

English as a medium of instruction – a growing global phenomenon

Julie Dearden



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Executive summary

This report presents the findings of a study which attempted to provide an initial picture of the rapidly growing global phenomenon of English medium instruction (EMI). Our working definition of EMI was:

The 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.

The study was conducted by EMI Oxford (The Centre for Research and Development in English Medium Instruction), a centre based in the University of Oxford's Department of Education. The research group included Professor Ernesto Macaro, Dr Catherine Walter, Julie Dearden and Ting Zhao. The study was enabled thanks to the support of the British Council and the data were collected between October 2013 and March 2014.

The broad aim was to map the size, shape and future trends of EMI worldwide. In order to meet the challenge of researching a global phenomenon with limited resources it was decided that the methodology of this initial and unique study would be to ask British Council staff in 60 countries to act as 'informed respondents' for the countries in which they were resident. Open-ended questionnaires were sent to these respondents and they were asked to provide information on the current state of EMI under a number of headings. Further information on the methodology used is provided in the main report. We obtained information on 55 countries.

The main conclusions are:

- The general trend is towards a rapid expansion of EMI provision.
- There is official governmental backing for EMI but with some interesting exceptions.
- Although public opinion is not wholeheartedly in support of EMI, especially in the secondary phase, the attitudes can be described as 'equivocal' or 'controversial' rather than being 'against' its introduction and/or continued use.
- Where there are concerns these relate to the potentially socially divisive nature of EMI because instruction through English may limit access from lower socio-economic groups and/or a fear that the first language or national identity will be undermined.

In many countries the educational infrastructure does not support quality EMI provision: there is a shortage of linguistically qualified teachers; there are no stated expectations of English language proficiency; there appear to be few organisational or pedagogical guidelines which might lead to effective EMI teaching and learning; there is little or no EMI content in initial teacher education (teacher preparation) programmes and continuing professional development (in-service) courses.

We are quite some way from a 'global' understanding of the aims and purposes of EMI because it appears to be a phenomenon which is being introduced 'top-down' by policy makers and education managers rather than through consultation with the key stakeholders. We are also quite some way from an understanding of the consequences or the outcomes of EMI.

We conclude and recommend that there is an urgent need for a research-driven approach which consults key stake-holders at a national and international level and which measures the complex processes involved in EMI and the effects of EMI both on the learning of academic subjects and on the acquisition of English proficiency.

Specifically we call on the relevant research community to answer the following questions:

- Who or what is driving EMI implementation and expansion?
- What are the different forms of EMI currently being developed?
- What kind of English is being used in EMI and does this matter?
- What are the implications for teacher education, teacher educators and materials developers? Furthermore, what are the most sustainable mechanisms of teacher education and development beyond the immediate period of engagement on a course?
- Are there content areas where the transition to EMI is easier for teachers and/or for learners? Are there particular language problems associated with particular content areas?
- What levels of English proficiency enable EMI teachers/professors to provide quality instruction in their respective academic subjects?
- In those countries which have an intermediate year of English (between secondary and tertiary education), how effective is this year in preparing students to learn their academic subjects through EMI? Similarly, what makes English for Specific Purposes programmes effective in enhancing student performance in EMI content learning?
- How would we measure the success of an EMI programme in the tertiary phase? Is the learning of academic subjects improved by EMI? Does it lead to deep understanding? If so by which groups of students? All students? Only international students? Only home students?
- To what extent do language assessment systems need to change (both for teachers and for students)? Should we explore the potential of bilingual examinations?
- What are the implications for secondary education resulting from EMI expansion in tertiary education?
- How does classroom interaction change as the medium of instruction changes? Does it become more interactive or less interactive?
- What are the psycholinguistic representations in the mental lexicon of abstract concepts encountered in academic subjects through EMI?
- Do abstract concepts result in restructuring of a developing bilingual lexicon? Are we indeed creating bilinguals/multilinguals through EMI?
- What strategies are used by students in EMI classrooms in oral and written comprehension tasks which are designed to facilitate their understanding of their academic subjects?
- What are the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic effects on students' home language resulting from EMI used in various phases of education?

Introduction

There appears to be a fast-moving worldwide shift, in non-anglophone countries, from English being taught as a foreign language (EFL) to English being the medium of instruction (EMI) for academic subjects such as science, mathematics, geography and medicine. In this report a working definition of EMI is:

The 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.

This definition is important in that it provides a conceptual separation between EMI and content and language integrated learning (CLIL). Whereas CLIL is contextually situated (with its origins in the European ideal of plurilingual competence for EU citizens), EMI has no specific contextual origin. Whereas CLIL does not mention which second, additional or foreign language (L2) academic subjects are to be studied in, EMI makes it quite clear that the language of education is English, with all the geopolitical and sociocultural implications that this may entail. Whereas CLIL has a clear objective of furthering both content and language as declared in its title, EMI does not (necessarily) have that objective.

EMI is increasingly being used in universities, secondary schools and even primary schools. This phenomenon has very important implications for the education of young people. Yet little empirical research has been conducted into why and when EMI is being introduced and how it is delivered. We do not know enough with regard to the consequences of using English rather than the first language (L1) on teaching, learning, assessing, and teacher professional development.

Oxford University Department of Education's Centre for Research and Development on English Medium Instruction (EMI Oxford) has the broad aim of carrying out research on where EMI is being implemented, how it is being implemented, and what are the effects and outcomes of this implementation. This is a research agenda that will take a number of years to complete.

The study described in this report was a first phase in tackling that research agenda in that its intention was to investigate in very broad terms what the current situation is globally. This initial phase, carried out with the support of the British Council, set about mapping the size and shape of EMI in the world today. What is reported here therefore is a 'bird's eye view' of 55 countries where EMI is established or is in the process of being established.

The study was conducted from October 2013 to March 2014 and investigated the current situation of EMI in terms of country particularities, subjects being taught through EMI and important variables according to educational phases.

Methodology

The research consisted of:

1. A preliminary study of three countries in Europe.
2. An overview study of 55 countries around the world.

3.1 The preliminary study

In September 2013 preliminary research was carried out in three European countries by investigating university teachers' experiences of and views on EMI in order to help define potential research questions for use in later and larger scale research. This preliminary study took place in universities in Austria, Italy and Poland.

The research took the form of 1. semi-structured interviews, and 2. written questionnaires:

1. EMI Oxford carried out 25 semi-structured 15–20 minute interviews with university teachers who were participating in three separate one-week professional development courses organised by the British Council. The teachers came from different disciplines, including Mathematics, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Information Technology, Media Studies, Social Work. They taught both undergraduates and graduates.

The interviews were based on open questions about EMI aimed at investigating:

- the teachers' experience in EMI at university level
- beliefs about whether students' English improved when learning through EMI
- indications of whether students' academic subject learning was affected when learning through EMI
- if teachers were aware of an EMI policy in their university
- teachers' perceptions of the level of English needed by students to follow a course in EMI and how they could reach that level
- teachers' beliefs of the level of English needed by a teacher to teach in EMI and how they could reach that level.

The interviewer also asked the teachers themselves what research questions they would like EMI Oxford to investigate in the future in relation to EMI.

2. EMI Oxford gathered responses to a post-course questionnaire from the participants in all three countries. The questionnaire included eleven questions directly relating to the course which provided additional insights in relation to the research questions.

The findings from the interviews and questionnaires in three countries in Europe then served to inform the design of a study of 55 countries around the world.

3.2 The 55 countries study

The challenge of such a global survey led us to seek the help of British Council staff who are resident in countries around the world. In October 2013, a survey with open-ended, predominantly qualitative, questions was sent to British Council staff in 60 countries. This was a one-reply-per-country survey and the British Council respondents were encouraged to consult with other stakeholders in the field of education, for example local university professors or policy makers. Some respondents also supplied policy documents and articles to support their statements. Primary analysis of the data was followed by a request for further information to fill any gaps. We can thus categorise our data as deriving from 'informed respondents'.

The responses were coded into a number of categories by coding the items. For closed questions (e.g. the percentage of public and private schools), the coding process for each item involved converting the answer into a numerical score. For open-ended questions (e.g. attitudes towards EMI), the coding process for each item involved condensing the diverse information contained in the responses into a limited number of categories, thus allowing a rough attempt at quantification. This allowed us to construct a broad global picture of:

- the percentage of public and private universities
- the percentage of public and private secondary schools
- the number of countries in which EMI is permitted or prohibited by the government
- the existence of policy documents or official statements on the use of EMI

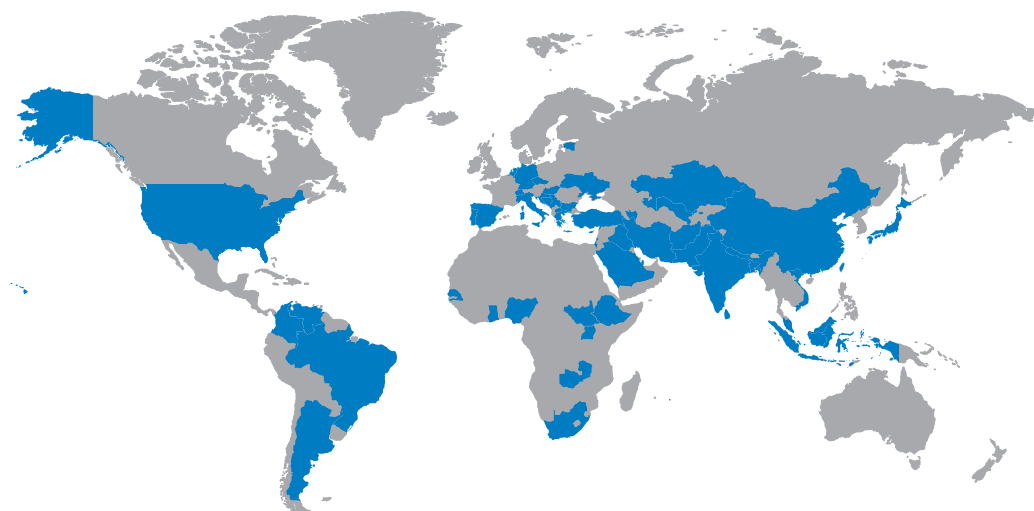
- current and future trends in EMI
- changes in policy over past ten years
- the supply of qualified teachers
- the existence of written guidelines about how to teach through EMI
- the existence of guidelines with regard to English-only use or permission/suggestions to use both English and the L1 (codeswitching)
- public opinion
- which subjects are most often reported to be assessed in English
- subjects not taught in English but assessed in English
- numbers of primary and secondary students from immigrant communities
- numbers of non-national students in universities
- L1s of foreign students

- numbers of subject teachers who are bilingual
- numbers of monolingual English-speaking teachers
- any provision for EMI on Initial Teacher Education programmes
- any assessment of EMI teachers' English proficiency
- any stated expectation of teacher language proficiency to qualify as an EMI teacher.

Processing closed questions

Data cleaning was undertaken before the actual analyses were conducted so as to correct as many errors and inaccuracies as possible. The main checks included: impossible data, contradicting data, incorrectly entered values. Data manipulation was conducted to make changes or to update survey answers. Respondents were contacted again via email to complete the items that they had missed out the first time.

