The Asian Journal of Applied Linguistics
Vol. 1 No. 1, 2014, pp. 50-63

AJAL

Contextual factors driving the growth of undergraduate English-medium instruction programmes at universities in Japan

Howard Brown
University of Niigata Prefecture, Niigata, Japan

In Japan, offering English-Medium Instruction (EMI) content classes at university is a growing trend and at least 25% of universities make some English-medium courses available to undergraduates. Currently, there is a great deal of discussion of, and support for, the role of EMI in internationalizing Japanese universities and serving the needs of international students in the future. However, it does not appear that the influx of international students seen in the past 20 years has been a main driving factor in the growth of many EMI programmes established thus far. Rather, EMI programmes have developed as individual universities acted independently in response to both pressures and opportunities in their local contexts. These contextual factors include universities' concerns about being left behind as elite universities become more internationalized, and their desire to sharpen their image amid growing competition and a shrinking university-aged cohort. In addition, EMI is seen as a possible benefit to domestic students, making them more competitive in the labour market or better preparing them for further study. Finally, language educators in Japan are turning to EMI pedagogies for authenticity and validity in language learning, and to strengthen their own professional identities.

Keywords: English Medium Instruction; Internationalization; Global 30; Japan

Introduction

The teaching of content in English to second-language students at schools and universities whose traditional instructional language is not English is a growing phenomenon around the world. This is equally true in Japan and particularly among programmes developed for undergraduate university students which are the focus of this paper. The phenomenon is known under several different names but in this paper English-Medium Instruction (EMI) will be used as an inclusive umbrella term for all classes which meet the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) definition of classes conducted in English, excluding those whose primary aim is language instruction (MEXT, 2008).

The position of EMI in Japan

In Japan, EMI at universities has been growing over the past 15 years. Previously, EMI programmes were limited to graduate programmes or undergraduate programmes at a few specialized, elite universities (Bradford, 2013). However, government figures show that as of 2006, 227 universities (approximately 1/3 of the total) offered some form of EMI, and approximately 1/4 of universities offered undergraduate EMI (MEXT, 2008, 2009). It should be noted, however, that these are not primarily English-Taught Programmes (ETP) in which the full-degree is taught in English. In fact, as of 2013,

ISSN 2308-6262
http://caes.hku.hk/ajal

only approximately 20 universities in Japan offered full undergraduate ETPs. Other universities offer EMI in a variety of programme types (Brown, in press). Some universities have coordinated EMI programmes, in which the classes conducted in English form a significant part of students' studies. At other universities, there is much less coherence, with isolated EMI classes offered in various departments without strong links to the rest of the curriculum.

This growth of EMI is not happening in isolation. It is linked to broader reforms in higher education in Japan including increasing numbers of international students as well as explicit government encouragement for universities to internationalize.

An increase in international students

The number of foreign students at Japanese universities has been rising since the early 1980s. The government at that time set a goal to increase the number of international students ten-fold, to more than 100,000 by the year 2000 (Umakoshi, 1997). According to the Japan Student Services Organization (JASSO, 2013), the goal had been reached by 2003 and by 2010 more than 140,000 international students were studying in Japan. However, the number of international students does not seem to be directly related to the rationale for most current EMI programmes. International students in Japan are not linguistically diverse. The majority (92%) come from Asia with China supplying two-thirds of them (JASSO, 2013). These students use a writing system similar to Japanese and many have studied Japanese before they arrive. Most international students in Japan join Japanese language programmes or study in Japanese-medium content programmes which allows "Japanese universities to accept them without having to introduce any serious internationalization of the curriculum or teaching methods" (Aspinall, 2013, p. 162).

In addition, 72% of international students are studying at private universities (JASSO, 2013) and many of these are considered to be of low academic level (Goodman, 2007). The top ten recipients of international students are large, well-known public universities attracting mainly international graduate students. However, beyond the top ten, international students tend to target small-to-medium-sized private universities with limited or no graduate schools and where major EMI innovations are not taking place. Of the top 20 universities accepting international undergraduate students, only three are on the MEXT list of universities known to offer EMI (an unpublished list supplied directly to the author by MEXT) and only one, Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University, appears to have significant EMI offerings for its international students.

