinki.fi/congress/bilingual2005/presentations/wilkinson.pdf>
- Wilkinson, R. (2013). English-medium instruction at a Dutch university: Challenges and pitfalls. In Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. and Sierra, J., (Eds.), *English-medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges*, 3-24, Multilingual Matters.
- Yokota, M. and Kobayashi, A. (2013). *Internationalization of Japanese Universities and the International Mindset of Japanese Students*. Gakubunsha. (Published in Japanese)
- Yonezawa, A. (2017). The Humanities and Social Sciences in the Age of STEM: The Struggle of Japanese as a Linguistic Minority. *International Higher Education*, 88, 31-33.
- Yoshida, A. (2014). Global Human Resource Development and Higher Education in Japan. *Kyouikugaku Kenkyu*, 81 (2), Nihon Kyouiku Gakkai, 22-39. (Published in Japanese)