The 55 countries and/or jurisdictions which participated in the study are:



Afghanistan	Cyprus	Iran	Netherlands	Sri Lanka
Argentina	Czech Republic	Iraq	Nigeria	Switzerland
Azerbaijan	Estonia	Israel	Pakistan	Taiwan
Bahrain	Ethiopia	Italy	Portugal	Turkey
Bangladesh	Germany	Japan	Qatar	Uganda
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Ghana	Kazakhstan	Saudi Arabia	Ukraine
Brazil	Greece	Macedonia	Senegal	United States
Bulgaria	Hong Kong	Malaysia	Serbia	Uzbekistan
China	Hungary	Mauritius	South Africa	Venezuela
Colombia	India	Montenegro	South Sudan	Vietnam
Croatia	Indonesia	Nepal	Spain	Zambia

There is some debate as to whether or not the United States should be counted as an EMI country. In one sense it clearly is not according to our definition above (see Executive Summary) as the majority of the population does not speak a language other than English. In another sense it has large areas or educational jurisdictions (Miami Florida; Texas) that have majority populations where English is not the first language. It has been included in this report as the respondent considered it an EMI country.

3.3 Methodological challenges posed by this study

Methodological challenges encountered during this study included:

1. Definitions and nomenclature
2. Research methods
3. Sampling and generalisability of data.

Carrying out a world-wide study of EMI poses a number of challenges for researchers. EMI is a global phenomenon, yet each EMI context in each country is potentially different. Each context has its own vocabulary for discussing educational issues and systems.

Access to key participants, stakeholders and experts presents another major challenge for researchers attempting to obtain valid and reliable data. EMI is also subject to rapid change, and whatever a researcher claims to have found out today may become rapidly outdated.

The term English medium instruction itself is relatively new and no universally accepted definition exists. The term EMI is used in some countries (for example Hong Kong) and not in others. It is sometimes used as synonymous with CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning). However CLIL has a dual educational objective built into its title (the enhancement of both content and language) whereas EMI does not. Taken at 'face value' EMI simply describes the practice of teaching an academic subject through English which is not the first language of the majority population.

EMI is sometimes confused with teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) through English, meaning that the interaction and texts used for instruction in EFL should avoid any recourse to the students' first language. EMI is also confused with ESP (English for Specific Purposes) in which courses involve English for journalism or business studies for example, specifically designed to enable a student to undertake that profession in an English-speaking context. It may also be confused with EAP (English for Academic Purposes) which is designed to provide

students with the type of academic vocabulary and (usually written) discourse enabling them to operate successfully at a university which delivers its academic subjects through the medium of English.

Although EMI is none of these, it is not a fixed concept but one that is evolving as an increasing number of countries adopt it as a system of education. The 55 Countries study was therefore prefaced by a glossary of terms to help the respondents understand the focus of the research. Moreover terms such as home and majority language were defined in order to overcome the hurdle of different countries having different labels and to provide a common terminology for this report.

In the preliminary study the number of participants and their teaching contexts were limited. The university teachers were taking part in a British Council Academic Teaching Excellence (ATE) course and it might therefore be assumed that they were already interested in and generally positive towards EMI. Findings from 25 interviews cannot therefore be considered as generalisable but it was hoped that they would indicate some of the main issues for teachers in EMI teaching and learning.

In the 55 countries study the data represent a snapshot view of a particular country from the standpoint of one British Council representative, supported by any experts they chose to consult. We therefore have to treat the information they provided with some caution.

It is also important to note that trends in the data may be strongly influenced by local factors. These may be political, socio-economic or cultural. Categories may not correspond with the same underlying phenomenon from one country to another. For example in most countries private schooling is for the elite, but in some countries the most prestigious secondary schools are state schools (e.g. France); and in some countries private schools may be low-cost schools (e.g. Pakistan). Private universities are often smaller than state universities and teach fewer students but we used the university as the unit of analysis when comparing private and state universities. Moreover, the overall results are based on the nation-state or autonomous region as the unit of analysis. This means that in figures and tables, we are giving Mainland China the same weight as Cyprus, when China's population is over fifteen hundred times that of Cyprus. This needs to be borne in mind when reflecting upon the results. The findings are nevertheless worthy in that they provide an indication of trends and raise issues that can be explored in greater depth in subsequent research.

The findings

We report the findings under the following five sections:

1. The growth of EMI as a global phenomenon.
2. Official policies and statements on EMI.
3. Different national perspectives on EMI.
4. Public opinion on EMI.
5. Teaching and learning through EMI.

4.1 The growth of EMI as a global phenomenon

In summary, respondents reported:

- There is more EMI in private than public education.
- EMI is more likely to be sanctioned or 'officially allowed' in the private sector than the public sector.

The research field of EMI can be conceptualised as having two dimensions. The first is its presence in primary, secondary and tertiary education and the transition points between these phases. The second is the separation between public (state funded) and private education.

Respondents reported on the percentage of public and private provision of education. According to their estimations, whilst in most countries the number of public secondary schools heavily outweighed the number of private secondary schools (Figure 1), in most countries the numbers of private universities almost equalled that of public universities (Figure 2).

Figure 1: Secondary schools: the percentage of secondary schools in each country which are public and the percentage which are private as reported by British Council respondents.

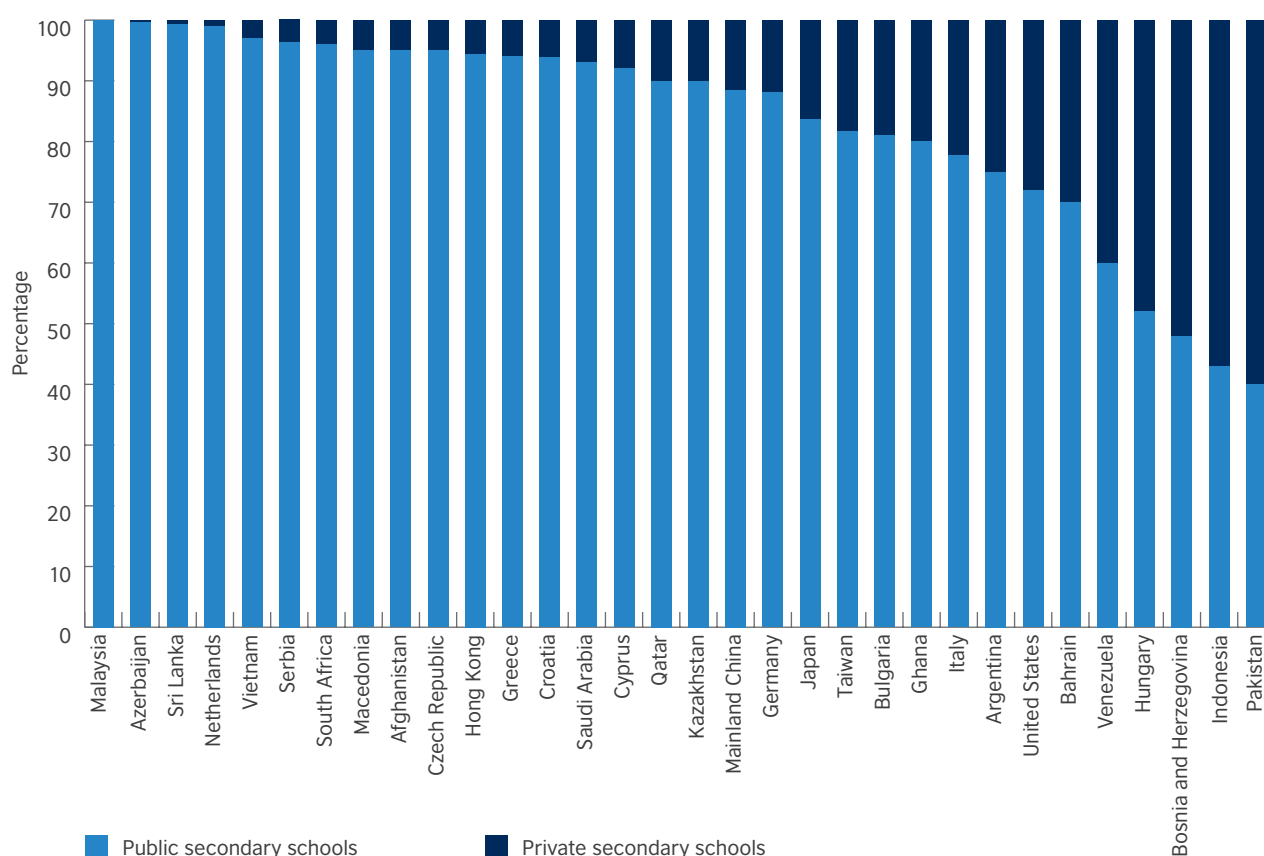
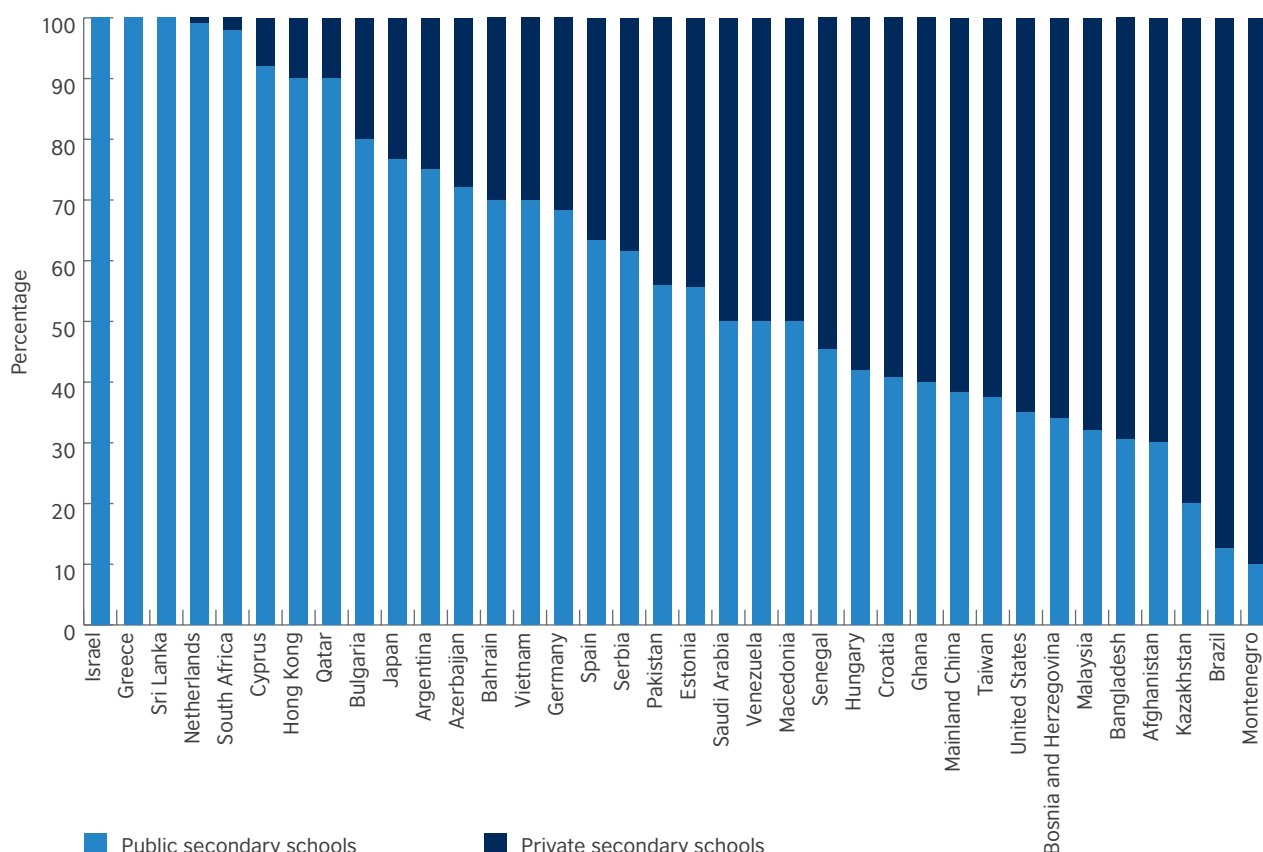
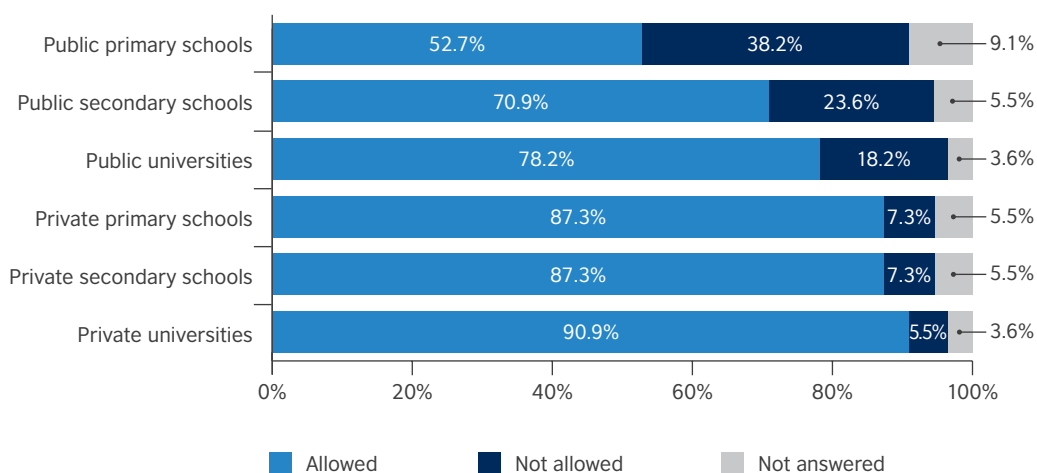