Thus, it seems that attracting international students has not been a major motivating factor in the growth of EMI. However, that may be changing. Aspinall (2013) argues that Japanese universities can no longer rely on large numbers of Japanese-speaking Asian students, particularly from China, to make up their international student body. The outflow of self-funded Chinese students seen since 2000 is levelling off and there is a clear preference in China for English-speaking institutions in the west (ACA, 2012). In addition, in 2008, the government of Japan doubled the recruitment goal for international students to 300,000. As it is unlikely that this increased capacity can be filled solely from exiting sources, the future international student body will be more linguistically diverse and may not have, and may not be interested in acquiring, proficiency in the universities' home language. This implies a greater role for EMI in Japan as a way of appealing to international students. The government certainly sees EMI in this light (MEXT, 2012).

Government calls for EMI

In recent years, the Japanese government has pushed universities to internationalize themselves and globalize their students. This, along with governance and quality assurance, has dominated official discourse on higher education reform (Yonezawa, 2010) and EMI is seen to play an important role:

> Amid ongoing globalization, in order to develop an educational environment where Japanese people can acquire the necessary English skills and also international students can feel at ease to study in Japan, it is very important for Japanese universities to conduct lessons in English for a certain extent, or to develop courses where students can obtain academic degrees by taking lessons conducted entirely in English (MEXT, 2012, p. 17).

This discourse has had a strong effect on recent developments in EMI, both by creating a social and political environment in which initiatives can develop and through direct support for important programmes.

The Global 30 programme

As part of the goal to increase recruitment of international students, the government proposed designating 30 core universities as centres for internationalization (referred to as the Global 30 or G30). While the government initially budgeted for 30 such universities, only 22 applied for the funding. Of these, 13 large, well-known universities were selected.

The core universities, which received funding and support for curriculum innovation, faculty and administrative hiring, expansion of facilities and student recruitment, were encouraged to develop full degree ETP programmes for international students as a step towards meeting the goal of expanding international student recruitment. The first cohort of students will be graduating from these programmes in 2014. There are currently more than 35 different ETP undergraduate degrees available through the G30 universities (for an overview and analysis of the G30, see Burgess, Gibson, Klaphake, & Selzer, 2010; Hashimoto, 2013) .

The Global Jinzai programme

The Global *Jinzai p*rogramme is a parallel project for domestic students to meet the governments' call to foster Japanese "human resources who can positively meet the challenges and succeed in the global field" (MEXT, n.d.). This is seen as a way to overcome the inward-looking tendency of Japanese youth and thus improve Japanese competitiveness. A total of 42 universities are now receiving funding under this programme which supports projects including improved language classes, study abroad programmes, investments in e-learning, and EMI classes.

Other programmes

The government has also funded and supported EMI projects through other programmes. While none of these specifically targeted EMI, many university-based EMI projects were supported, at least initially, by such funding. There are also a growing number of government-supported research grants for EMI. Additionally, starting in 2014, a new programme, known as the Super Global University Project will also encourage universities to establish stronger international relationships and hire more international teachers.

Social pressure towards englishization

In wider Japanese society there also seems to be a growing pressure towards a greater role for English. Media reports regularly feature worries about Japan's poor showing on international rankings of TOEIC and TOEFL scores and calls for something to be done (see, for example, Hongo, 2013, March 25). In addition, in recent years, several major Japanese companies, including the on-line retailer Rakuten and the fashion brand Uniqlo, have announced that all operations will be conducted in English, including those in Japanese domestic offices. Sato (2013) refers to this as the Englishization of their operations. While these moves are still uncommon, they do contribute to a social and political climate in which EMI can develop.

The current study

This exploratory study investigates some of the contextual factors that have prompted the growing and diverse range of undergraduate EMI programmes. Documentary evidence and interview data from selected EMI programme stakeholders are used to explore some of the forces behind this trend.

Data sources and methods

From MEXT, the researchers obtained a list of 194 universities in Japan known to offer EMI programmes at the undergraduate level as of 2009. These universities were categorised by size, status and position in EMI (see Table 1 for category criteria) using publicly available documents. This allowed the researchers to select for further study 12 universities which represent a wide array of contexts in which EMI is being implemented. The data set includes public and private institutions, large and small universities, four-year universities and a two-year junior college, ETP programmes and EMI programmes, well-established and newly forming EMI programmes, and EMI programmes positioned within content and language-learning departments.