Figure 2: The percentage of universities in each country which are public and the percentage which are private as reported by British Council respondents.



Globally, the percentage of institutions in the private sector which respondents reported as sanctioning or allowing EMI is consistently higher than those in the public sector. When comparing each phase, (primary, secondary and tertiary) there is more EMI reported at tertiary level than at secondary level. There is more EMI at secondary level than at primary level and, at all levels, EMI is more prevalent in the private sector.

Figure 3: Out of 55 countries, the percentage of primary schools, secondary schools and universities reporting that EMI is allowed in the public and private sectors as reported by British Council respondents.



Respondents reported on whether or not EMI is allowed in their countries and at what levels of education in both the public and private sectors.

The summary of countries, sector and level where EMI was reported as allowed is shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Countries where EMI was reported as allowed, by sector and level.

(Y = allowed; N = not allowed; ? = no answer)

Country	Public primary	Private primary	Public secondary	Private secondary	Public university	Private university
Afghanistan	?	Y	?	Y	Y	Y
Argentina	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Azerbaijan	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Bahrain	?	?	?	?	?	?
Bangladesh	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Bosnia and Herzegovina	N	N	N	N	Y	Y
Brazil	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Bulgaria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
China	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Colombia	?	Y	?	Y	?	Y
Croatia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Cyprus	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Czech Republic	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Estonia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ethiopia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Germany	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ghana	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Greece	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hong Kong	?	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Hungary	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
India	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Indonesia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Iran	N	N	N	N	N	N
Iraq	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Israel	N	N	N	N	N	N
Italy	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Japan	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Kazakhstan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Macedonia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Malaysia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Mauritius	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Montenegro	N	?	N	?	N	?

Country	Public primary	Private primary	Public secondary	Private secondary	Public university	Private university
Nepal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Netherlands	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Nigeria	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Pakistan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Portugal	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Qatar	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Saudi Arabia	N	Y	N	Y	Y	Y
Senegal	N	N	N	N	N	N
Serbia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
South Africa	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
South Sudan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Spain	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Sri Lanka	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Switzerland	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Taiwan	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Turkey	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Uganda	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Ukraine	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
United States	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Uzbekistan	N	?	N	?	Y	Y
Venezuela	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y
Vietnam	N	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Zambia	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y

Respondents judged that the prevalence of EMI in the private sector was largely due to EMI giving an international image, prestige and reputation to the institution in question. However, such generalisations mask a multitude of varying situations in EMI. In India for example, private schools are not exclusively for the rich and elite, and EMI provision varies across different types of institutions.

4.2 Official policies and statements on EMI

Respondents reported that policies on EMI exist in 22 of the 55 (40 per cent) countries surveyed. Twenty-seven countries out of 55 (49 per cent) reported that official statements concerning EMI had been made publically available.

Table 2: Existence of policies

	Number	Per cent
Yes	22	40.0
No	27	49.1
Not known	6	10.9

Table 3: Official statements have been made

	Number	Per cent
Yes	27	49.1
No	23	41.8
Not known	5	9.1

This result was surprising as in our preliminary research teachers in three European countries were overwhelmingly unaware of any policy on EMI in their universities, although they were well aware of a growth in EMI and the importance of programmes such as the European Commission's Erasmus programme. The majority of the teachers interviewed suspected that there was a strategy but it was not explicit and believed that the lack of official policy was perhaps due to the fact that EMI was new, as the following comments show:

There isn't a comprehensive policy more a general trend not set in stone.

You mean that we need a ...? ...we have a masters starting in Fall...Here isn't a document at least that I know.

A number of respondents in the 55 countries study were able to peruse official policies and statements as to why EMI has been introduced in their country. They then analysed and summarised the reasons. These reasons included a desire or intention to develop English language learning skills; improving knowledge of a target culture; opening up possibilities for students to work and study abroad as well as spreading the country's own culture throughout the world; political reasons of nation-building and aligning a country with English-speaking neighbours.

The following comments are from respondents in various countries summarising the reasons found in official policies and statements for introducing EMI in their country.

Hungary:

The new Public Education Act [4/2013. (I.11.)] contains aims for bilingual education in primary and secondary schools:

- *developing Hungarian and foreign communication skills*
- *developing language learning skills*
- *developing knowledge of target culture*
- *maximising subject integration opportunities*
- *enabling students to study or work in a foreign language environment. Higher education EMI is encouraged in particular to:*
 - *raise foreign language skills to prepare students for compulsory language exams*
 - *attract international students.*

Malaysia:

Malaysia's multicultural society makes it a natural environment for producing students who are proficient in more than one language.

Japan:

[they are] Resolutely proceeding with internationalization and making educational environments at universities that can compete with the best in the world.

[they are] Providing opportunities for all students with the desire and capability to study abroad.

Enhancing education from the primary and secondary school levels to respond to globalisation.

Cultivating identity as a Japanese and spreading Japanese culture to the world.

Macedonia:

The Government encourages the opening of international and bilingual schools aiming to get students who can speak at least one foreign language well and because we can have exchange programmes.

Czech Republic:

EMI in bilingual schools is introduced to firstly improve knowledge of foreign languages among students and, secondly, to prepare them for potential HE study abroad. University study programmes in English are created mainly for the sake of foreign students.

Hong Kong:

Former Secretary of Education, Michael Suen, notes at the beginning of 'Enriching Our Language Environment-Realising Our Vision: Fine – tuning of Medium of Instruction for Secondary Schools' that we are entering a new era as globalisation has taken hold. In line with the policy goal of 'upholding mother-tongue teaching while enhancing student proficiency in both Chinese and English', the fine-tuning of Medium of Instruction for secondary schools will enhance our students' exposure to English and its use at junior secondary levels ... prepare them to embrace new challenges and enhance Hong Kong's status as an international city.

South Sudan:

South Sudanese participants at the 2012 Language-in-Education Conference in Juba stated a number of reasons, including the political heritage issue (i.e. breaking away from the previously enforced Arabisation policy), nation building and aligning themselves more closely with neighbours to the east, e.g. Uganda and Kenya.

Indonesia:

The policy states: 'A school/madrasah which fulfils all the National Standards for Education and which is further enriched by taking into consideration the education standards of one member nation of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and/or another advanced nation which has particular strengths in education such that it achieves competitive advantage in the international forum'.

Netherlands:

The Dutch government has a policy in place that is aimed at internationalisation of education, especially for secondary and tertiary. Next to that, there has been a recent policy proposal for the increase of early foreign language teaching in primary education, mostly focussing on English.

Sri Lanka:

The mission statement of the Bilingual Education Branch of the MoE is 'Empowering future generations to be multilingual (minimum bilingual) using English as a tool presenting Sri Lankan identity.

India:

There is ... an English language policy in schools in the National Curriculum Framework and the Position Paper on English in Schools, but none such document or thinking exists for higher education in India... .

Uganda:

The official statement is the National Curriculum developed by the National Curriculum Development Centre. It confirms that English is the official language of Uganda. It is also enshrined in the 1995 constitution of the Republic of Uganda.

Cyprus:

EMI is introduced in tertiary education to attract foreign students to Cyprus.

Pakistan:

The Punjab School Education Department has notified the conversion of all its schools from the Urdu medium to English medium. The government decision aims at competing with the globalized world in the field of knowledge.

Bahrain:

There is an initiative from the EDB (Bahrain Development Board) to improve schools and one area is to improve English in public education through three initiatives:

- 1. establishing Bahrain teachers' college where all courses are EMI*
- 2. establishing a technical college with EMI to feed the workforce with skilled Bahrainis*
- 3. establishing the national examinations unit to assess the outcome of teaching English at the end of every cycle (primary, intermediary and secondary).*

A comparative case study: EMI in Turkey and Kazakhstan

As has been suggested earlier, each country and each context where EMI is used is unique. On the surface, reasons for the introduction and use of EMI may look very similar, but when we dig deeper, there are a myriad of contextual, geographical, historical and political reasons which make each country's adoption of EMI different in nature and extent. For example, from a geographical perspective, Turkey and Kazakhstan are both countries which span an Asian–European boundary. Linguistically, they are both countries where several different languages are spoken and people are often bilingual and even multilingual. Yet the decision as to which language is used as a Medium of Instruction has different historical and cultural origins and the impetus for and introduction of EMI varies considerably between the two countries. The rich linguistic variety in the two countries is summarised by the respondents as follows:

Turkey:

The students in Turkey's state schools have various L1s and from academic year 2013–14, grade 5 and 6 students (11–12 years of age) may choose an optional two-hour per week 'Living Languages and Dialects' course from among a range of courses, which include various Kurdish dialects and Laz which is spoken in the Black Sea region. For many students in the East of Turkey especially, Kurdish is actually their L1 and Turkish their L2.

Kazakhstan:

There is a tri-lingual policy. The three languages of instruction are Kazakh, Russian and English. Some ethnic languages are used as official languages of instruction at ethnic schools, e.g. Uighur, Uzbek, Korean, where the language of instruction depends on the ethnicity of the majority of the population. Current language policy is directed at gradually strengthening the home language, and there is discussion about the place of Kazakh and Russian languages in the future of the country. The use of Russian is slowly declining as a medium for scientific and cultural information, and English has become important for many forms of communication. However, only 1.6 per cent of students studied in English in 2009–10 and almost half studied through Kazakh.

For both Turkey and Kazakhstan, respondents reported that one objective of EMI is to increase the number of international students. The respondent from Turkey explained that The Higher Education Council aims to increase the number of overseas students dramatically over the next few years. In Turkey most overseas students are from Africa and Asia, from Middle Eastern countries and countries in South-East Asia, especially Malaysia and Indonesia. Respondents from both countries reported that a parallel aim is to prepare home students to be competitive in an integrated world.

However, Turkey is an example of a country where the trend towards EMI has been reversed in state schools. In the past, the elite state Anadolu High Schools used EMI in the first year, but this system, according to our Turkey respondent, was abolished a few years ago. The stated reason for abolishing EMI was that pupils were performing poorly in science and mathematics. Schools have returned to teaching English as a foreign language, with six hours of English language per week scheduled on the timetable. Other subjects are mainly taught in Turkish and the official language in all state schools is Turkish. However EMI is widely used in the private sector in international high schools.

As in many other countries in the study, the level of the teachers' English is a cause for concern in both Turkey and Kazakhstan. The respondent in Turkey estimated that 20 per cent of state school teachers of English have only a CEFR (Common European Framework of Reference) A2 language level and reported that, although there is a standardised civil service exam which includes English, there is no separate test of teachers' English language ability. The assumption is that any graduate of an ELT or other English-related subject (e.g. English Literature) is proficient enough to teach. There is little Teacher Professional Development provision for teachers in state schools and higher education institutions although private schools and universities sometimes run their own professional development programmes.

At tertiary level in Turkey, institutions are free to determine the extent of EMI. Our respondent estimated that approximately 110 out of 178 institutions have some kind of EMI provision. EMI has been introduced in newly-established private universities in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir as well as the elite state universities. Our Turkish respondent reported that there seems to be an ambivalent attitude to EMI in universities in Turkey, with both lecturers and students expressing

the wish to have less EMI in higher education. Turkey has adopted a preparatory year in many universities during which students are required to undertake an English language course intended to bring them to a level at which they can operate through EMI. It is only after successfully passing the end-of-year test that students may commence their chosen field of study. Respondents in the study reported that tests are often written in-house by individual universities with little standardisation and that university teachers are not convinced that the preparatory year adequately prepares students for EMI study. Preparatory year teachers are concerned that students arriving in the preparatory year with a low level of English, sometimes CEFR A2 level, were supposed to reach a B2 level in just eight months. Teachers also believe that many preparatory year students are not motivated to learn English as they really just want to get on with studying their subject at university rather than learn English.

The respondent reported that Turkish university teachers express concerns about EMI. They believe that EMI reduces a student's ability to understand concepts and leads to low levels of knowledge of the subject studied. Teachers believe it takes too much time to teach the curriculum through EMI, that EMI causes feelings of alienation and separation and reduces student participation in class due to students' low level proficiency in English. EMI might be seen as a vehicle for creating an elite class excluding the masses as the majority of students do not have access to English education. Interestingly, Turkish-medium instruction is also facing problems; the translation of specific academic or technical terms into Turkish, the lack of resources for teaching in Turkish and the low level of participation of students in class are cited as concerns.

According to our Kazak respondent, in Kazakhstan there has been a move firmly in the direction of EMI. Kazakhstan was the first among post-Soviet countries to join the Bologna process in March 2010 and became a member of the European Education Area. In secondary schools, approximately 35 per cent of subjects are taught in English, and there are also elective courses in English.

There is a *State Education Programme of Education Development* for 2011–20 and the government's tri-lingual policy which states that 15 per cent of the adult population should speak English, Kazakh, and Russian by 2020. EMI should be introduced at all levels of education – university, college and school and in both sectors (private and state). The Ministry requires that English be used by 20 per cent of teachers as a language of instruction by 2020. Its aims are stated as:

The formation of an intellectually, physically and spiritually developed citizen of the Republic of Kazakhstan in general education institutions, satisfying his/her needs in obtaining education, in order to ensure success in a rapidly changing world.

(State Program of Education Development in the Republic of Kazakhstan for 2011–20).

Internationalising the higher education system is a high priority and languages are seen as key. Kazakhstan is an example of a country whose language is used only within its borders and so using English in higher education is seen as a way of internationalising the country. Degrees from Kazakhstan, with its Soviet background, were not recognised in developed countries and EMI is not simply a new medium of instruction, but also a way to implement a pedagogy and curriculum which is more in line with established world standards of teaching and assessment.

In Kazakhstan EMI is a means to develop the country economically and politically. EMI exists in leading private universities, Kasipkor College, and Nazarbayev Intellectual schools and there are joint educational programmes and international collaboration agreements between universities. Nazarbayev University is an example of an EMI university where graduates are taught in English with the expressed intention that they contribute to research, education and the national economy.

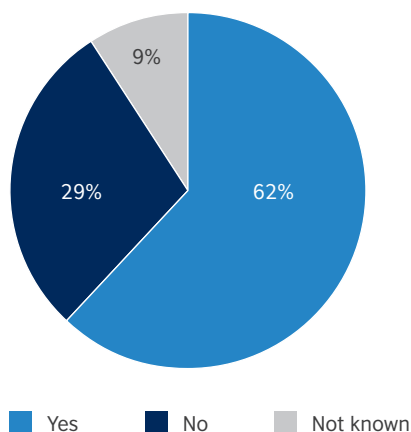
Our respondents in Kazakhstan reported, as did nearly all the respondents in the study, that a majority of institutions are facing difficulties with teaching resources in EMI and there are problems in implementing EMI. Older teachers may not speak English. In 2010 the British Council and BISAM Central Asia agency found that only four per cent of university faculty in Kazakhstan were highly proficient in English. The younger generation can learn English with the Bolashak International Scholarship scheme which provides the opportunity for a one-semester foreign language course for future researchers and graduate programmes abroad.

4.3 Different national perspectives on EMI

If we look at the global picture, it would appear that the EMI phenomenon is in a state of flux. From country to country EMI is being promoted, rejected, refined and sometimes even reversed.

Nearly 62 per cent of respondents reported that the country they represented had experienced EMI policy changes over the past ten years. Not all changes had been in the same direction:

Figure 4: Percentage of the 55 countries which reported that changes in policy had taken place over the past ten years



In some countries EMI is being promoted by policy makers, administrators, teachers and parents as EMI is thought to be a passport to a global world.

Policy makers consider EMI as a mechanism for internationalising their education offer, creating opportunities for students to join a global academic and business community. They see EMI as a way of rapidly increasing international mobility. Some see EMI as a way to build the English language capacity of their home country and ensure that their home students can compete in a world market. The following descriptions, provided by respondents in Uzbekistan and Croatia, illustrate this:

Uzbekistan:

In Uzbekistan the presidential decree of 10 December 2012 encourages English to be taught, spoken, and used for business communication at all levels and at any institution, be it journalism, economics or ministry staff.

Croatia:

In Croatia, in the context of the Bologna process and with increased international mobility as one of its priorities, the Ministry of Education, Science and Sport has developed an Action Plan for the removal of obstacles and strengthening of the international mobility in education, which includes the increase in the number of study programmes offered in foreign languages as one of its measures.

In many countries respondents reported that English is seen as the way to access modernity and prosperity.

In Hong Kong, for example, EMI was seen as a way of preparing children for the diverse linguistic needs that will be placed upon them in the business hub that is Hong Kong.

In Azerbaijan it was reported that EMI was perceived as a 'means of possible improvement of suitable employment chances'.

In Saudi Arabia English is recognised as a basic skill, and the prestige attached to English ability was said to include the potential for accessing better employment.

In Japan the business sectors, such as Keidanren (Japan Business Federation) and Japan Association of Corporate Executives, issued recommendations on English education reform. These associations focus on fostering practical English skills, the internationalisation of school curricula (International Baccalaureate), study abroad and university entrance examination reform. Our respondent reported that the associations 'were concerned with the tendency of Japan's young people to be 'inward-looking' and the fact that they remain low-ranked internationally in terms of English proficiency'.

Many of these sentiments were echoed by the university teachers and administrators in our preliminary study interviews in three countries in Europe. They reported that administrators of universities consider EMI an attractive proposition for many reasons, including promotion, globalisation and financial survival. This comment by an administrator during the preliminary research illustrates this:

For the university central offices it's financial, they want to promote the university more. It's a local university; they want to attract students from abroad.

The ability to teach a class of mixed nationalities through the medium of English means that universities can attract high fee-paying international students. It also means that universities can produce high quality research papers in English, helping them move up in the international rankings.

Interestingly, the reasons for EMI given by the teachers interviewed were more idealistic than those of administrators. Teachers considered EMI as a way to improve communication, to exchange ideas and create relations between countries, even a way of facilitating world peace as well as a key to success and a way to open doors for their home students. They expressed the wish to teach their students to access academic literature in English and hold their own at international conferences or in their professions. Some teachers also spoke about their wish to 'attract intelligent people to their university and share their own knowledge more widely'.

Statements included:

For my university it is necessary to open the doors, globalisation has arrived.

*We're linguistically an isolated country.
Internationalisation is one of the big words here.
English as world language, as the key to success,
omnipresent.*

Some considered English the new Latin, a world language that could enable movement in academia and business. EMI was also a personal challenge, a way to improve personally and professionally as teachers and to advance their careers. In other words not only students but teachers too can become international in an EMI context.

Many of our respondents made it clear that EMI is a controversial and sensitive issue in their countries. EMI is sometimes being rejected for political reasons, to protect a national identity, a home language or the freedom to study in a home language.

In Argentina, for example, it was thought that deploying EMI throughout the education system on a national scale would be seen negatively due to the UK's involvement in the Falklands/Malvinas conflict, combined with nationalist claims and the status of Spanish as the national language and the official language for local education.

Protecting national identity was another reason given as to why countries might be wary of EMI. This view is represented by the report from Bangladesh, in which the respondent explains that it was thought that EMI might bring with it western views to the detriment of the home culture:

Bangladesh:

More and more people in Bangladesh seem to be interested in English medium education as good knowledge of English provides many opportunities. Students of English medium schools tend to learn western literature, geography, history and so on. Though these schools contribute towards the rise of English there is an impression that this education is gradually fostering western culture that undermines Bangladeshi culture and tradition.

EMI is being rejected by some countries because of the wish to protect a home, unifying language or education system. Israel, Senegal and Venezuela for example, were reported to be resisting the spread of EMI in public education for this reason. This concern expressed about the effect of EMI on the home language was also elaborated on in terms of how the latter might become used only for everyday communication but not in academia, and that as a consequence the academic use of the home

language would be lost. In Israel EMI was considered a sensitive issue for this reason, and it was reported that moves to run CLIL courses in English in the past were stopped due to hostile media coverage. The reintroduction of the Hebrew language as a fully successful language was thought to be put at risk by EMI. This had been the focus of some newspaper articles, for example in the *Jewish Daily Forward*, it was reported that:

The renewal of Hebrew arrived at its full success at the time that Hebrew became the language of teaching in the universities Hebrew could not just be the spoken language of the street or the market. A real language is a language that exists in all fields of life.(President of The Academy of the Hebrew Language, Jewish Daily Forward 20 April 2012).

A counterargument to this view was that academic work can only be read internationally if it is in English:

Hebrew is the language of the Jewish People, but if you write your thesis in Hebrew, it is buried.