Table 1. Criteria for categorizing universities

Criterion	Category
Size	Small (< 2500 students) Medium (2500 - 10,000 students) Large (> 10,000 Students)
Status	University / Junior College Public / Private
Position of EMI	Established / Newly forming Positioned as language / content programme or multiple EMI programmes

For each of the 12 selected universities, an archive of publicly available documents related to their EMI programme(s) was collected (Table 2), giving researchers access to multiple voices from each institution. In some cases, analysis of this archive provided valuable insights into the scale of EMI programmes, entry requirements and courses of study. It was also possible in some cases to learn about motivations of key stakeholders

and internal debates on programme development. However, in other cases, the publicly available information was unhelpful, limited in scope or consisted only of vague promotional documents and general policy statements.

Table 2. Archival materials collected from selected universities

Archival data type	Typical documents
Promotional materials	Pamphlets, brochures, web pages, welcome letters
In-house documents	Syllabi, class descriptions, faculty-development reports, time tables, grant applications
Publications	Papers by relevant faculty, presentation materials from conferences and symposia

Following a review of archival material, stakeholders from the selected EMI programmes were contacted. Where possible, programme heads were contacted directly and asked to participate in, or refer a colleague to participate in, interviews. In other cases, the researchers contacted programmes through general contact information listed publicly and participants self-selected. At three universities (universities B, G and H) contact was established through personal connections between the researchers and faculty members involved in the EMI programme. Eventually, the researchers established contact with 15 stakeholders at eight universities (Table 3). Of the four other universities, one did not respond to attempted contact and one directly refused to take part in interviews, citing a "decision made at the top levels of the university". Stakeholders from two other universities were willing to be interviewed, but were not available to meet during the three-month period when the interviews took place.

Two researchers visited the eight selected universities to meet with stakeholders and conduct interviews. At universities F and G, both researchers participated in the interviews. The interview conducted with Janice at university B was conducted by the co-researcher alone. All other interviews were conducted by the lead researcher alone. At university E, the multiple informants were interviewed individually but at university C, the informants requested a group interview.

Semi-structured interviews were used as they allowed the researchers to guide the discussion towards key questions common to all programmes while also allowing new themes and side topics considered important by the informants to arise naturally. Interviews focused on the history and development of the EMI programme, its position in the university, the student and faculty make up as well as the structure and organization of classes. The interviews were conducted in English and lasted from one to two and a half hours. Interviews were recorded and the transcripts were summarized and information from them was added to the research archive to create an overall profile of how and why the programmes developed and their future directions. The profiles were compared in order to find commonalities as well as significant differences, which are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3. Profile of universities and informants

University		Informant(s) [pseudonyms (gender) – position]
A	Medium-sized, private (junior college) Single, established EMI programme in a language-learning department	Carl (M) – Faculty member
B	Small, private Single, established EMI programme in a language-learning department	Janice (F) – Faculty member, programme head
C	Large, private Multiple EMI programmes	Peter (M) – Administrator Takahiro (M) – Faculty member, programme head Naomi (F) – Faculty member / administrator Keiko (F) – Faculty member / administrator
D	Large, public Multiple EMI programmes	Paul (M) – Faculty member, programme head
E	Large, private Single, established EMI programme in a content department	Sarah (F) - Faculty member Jane (F) - Faculty member Eric (M) - Faculty member Alan (M) - Faculty member Tomoyuki (M) -Faculty member, programme head
F	Large, private Multiple EMI programmes	Robert (M) - Faculty member
G	Medium-sized, private Single, newly forming EMI programme in a content department	Albert (M) - Faculty member
H	Medium-sized, private Multiple EMI programmes	David (M) - Faculty member

Interestingly, of these eight universities, only three had received direct funding from the government programmes described earlier in this paper. University A initially received a MEXT Good Practice grant to establish their EMI programme but is not currently receiving external funding. EMI programmes at universities C and D are both currently funded through the Global Jinzai grant programme. None of the EMI programmes studied here are part of the Global 30. This was a conscious decision because although the Global 30 universities are receiving a great deal of attention in the media and in the academic literature, they are, in fact a relatively small part of the story of EMI in Japan, representing approximately six percent of universities with EMI programmes. In addition, the Global 30 ETP programmes are developing within constraints set by their funding structures and were implemented in direct response to a specific call to action by the government.