(Professor at Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.
The Jewish Daily Forward 20 April 2012)

Despite these reservations, the respondent reported that the trend in Israel is towards EMI at the postgraduate level in the natural, physical and computer sciences. English is also being used more widely in undergraduate studies and in humanities courses at all levels. The natural sciences faculty at Ben-Gurion University recently formalised a rule that lectures and classes are taught in English if there are international students in the class. At Tel Aviv University there are EMI courses and assessments in humanities undergraduate programmes, including archaeology, East Asian studies and (surprisingly) Jewish history. The Hebrew University of Jerusalem recommends that students complete at least one course taught and assessed in English.

Nevertheless the following quotes from respondents in other countries also illustrate the desire to protect a home language.

Estonia:

The Estonian Language Act declares that Estonian medium instruction should be provided in all curriculum fields at all levels. There has been public discussion about protecting Estonian.

Pakistan:

In the Pakistani context, three schools of thought can be identified: 'those who believe that the mother tongue should be used as the medium of instruction for non-native speakers of Urdu (at least in primary schools); those who feel Urdu, the national language, should be the medium of instruction, whatever the child's first language is; those who argue for maintaining or extending the role that English currently has in the education system.

Portugal:

There has been some controversy in the press coming from traditional quarters who support the use of Portuguese.

Netherlands:

There are also initiatives that are aimed at countering the increased levels of non-Dutch being used in formal education, like the 'Stichting Taalverdediging' (Foundation for Language Defence), who have actually gone to court on some developments, especially a successful early English programme.

Taiwan:

Generally speaking, in primary and secondary education, EMI is welcome in some but not all courses as acquisition of the local official language is attached great importance.

In countries wanting to protect their home language, it was also thought that students graduating from university to work in business, engineering and medicine should have a deep knowledge of the language in the country where they live. Although they should have the opportunity to study in English, this should not be to the exclusion of their home language or other important international languages.

In Italy, the home of Latin, possibly the last global language, our Italian respondent drew our attention to the dispute at the Politecnico di Milano which had caused a stir in 2012. The university announced that from 2014 most of its degree courses – including all its graduate courses – would be taught and assessed entirely in English rather than Italian. The university rector believed that if the Politecnico di Milano remained Italian-speaking, it risked isolation and would be unable to compete as an international institution:

We strongly believe our classes should be international classes - and the only way to have international classes is to use the English language.

BBC news website, 16 May 2012 – www.bbc.co.uk/16 May 2012

However, in 2013 this process was stopped by the Regional Administrative Tribunal judges, who accepted the appeal of 100 members of the faculty. The faculty's main claim was that it is wrong in principle for an Italian public university to force students and staff to use English. The precision and quality of teaching and learning would be lost in translation, it was claimed, if both teachers and students used a second language:

Speaking Italian to our countrymen is like watching a movie in colour, high definition, very clear pictures. Speaking English to them, even with our best effort, is like watching a movie in black and white with very poor definition, with blurred pictures.

Professor Emilio Matricciani, Appeal for Freedom of Teaching, quoted on the BBC news website, 16 May 2012 – www.bbc.co.uk/16 May 2012.

A compromise seems to have been reached and the university website now shows undergraduate and graduate courses taught in English and in Italian.

Questions of equality and even human rights arise when we start discussing which language(s) should be used as a medium of instruction. If there is more EMI in private education and it is seen as a door to new opportunities, then should it be available to all? Some countries, e.g. Pakistan, make provision in their education policy to ensure that students from poorer backgrounds can also learn English. On the other hand, all students have a right to education in their home language. In Article 29(c) of the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child (www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/crc.pdf), which entered into force in 1990, it states that: 'States Parties agree that the education of the child shall be directed to... [t]he development of respect for the child's parents, his or her own cultural identity, language and values' as well as 'for the national values of the country in which the child is living, the country from which he or she may originate, and for civilizations different from his or her own.' Only Somalia, South Sudan and the United States have not ratified this Convention.

A thorough reversal of EMI implementation was reported to have taken place by a few respondents, in their countries. Where EMI was reversed the reasons for this were reported as being political reasons, teacher protests, differences between public and private sectors or fears that students were performing badly.

The Hungarian government, for example, was concerned that EMI was benefiting only a small number of learners and was costly to operate. Qatar, which switched to EMI in public schools and state universities during the reform era, reported a possible movement away from EMI.

Indonesia is an interesting example of a country where the respondent reported that the move towards EMI was being reversed. The national language of Indonesia is Bahasa Indonesia and there are more than 700 vernacular languages. Until 2003 international EMI schools operating in Indonesia were restricted to the children of expatriates. Education Law Number 20 of 2003, article 50, relaxed these restrictions and required that the central or regional governments establish one 'International Standard School' (ISS) at all levels, primary, junior, secondary and senior secondary. This government sponsored programme was implemented in 2006 in a special stream of public schools, the Rintisan Sekolah Bertaraf Internasional (RSBI) or International Standard Schools (ISS) and was known as RSBI/SBI or the International Standard Schools programme. EMI was used for core subjects such as science and maths.

In 2013, parents, teachers and NGOs requested that the Constitutional Court of Indonesia should revoke the legislation on the RSBI/SBI programme. The Constitutional Court approved the public appeal to cancel the law governing ISS and declared the law unconstitutional. This forced the Ministry of Education and Culture to stop the programme as from school year 2013–14. However, this rule does not apply to private schools that choose to offer English bilingual education.

The main argument used in the court case was that EMI might endanger Indonesians' national identity, with the risk of the national unifying language Bahasa Indonesia becoming the language of the poor, and English becoming the language of the elite classes. It was also argued that the use of EMI could hinder students from loving Bahasa Indonesia and that the use of English or any other language as a medium of instruction (MoI) contradicts the spirit of the Youth Pledge 1928, proclaiming three ideals: one motherland, one nation and one language.

Some respondents reported that the countries which they represent, despite the potential for cultural devaluation, have moved in the opposite direction and sanctioned EMI provision. Sri Lanka is an example of this. EMI is limited to five subjects by Circular 2008–12 which also states that students cannot be streamed as EMI students. In other subjects they must join those who study all subjects through the Sinhala/Tamil medium of instruction. However the attitude to EMI has changed as this quote from our respondent in Sri Lanka shows:

Sri Lanka:

In the immediate post-colonial period, English was called the 'kaduwa', the 'knife' or 'sword' that cut the Sri Lankan community from its heritage. Sinhalese nationalism in the 1950s resulted in the 'Sinhalese only' laws, which saw both English and Tamil downgraded (and was certainly a major step towards the ethnic conflict). These days, English has lost this association for most, though not quite all, Sri Lankans, and is seen as the way to access modernity and prosperity. EMI is widely seen among the public as being valuable as a means of learning English as a language/skill.

Case study: Hong Kong

Hong Kong has an almost unique political complexion and is a country where the medium of instruction has changed and changed again. As a former British colony and now a Special Administrative Region (SAR) of China, Hong Kong regards English as having high social status and proficiency in English is considered to be a prerequisite for good academic and career prospects. Hence, when the colonial government was adopting a non-intervention policy towards the Medium of Instruction, over 90 per cent of secondary schools claimed to be EMI. Following the handover of Hong Kong from Britain to China, a mother tongue policy was implemented in 1998 even though around 25 per cent of schools were permitted to remain as EMI. A decade after 1998, the government introduced its 'fine-tuning' MoI policy: as long as they fulfill certain criteria, secondary schools in Hong Kong can choose to be EMI schools. This would internationally be considered as 'late start immersion', where all subjects (except Chinese History, Chinese Language and Literature) are taught in English from Grade 7. The fine-tuning policy introduced in 2009 provided a flexible way in which schools could increase their use of EMI according to student ability, teacher ability and school preparedness. It allows schools to 'adopt diversified MOI arrangements'.

Currently around 30 per cent of secondary schools are EMI schools and over 65 per cent of schools use English to teach at least one academic subject. The trend in Hong Kong is to increase EMI whilst preserving mother tongue teaching. This in itself is interesting and perhaps due to the fact that there are an increasing number of school-aged students for whom Cantonese is not the first language. Approximately 30 per cent of the Hong Kong population was born in Mainland China, Taiwan or Macau, and speak Mandarin as their first language, while other immigrant families come from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Indonesia and the Philippines.

In Hong Kong, the student's proficiency level in English is a determining factor in decisions about when to introduce EMI and children are tested at primary six (aged 11), prior to being accepted in a particular type of school or language programme. Those classified as suitable for EMI schools need to be among the top 40 per cent in both English language and Chinese language in public standardised assessments.

Hong Kong has 17 local degree-awarding higher education institutions, eight of which are funded through the government's University Grants Council. Among these eight government-funded institutions (seven universities and one teacher training institution), only two maintain a bilingual/trilingual policy, whereas the others are all English-medium universities. Students in the teacher training institution (except English language majors) are required to take only 25 per cent of courses taught in English. There was a proposal that English should be used for more courses, but this immediately aroused debate among the teaching and academic staff.

In universities which implement an EMI policy almost all courses at different levels (except Chinese-related subjects or foreign language courses) are taught in English.

In one university, the student evaluation questionnaire conducted at the end of each course includes a question about the percentage of English used as the medium of instruction in lessons; it is thought that the university closely monitors the use of English as the MoI.

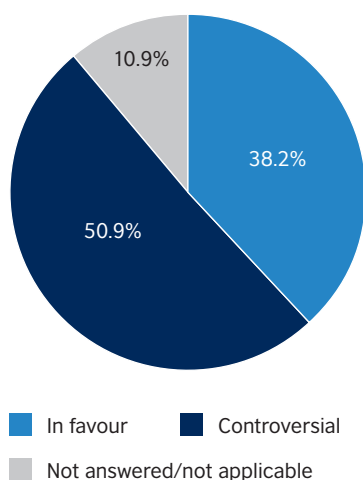
While there are news reports or television programmes about the MoI in secondary schools from time to time, there has been very little discussion about the MoI in universities in the mass media. In a piece of news in October 2013 about the MoI of some courses at a post-secondary institution (not a university), some international students complained that the lecturers mainly used Cantonese as the MoI in class, which was different from what was stated in the programme information. This raised some concerns about the language proficiency of the lecturers.

4.4 Public opinion on EMI

In the 55 countries researched, 51 per cent of respondents reported that EMI was thought to be controversial in public opinion, 38 per cent thought that public opinion was in favour of EMI and 11 per cent did not give an answer. By 'controversial' was meant that there were different shades of opinion or that individuals might be torn between one attitude and another, rather than public opinion being wholeheartedly against. The reasons given for the controversy in public opinion were interesting. These reflected many of the reasons mentioned in the earlier sections, including the desire to protect national languages and cultures, a concern that policies had not been clearly thought through, and that EMI was potentially divisive and could lead to social inequalities.

In Indonesia, for example it was reported that the public were questioning the nature of huge funding allocated for minor and generally already well-off state schools. They were also questioning whether EMI was something that students in the public school system really needed. Concern was expressed that not all teachers were competent or able to teach through EMI, with a possible generation gap: older teachers not having sufficient English language proficiency. A concern was also apparent with regard to home students who might find it too demanding and not be able to fully comprehend the academic input.

Figure 5: Percentage of the 55 countries where respondents thought that public opinion was in favour of EMI, against it or found it controversial.



Parental pressure was reported as a major factor promoting EMI. Respondents in the 55 Countries study reported that EMI is equated in parents' minds with good education and learning outcomes. In Mainland China, for example, in the private education sector, 'EMI is used to convey that a school has a high profile, is international and provides a noble or elite education'. Parents consider EMI as a way for their children to become part of a social elite and are willing to spend a large part of their income on giving their children an EMI education. Schools may therefore be under pressure to exaggerate their EMI offer as shown in the quotes from respondents below:

Hungary:

Diverse, very diverse belief systems. Some think this is instrumental in developing a good command of English. Others think that it hinders Hungarian language development. Generally speaking, well-educated parents are very happy about EMI primary and secondary schools. It is an important criteria of selecting schools.

Nigeria:

EMI is 'highly supported by parents'. There is 'some dissent from academics'. Parents support English especially in the south where private schools are offering EMI earlier and earlier.

Spain:

Public opinion is demanding EMI especially in primary and secondary education as English is considered a fundamental skill crucial for mobility and employability and not simply a foreign language. Provision of bilingual/ CLIL education is considered a vote winner by public administrations.

Venezuela:

The vast majority of parents want their kids to learn English at school, and there have been cases in the public sector where parental pressure has forced local education authorities to retain an EFL programme that was under threat.

Hong Kong:

Schools have been notified that their information about EMI must be accurate and if found not to be will receive feedback and perhaps a warning. This may be an indicator that there may be situations where schools exaggerate their EMI offer. Newspaper reports of schools with increased amounts of EMI being inundated by applications may be exaggerated.

India:

Demand for EMI is on the increase, particularly at the school level, in order to access opportunities in the tertiary level and for employment. EMI is equated with good education and learning outcome, but studies don't support this parental assumption.

The following quotes are from our respondents and they illustrate the various reasons why the general public might be in favour of EMI and why they might find it controversial.

The following quotes from respondents portray public opinion in favour of EMI:

Germany:

No controversy, yet. It is expected in Germany to spend some time abroad, there are many initiatives to encourage study abroad. And there is a high expectation that everyone speaks a second language or has a reasonable level of English.

Bosnia and Herzegovina:

No public controversy with EMI. The public would appreciate that foreign languages (English really) are included in core curriculum from Grade 1 and this is not the case. There were a number of demands in this direction and government has responded in some parts of the country.

Azerbaijan:

Positive attitude towards EMI. Because the demand in the employment market is vast, EMI is perceived as means of possible improvement of suitable employment chances. The public is very much interested in seeing EMI as a part of the teaching curriculum, but more work needs to be done on the policy level.

Colombia:

No major controversies, public opinion seems positive but there exist a variety of views.

Czech Republic:

EMI is positively received in general. This arrangement is predominantly offered to foreign students in the country.

Saudi Arabia:

Public opinion is positive. English is recognised as a basic skill and there is prestige attached to English ability including better jobs.

Senegal:

Public opinion is positive. The MOE rationale for introducing English at the primary school level is that this is what parents want and they advocate the 'earlier is better' approach to language learning.

Mauritius:

I think public opinion is in favour of keeping EMI.

India:

Public opinion is mainly positive. Demand for EMI is on the increase, particularly at the school level, in order to access opportunities in the tertiary level and for employment. EMI is equated with good education and learning outcomes, but studies don't support this parental assumption.

Serbia:

EMI is being encouraged yet only the most talented children join bilingual classes.

The following quotes from respondents suggest greater equivocation in public opinion:

Switzerland:

It is seen as economically worthwhile by parents and employers but it is politically sensitive in a country with four national languages.

Spain:

At university level the increase in the provision of courses in English is largely considered essential if Spanish universities are to compete for international students. There has been some public controversy around the assessment and standardisation of levels of English in tertiary education and at all levels about the poor level of English of pupils and students.

Taiwan:

In HE, EMI is welcome more broadly. A general controversy usually focuses on the comprehension of students on an EMI course.

Malaysia:

Critics of the Malay Language as a medium of communication policy (MBMMBI) believed that the abolishing of PPSMI (the teaching and learning of science and mathematics in English) was made to appease the Malay conservatives and nationalists ahead of the general election in 2009. The Parent Action Group for Education Malaysia (PAGE) plays a huge part in representing the voice of pro-PPSMI parents who are hoping that the Ministry will reinstate and allow PPSMI policy to continue alongside MBMMBI. However, their wish remains unheeded.

Brazil:

It is very much seen at the moment as something for the elite. There may be some controversy over the introduction of state-funded EMI schools as many believe there are more useful areas of education that could be invested in, in what is considered as an inadequate education system.

In a minority of countries public opinion appears to be quite negative:

Qatar:

Lots of controversy and not welcome due to the way it was implemented.

South Sudan:

People have become increasingly aware of the complexities involved in its introduction. There have been some riots as some teachers objected to it.

Argentina:

System-wide national deployment (of EMI) would be seen negatively, in part due to the reactions towards the UK emerging from the Malvinas/ Falklands issue combined with claims and the status of Spanish as the national language and official language for local education.

Ghana:

It has been considered unsuccessful due to the lack of consideration of the fact that most teachers do not teach in their home town, and may be teaching in an environment where the predominant home language is foreign to the teachers themselves.

4.5. Teaching and learning through EMI

Respondents were asked to report on any issues centring directly on teaching and learning through EMI. In summary, and as well as a general concern as to whether EMI produced better or worse outcomes, their replies touched on the following areas:

- a lack of EMI teachers
- a lack of resources
- a lack of clear guidelines for teaching.
- whether English alone should be used or whether a mixture of English and L1 might be permitted or advised
- subjects which are taught through EMI
- exams and assessment
- the age at which EMI starts, policies on age
- a standard level of English for EMI teachers
- the changing role of the teacher
- the role of language centres and English teachers.

An EMI teacher in a school or university which has successfully attracted international students is faced with a class of students many of whom may not speak the teacher's L1. One would imagine that a minimum requirement would be a sufficiently high level of English proficiency to be able to operate in that language. However, one could hypothesise that they would additionally need to find alternative ways of presenting academic material to students for whom English was also a second language. In which case similar skills required of an EFL teacher would need to be found in an EMI teacher. They would need to know how to modify their input, assure comprehension via student-initiated interactional modifications and create an atmosphere where students operating in an L2 are not afraid to speak; all this whilst taking into account the many cultural differences present in the room and the potentially different language levels of individuals.

In the preliminary study teachers were found to have limited self-experienced or no previous understanding of the implications of teaching through EMI. If it is indeed the case that teaching through EMI involves changing from a teacher-led style to a more interactive dynamic, then few teachers said they had considered the idea that EMI was not simply a matter of translating course material and slides from L1 to L2. Recall that these teachers were on the British Council's ATE courses and so must have been aware that they faced language problems when teaching in EMI, yet certainly at least at the beginning of the course were not sure what these problems were.

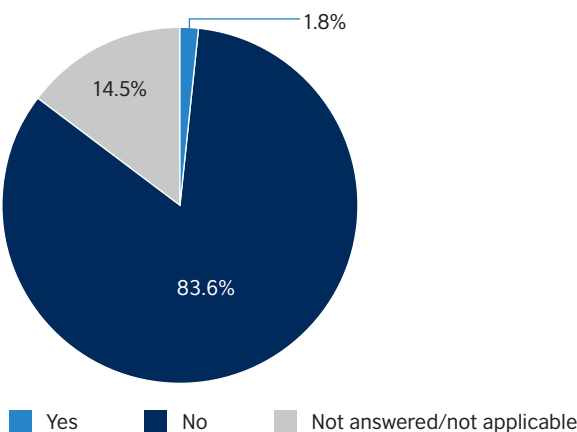
They were asked to rank seven attributes of an EMI lecturer. The most important attributes were considered to be ‘the ability to explain difficult concepts’ and ‘the ability to create an interactive environment’. The least important attributes were considered to be ‘a belief that you can help students improve their English’, ‘a reflective approach’ and ‘an awareness of the potentially diverse cultural backgrounds of the students’.

One interpretation of the Bologna process is that it is a lever for forcing change in higher education pedagogy. If teachers teaching through English are sufficiently skilled only to deliver a more ‘monologic’ approach and less skilled at engaging in a dialogue or interaction, how can they convey and discuss difficult concepts in their subject in English? A monologic approach also sits uneasily alongside the belief that EMI is a new tool for authentic language learning in the classroom and a multilingual and multicultural tool for developing intercultural communication.

4.5.1 EMI teacher qualifications

Overwhelmingly, the respondents in the 55 Countries study felt that there were not enough qualified teachers. In answer to the question ‘Are there enough qualified teachers in your country to teach through EMI?’ the answer was a resounding ‘No’ with 83 per cent of countries responding in this way. Only one country, Ghana, responded that it had enough qualified teachers; this was surprising in view of the earlier negative attitude expressed by ‘public opinion’.

Figure 6: Percentage of the 55 countries answering Yes or No to the question ‘Are there enough qualified EMI teachers?’



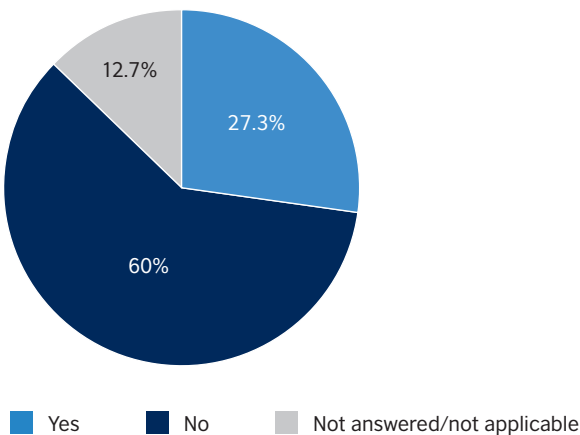
Difficulties were expressed in resourcing EMI exams, securing the appropriate number of qualified teachers and providing the learning materials and textbooks. In the preliminary research, two universities gave no consideration to the extra time needed to prepare a lesson in EMI while the other university counted an EMI lesson as one and a half times the teaching stint of an L1 lesson.

It appears therefore that policy makers in many countries insist on introducing EMI for reasons of economic growth, prestige and internationalisation without considering the teaching resources needed to ensure its proper implementation such as sufficiently trained teachers, materials and assessment.

4.5.2 Guidelines on how to teach through EMI

Although 27 per cent of respondents reported that their country had had some limited guidelines about how to teach through EMI, 60 per cent reported none. Moreover in very few countries adopting EMI was there a clear strategy in terms of educational structure with regard to EMI. For example one might have expected some guidelines or policy on a phased introduction, or a recognition that schools or universities had to reach a certain level of proficiency before they could adopt an EMI course, as in the Hong Kong model described above.

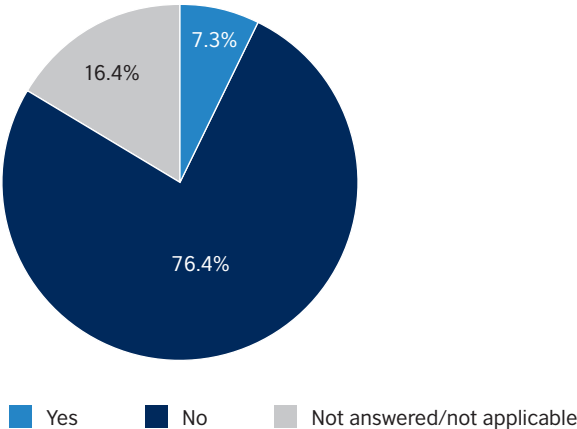
Figure 7: The percentage of respondents reporting on the existence of written guidelines about how to teach through EMI



The only countries where some written guidelines about how to teach through EMI were reported were the Czech Republic, Ethiopia, Ghana, Hong Kong, Hungary, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Nepal, Netherlands, Pakistan, Qatar, South Africa, Spain, Sri Lanka and Taiwan. Even here it was not clear what level of advice was being provided.

One issue which has been the focus of research and practice interest in the EFL sphere is that of ‘codeswitching’ or the use of the L1 in the L2 classroom as opposed to English-only. Clearly this is also a contested area in the EMI content classroom. 76 per cent of respondents reported their country as having no written guidelines specifying whether or not English should be the only language used in the EMI classroom. Only Qatar, Zambia, Vietnam and Ghana reported having such guidance. The EFL field has for some time now come to recognise that principled codeswitching could be beneficial for L2 learning in a classroom situation where the teacher and students or students and students share an L1. Clearly this may also be applicable to the EMI classroom.

Figure 8: Percentage of respondents who reported their country having guidance on using English-only or code-switching



There are further questions as to the use and future of the home language. If students learn their academic subject only in English, what happens to those concepts and technical terms in their home language – do they survive? If English-only is being used, and a teacher is not proficient, what kind of English are the students going to be exposed to?

4.5.3 Subjects taught and subjects examined through EMI

Guidance is given in some countries as to which subjects should be taught in English, but the basis for those decisions is not clear. There is also a great difference between countries: in Pakistan, for example, the National Education Policy 2009 set out two subjects which should be taught through EMI: Maths and Science. In Sri Lanka, however, ten subjects can be taught through EMI and more subjects can be taught if the students want this and permission is sought from the Ministry of Education.

Maths, English literature, translation, science, engineering, physics, business, geography, biology, agriculture, chemistry, arts, history, medicine, international relations, regional studies, and religious education were all quoted as subjects taught through EMI. In other words there is no subject which is clearly designed as a subject that can only be appropriately taught in the majority students’ home language. Yet medicine might be a subject where learning it through the L2 might result in problems when qualified students begin to practise. Whilst it may be advantageous to be able to read the many medical journals written in English thanks to a putative improved English language proficiency resulting from EMI, how will a doctor who has not experienced clinically-oriented interaction in his/her home language during training perform when talking to patients who may not speak a word of English?

Table 3: Number of respondents reporting that the subject was taught or assessed through EMI in their country

Subject	Countries
Maths	9
English and literature	7
Translation	7
Science	6
Engineering	4
Physics	4
Business	3
Geography	3
Biology	3
Agriculture	2
Chemistry	2
Arts	2
History	2
Medicine	1
International relations	1
Regional studies	1
Religious education	1

Exams and assessment were also described as being problematic. Respondents reported that at university level, lectures were sometimes in English while exams were in L1 due to university policy, student pressure or the law, or subjects were not taught in English but were assessed in English. In Taiwan, for example, English Literature is not taught in English but it is assessed in English. In Nepal, in English medium schools, subjects such as Social Studies and History are taught in a mixed approach but assessed in English. Our respondent in Mauritius reported that this was the case for all subjects.

EMI raises many questions for exams and assessment: What language should exams be in? What form should they take? Do teachers have a sufficiently high level of English to write and mark exams? What is being assessed, the English or the subject content?

4.5.4 Age of EMI introduction

Traditionally, students have learnt English as a Foreign Language (EFL) at school, in other words English as a subject in its own right. A question to be asked therefore would be at what point, if at all, should EMI take over from EFL?

At university level, in our preliminary study, teachers knew vaguely what level of English their students needed in order to follow a course in EMI at university, although expressing this varied from 'quite good' to quoting the Common European Framework B2 (CEF).

Policies around the world vary enormously. The examples below illustrate the diversity of practice in this area.

In Italy in 2010, legislation regarding content and language integrated learning (CLIL) methodology (DD.PP.RR. 87, 88, 89 15/03/2010) was introduced in the last year of higher secondary education (starting in language schools from the third year).

In the Netherlands the starting point for all phases of formal education is Dutch. However, government policy is in place with regards to English as a subject in primary education. Policy concerning EMI (especially Early English and bilingual education) is currently in the making. Government policy with regards to EMI in secondary mostly focuses on bilingual schools. In tertiary education, there is a policy in place that allows instruction in other languages if: 1) the language in question is the object of study; 2) there are guest lecturers whose first language is not Dutch; 3) it is necessary due to the specific nature of the subject, for the quality of the education or the background of the students.

In Pakistan, science and mathematics education through EMI should take place at Class IV onwards. This is still at primary school, which consists of five classes, I-V, and enrolls children age five–nine years. It is also possible to teach Science and Maths in Urdu for the first five years; but after that, the statement is clear: both should be taught in English only.

In Ethiopia, English is the medium of instruction at secondary school and at university, whilst the policy from 1994 states that English is taught as a foreign language from year 1 of primary school.

In Sri Lanka, ten subjects can be taught in English; and if a school wishes, it can teach more subjects through EMI but no teaching resources will be supplied.

In Nepal, the Nepali language or English language or both can be used.

In Hungary the Education Act of 1985 made it possible to carry out education in a language other than Hungarian. Secondary CLIL (1985) was a Ministry initiated, top-down innovation. From 2004 all secondary schools were allowed to initiate a special extra preparatory year for students, with an intensive language development programme. In 2004, 407 schools were implementing the extra preparatory year. In higher education, CLIL, which may well mean EMI in this context, is also allowed, and encouraged to a certain extent.

In 1997 the Ministry of Education declared some guiding principles for all schools where education is carried out in a language different from Hungarian: these were aimed at CLIL schools:

- an adequate number of lessons must be devoted to language development
- CLIL schools have to adopt a specific language syllabus
- the civilization of the target language countries must be taught
- three or more subjects must be taught in the target language
- the target language must be present in 35–50 per cent of the students' time-table
- the school must employ at least one teacher whose native language is the target language of the programme.

Schools working under the above conditions are entitled to receive additional per capita financial support from the educational budget.

4.5.5 Levels of English for EMI teachers

Respondents reported that most teachers who were expected to teach through EMI were not native speakers of English, and it is as yet unclear what the requirements are with regard to English language competence.

In the preliminary research, teachers found it difficult to answer the question on what level a teacher should have before teaching through EMI and how teachers should reach an appropriate level of English.

Phew, wow, I'm not sure what level the teacher needs, erm, it's not necessary that the teacher needs a higher level than the students.

Pof...Good question.. I don't know actually ... at least you have to be able to understand the questions of the students.

I think for technical disciplines we don't need very deep knowledge of the language. The vocabulary is 400 or 500 words.

Teachers in the preliminary study and respondents in the 55 Countries study were unaware of a language level, test or qualification for EMI teachers. They had been nominated to teach through EMI because they had been abroad, spoke well or had volunteered. Teachers would welcome a standard level of proficiency in English for EMI.

Professors and staff not fluent in English are sometimes expected to gain proficiency by taking weekly English classes. Whether or not this is sufficient training to enable teachers to be able to work in English is open to debate.

In most countries there is currently no standardised English benchmark test for subject teachers teaching through EMI. As one teacher in the preliminary study remarked:

We intentionally left out a standard as requirement as it's difficult enough to encourage faculty to teach in English.

Sometimes the level of English was thought to be very basic, and inadequate for teaching an academic subject.

Indonesia:

A study by MoEC on English language competences of teachers and principals in 549 international standard schools in 2009 found that the overall picture is of a teacher workforce which is not ready to function in English and where more than half of all teachers possess a level of 'novice', that is, a competence which is even lower than 'elementary'.

In Ethiopia, teachers were considered to be qualified if they were university or college graduates, but the low level of English proficiency was a problem.

Ethiopia:

The public wants their children to learn in English (more) than in any other language but educated parents feel that the teachers' proficiency level is very low and usually complain of not having competent teachers in public schools.

Bahrain:

Most of them are expatriates and work in private schools and universities.

India:

EMI is not a priority at Teacher Education level where it comes to state funded education. In private education, this is a huge concern for the low cost sector, but in elite, urban schools, this is not an issue as they have access to teachers with C1 to C2 levels of English for reasons of class and economic background.

In many countries there was a generation gap. Younger teachers were more likely to speak English, while it was thought that older, more experienced subject teachers were struggling to teach through EMI. These quotes from respondents illustrate the issues:

Pakistan:

There is a dearth of qualified respondents to cover the need especially at primary and secondary level and more in public sector. Primary and secondary school teachers across Pakistan are not fully qualified to use English as a Medium of Instruction. The British Council tested the English language skills of 2008 primary and middle school teachers in public and private schools in 18 districts of Punjab using the British Council's Aptis language testing system. According to the findings:

- 1. 62 per cent of private school teachers and 56 per cent of government school teachers registered scores in the lowest possible band in the Aptis test, meaning they lack even basic knowledge of English, including the ability to understand and use familiar everyday expressions and simple phrases.*
- 2. Most of the remaining teachers received scores that placed them in beginners' level.*
- 3. Even in EMI schools, 44 per cent of teachers scored in the bottom Aptis band. In all, 94 per cent of teachers in EMI schools have only pre-intermediate level of English or lower.*
- 4. Younger teachers had a much higher level of English than older colleagues. 24 per cent of teachers aged 21–35 scored in the pre-intermediate and intermediate categories, compared with just seven per cent of those aged 51 and over.*

4.5.6 The changing role of the teacher

Another issue is the changing role of the teacher in an EMI context. EMI teachers in the preliminary study firmly believed that teaching English was not their job. They did not consider themselves responsible for their students' level of English. They did not see themselves as language teachers in any way. University teachers definitely thought that EMI was beneficial to students and more specifically, that students made progress in English when they studied through EMI. Teachers felt that the students would improve their English by being exposed to it, by having to express themselves and by reading and writing:

For sure yes, they will be exposed to more input, relevant input.

Yes because they are forced to communicate with me in English and forced to think in English.

I'm sure they will improve because they have to express themselves and collect the vocabulary to express and for their writing.

It was thought that improvement in English proficiency would happen as a by-product of the content lessons and most interviewees in the preliminary study firmly believed that students were responsible for their own progress. We may ask how students are supposed to understand lectures and classes if the EMI teacher does not help with their knowledge of English by paraphrasing, by teaching subject-specific vocabulary and technical terms.

*I'm not interested in their English, I'm interested in their comprehension of micro-biogenetics
errr I don't think so, I'm not going to improve (their) English. I'm going to transfer basic knowledge, try to communicate in a correct way but I'm not going to correct or teach them English.*

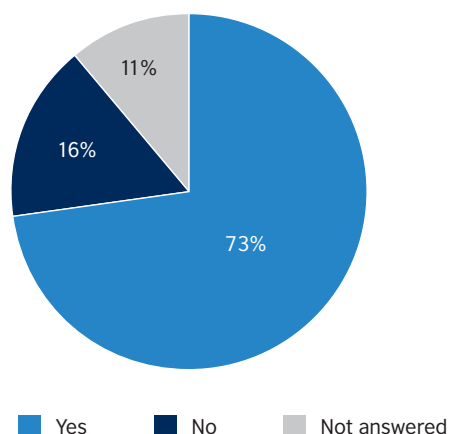
If subject teachers do not consider it their job to improve the students' English, whose job is it? This raises the question of what sort of teachers are required to teach an academic subject through EMI? Clearly these attitudes are what separates EMI from CLIL where the notion of furthering language competence is built into the acronym. It would be useful to consider what English language provision will be in the future and who will be delivering it; some thoughts on this are offered in the concluding section.

4.6 Internationalising higher education

One of the main aims of policy makers, teachers, parents and students in implementing EMI is to internationalise the education on offer in their country, particularly in the higher education phase. The very notion of 'internationalisation of universities' is a contested one. Internationalising a university can be conceived in the narrow sense of attracting and admitting foreign students. It may additionally be conceived as attracting and employing international faculty. However internationalisation can mean much more than this. It may be that a university strives to prepare its home students for an international world and in order to do this the very nature of a university located in a single geographical space begins to be challenged.

In the study 72 per cent of respondents answered that in their country universities admitted international students. However, in many cases the numbers were said to be not substantial or even negligible.

Figure 9: Percentage of 55 countries who have international students



In this rush to internationalise, there may be variability in the quality of student experience for an international student. Are international students receiving the same content as home students? Quotes from teachers in the preliminary study suggest not:

They end up being taught individually as the main course is taught in L1.

A special course for foreigners.

Some of these teachers claimed that older university teachers might hand over their teaching to younger teachers if it had to be done through EMI, as they felt incapable of delivering lectures in English.

We are lucky because we have two PhD students from India so they speak very well English and they have given the seminars, we give them the literature and the papers.

The speed at which universities are internationalising and English is being used as the academic lingua franca is accelerating. Ironically, EMI means that learning in English no longer means going to a UK or US university. In Europe for example, the number of courses taught in English is increasing rapidly due to the Bologna process and these courses attract international students from around the world.

In South Africa, the respondent reported that 7.25 per cent of university students were non-South African, with the majority (46,496) coming from Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries: Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Angola, Zimbabwe and Zambia, whilst the next largest group (10,986) came from the rest of the world, notably from the USA (7,302).

Universities are becoming increasingly international in the sense that their campuses are also becoming global. South Sudan for example is working with universities in the USA to train agriculture specialists and New York University has bases in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Middle East and South America. This new sort of global university with partnerships and campuses around the world, is facilitated by EMI.

Case study: Taiwan

According to our respondents in Taiwan:

The Ministry of Education (MoE) of Taiwan is encouraging universities to establish an international environment, including internationalised campuses, curricula and administration systems, and to promote global cooperation and exchanges.

The official language of instruction in the country is Mandarin Chinese. The Ministry of Education is encouraging EMI at university level. There are 60 public universities and 100 private universities in Taiwan and EMI is an important benchmark to internationalise a university, improve its international competitiveness and attract international students. The MoE provides incentives to HE academics who lecture in English e.g. an EMI lecturer may have a Teaching Assistant assigned to help students understand the course content and receive sponsorship for overseas training.

Taiwan:

Foreign students are the bridge of international friendship. The number of foreign students is not only a key indicator of a nation's educational internationalization and competitiveness, but also the characteristic of the nation's national appeal and international influence. Therefore, the more advanced the nation, the more foreign students it has and the more efforts it has made to attract foreign students.

There is more EMI at university level than in schools. In tertiary education, the courses that are most likely to be taught in English are at master and doctoral degree level: English, Commerce, Engineering, MBA and IMBA.

According to the 2007 statistics of the MoE, there were 2651 primary schools, 740 junior high schools, 320 senior high schools, and 156 vocational high schools. EMI is allowed by the central and local governments in all stages of education in private and state schools. In state primary and secondary schools, only Mandarin as a subject and a few dialects cannot be taught in English. However, even though the ideal is for English (as a subject) classes to be taught in English as much as possible, most English classes are still said to be delivered in

Mandarin. In state primary and secondary schools, a proportion of native English-speaking teachers are hired to teach English. In private primary and secondary schools, native English-speaking teachers teach all kinds of academic subjects.

In 2003, the Executive Yuan (the policymaking organ of the government) ordered that the task of attracting more foreign students to study in Taiwan be included in the National Development Plan, with the objectives of raising national competitiveness and fully exploiting global exchange, solidifying diplomatic relations, providing high-tech individuals, filling the population deficit, making education a services industry, and promoting economic development. The target for attracting foreign students to study in Taiwan was 'ten times in ten years' from 1,283 in 2002 to 12,830 in 2011. The MoE's policy is to attract more foreign students to study in Taiwan, to encourage Taiwanese students to study abroad, and to promote international cultural and educational exchange and cooperation.

The distinction is not so clear in state or private universities, although state universities often have better students whose tendency to select an EMI course is higher than that of average private university students. Universities have autonomy in course design and delivery. Some universities have delivered EMI courses to attract international students; the MoE has budgets to encourage EMI, but controversies arise as to whether EMI has been effective in teaching and successful in attracting international students. In 2012–13, the number of university students was 1,254,066. The total of international students studying for a degree in Taiwan was 11,554 so slightly below the target set for 2011. The top five countries these students are from are Vietnam, Malaysia, Indonesia, Japan and the USA.

There is little EMI in primary and secondary schools. In state primary and secondary education, courses delivered by native English-speaking teachers are taught in English. The average number of hours per week taught in English is one or even lower because most schools have no native English-speaking teachers. In private primary and secondary education, this may be five hours or higher. In state primary and secondary schools, all subjects are taught in Mandarin except for English, which is taught in English and Mandarin.

There are some local dialects and indigenous languages which are different from the majority language. In 2012, the ratio of indigenous students in primary/secondary/tertiary education to overall student population was 2.75 per cent. There are no large immigrant communities whose language is different from the majority language.

The vast majority of primary and secondary school teachers are not bilingual teachers – they speak the majority language in school. The majority of university professors speak English since most of them have a PhD degree. However, that does not mean they are well trained to deliver courses in English.

The percentage of English-speaking monolingual teachers employed in state institutions (all three phases) who teach academic or vocational subjects is very low. In primary and secondary education, the only English-speaking monolingual teachers employed in primary and secondary education are foreign English teachers.

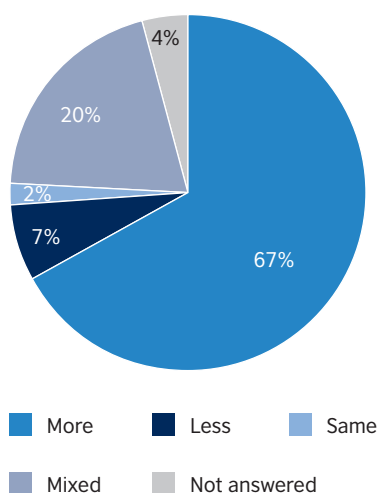
There is no professional standard that a qualified EMI teacher has to reach. Each university may have its own standards and no provision for EMI on Initial Teacher Education programmes. In primary and secondary education, local state school English teacher-trainees participate in teacher training to enhance their teaching methodologies but there are no training opportunities that are designed to train other subject teachers to teach their subject through the medium of English. The Ministry of Education or local education bureau sends experienced local state school teachers overseas for school visits or short courses (two weeks), e.g. Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) could be a module part of a course, depending on the design of the course or the needs of the education bureau.

Looking ahead

Broad conclusions have already been offered in the Executive summary. The report now limits itself to considering what the likely trends and implications are for EMI in the future.

In the 55 country study, respondents were asked to comment on what they thought future trends were with regard to EMI. They reported that overwhelmingly there would very likely be an increase in EMI provision (see Figure 10).

Figure 10: General trend of EMI for the future – more, less, same or mixed?



What this means for the future of the academic subjects being taught through the medium of English is an empirical question that urgently needs some well researched answers. To date we have some evidence from immersion programmes in Canada and some from Hong Kong. Whereas some bilingual programmes have shown advantage (or at least comparable achievement) for immersion in terms of academic achievement, in Hong Kong recent large-scale studies tend to suggest that EMI may help with L2 learning, but is not necessarily beneficial to academic progress. Some research has been carried out in the CLIL European context but once again the evidence is inconclusive because of the many different typologies of CLIL programmes.

The evidence from the data collected for this report suggests that the private sector will continue to drive the push for EMI for some years to come. Apart from notable exceptions alluded to earlier, the private sector, relatively free of national political and cultural constraints will continue to portray EMI as the distinguishing feature of its educational offer. Some public institutions may therefore be constantly playing ‘catch-up’ in order to survive as places where quality education can be accessed.

With regard to furthering competence in English as an L2, the picture is slightly more encouraging. Given the amount of exposure to English that EMI provides, it would be surprising if it were anything other than encouraging. However, again the evidence is mixed with some indications that receptive skills improve but not productive skills. Future discussion about what the linguistic objectives of EMI programmes are must take place if it is not to remain a sclerotic practice with limited benefits, or at least benefits that can only be measured in a limited way. Moreover, if future research evidence suggests improvements in English language competence, then the debate must also include the nature of that competence and whether it should be enabling access to learning in a narrow sense (just the academic subject to be studied) or a broader sense of being able to operate using English as a lingua franca in a number of different interactional scenarios.

The question therefore needs to be asked as to whether and to what extent EMI can follow the same dual objective ideals of CLIL – that is to integrate content learning with language acquisition. This then brings a whole new dimension into the discussion – whether EMI teachers should be language teachers as well as content teachers and therefore whether they should be specifically trained as such. This debate is not new. It occurred in 1975 in the UK context when Sir Alan Bullock’s report *A Language for Life* argued strongly for a policy of language across the curriculum, one where all subject teachers were responsible for furthering the linguistic competence

of their students. Will the future be one of 'English across the curriculum' for all countries adopting EMI for academic subjects? Given some of the evidence gathered from university teachers for this report it would seem to be unlikely – at least in the immediate future until and unless there is clear evidence that EMI is or is not resulting in the desired outcomes.

If EMI teachers slowly become more or additionally like language teachers then is it the case that EMI will gradually replace EFL as the main vehicle for furthering English language proficiency? The evidence so far is that this is already occurring to a limited extent but may well accelerate as a trend when government agencies and principals begin to consider their inevitably limited resources. This in turn raises further questions. What will be the role of language centres and preparatory year (pre-sessional) teachers and what status will they have in a rapidly developing EMI context?

Another implication, should the trend of EMI replacing EFL accelerate and increase in volume, is the status of the native speaker of English teacher of academic subjects. There has been an increasingly acrimonious debate in the EFL field centred around 'who is better', the native speaker of English who cannot communicate to any operational level with their students (who have a different home language) or the bilingual speaker who may not have near-native proficiency in English but knows the L1 of his/her students and therefore may be able to relate to the linguistic challenges that they are experiencing. The same debate may then arise in the EMI field with 'imported' English native speaker university academics and school teachers being highly valued and elbowing out their 'locally produced' counterparts. This may well already be happening as universities increasingly conceptualise 'internationalisation' by attempting to attract overseas (and very likely anglophone) faculty.

One thing of which we can be reasonably sure: given the current momentum observed in the EMI phenomenon it is highly unlikely that the majority of countries, certainly in the tertiary phase, will seek to reverse the decision to push forward with even more courses taught in English. If the phenomenon cannot be slowed down to a speed that will allow reflection, then at the very least it is incumbent on researchers and teachers alike to strive to make the experience for their learners as enabling and as rewarding as possible.

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