Findings and discussion

Programme size and the growth of EMI

It is clear that the number of EMI programmes is growing. In fact, of the eight universities in this study, only three had any significant undergraduate EMI content before 2000. Most others began offering classes using EMI on a limited basis between 2000 and 2003 and are currently expanding existing programmes or establishing new ones (Table 4). Despite this growth, EMI still appears to serve only a small number of students. The English-taught full-degree programmes and the non-degree programmes

seen in this study tend to be small (Table 5). For example, university D's non-degree EMI programmes, the largest seen in this study, admit a total of 200 domestic students and 75 international students yearly but as Paul said, "That's not a huge number in the grand scheme of things". Expansions are planned or underway at most of the universities in this study but even the ambitious plan at university C to approximately double the size of the programme will still only serve two to three percent of the student population.

Table 4: Growth of EMI programmes

Established before 2000	Established 2000-2003	Established / expanded since 2010
Universities: B, D, F	Universities: A, C, D, E	Universities: C, D, E, F, G, H

Table 5. Approximate number of students studying in non-degree EMI programmes (where data is available)

University	Number of students	% of student population
A	120	2%
C	120	1%
D	275	2.5%
E	250	3%
G	20	1%

Only one university studied here has plans to make EMI a requirement for the mainstream student body. University F currently offers EMI electives as part of the general education requirements for all students. However, a limited number of EMI classes will soon be required for all incoming students in a Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) programme now in development. At other universities, EMI classes are more limited in scope. University A for instance, requires EMI credits but only in one relatively small department. Other universities offer EMI as electives. While exact student numbers are not available for all programmes in this study, having less than five percent of a university's student population in some form of EMI seems to be typical. It is clear that while EMI is becoming more common and may soon be a standard part of university offerings, it is not becoming the new mainstream of education for the bulk of students in Japan.

Universities in this study gave four separate reasons for the relatively low student numbers in EMI programmes. Firstly, at some universities there was little demand from students for the expansion of the programmes; few students had either an interest in EMI or the necessary language proficiency. Secondly, where there was demand for expansion, lack of resources was sometimes an issue. In particular, a lack of qualified, experienced and willing faculty limited expansion. Thirdly, at other universities, the EMI programmes were designed to be small, either to be more manageable or to encourage an elite status for the programme. Fourthly, there are also some indications that EMI programmes are kept small due to pressure from the wider university community. There is a sense among EMI stakeholders that if an EMI programme were

to grow too much or become too successful, it could be seen as a threat to the Japanese identity of the university. As Robert, from university F, reported:

> I think obviously that this is a Japanese university so a lot of the teaching that goes on is still in Japanese. I don't think they want to move everything onto the EMI scale of things. I think people would be upset if they thought it was turning into a foreign university.

The EMI student body

The EMI programmes' main target seems to be domestic students. Significant numbers of international students are only seen in a few programmes. Universities C and D, for instance, offer programmes designed for short-term international students; however, these classes are also open to, and are more popular with, domestic students.

In terms of full-degree programmes, the ETPs studied here are designed for international students. At university F, a private university, the degree programme is not explicitly restricted to international students, but the language proficiency requirements limit the programme to all but a few Japanese students with significant overseas experience. University D, a public university, has a degree programme which is clearly designed for and explicitly limited to international students. According to its admissions policy, "Individuals who have Japanese citizenship or Japanese permanent resident status are not eligible to apply."

This difference in admissions policies between private and public universities is seen across many of the undergraduate ETP degree programmes in Japan. Among the Global 30 universities for instance, the 7 public universities offering ETP undergraduate degrees through G30 funding explicitly limit their programmes to international students. At the 6 private universities, the programmes are clearly designed for international students as well, though Japanese students are not explicitly restricted.

So, international students are primarily seen in ETP and short-term programmes. In the other EMI programmes seen in this study, domestic Japanese students are the dominant demographic. Universities A, B and E all report some international students, almost all Chinese, in their EMI programmes, but they are not significant in number and they are not considered in curriculum decisions. At university F, speaking of their non-degree programme, Robert said, "I think most of the international students would be in these EMI classes, but they don't make up the majority of students and those courses are designed with that in mind." Universities G and H, on the other hand, reported that their EMI programmes are exclusively for domestic students. In this sense, rather than being in response to the influx of international students, the rise of EMI can be tied to the ongoing government discourse on globalizing the domestic student body.

Motivations for implementation of EMI programmes

By far, the most common reasons cited for the growth of EMI are internationalization and globalization. These terms, or variants thereof, come up in almost any discussion of EMI programmes in Japan, including all interviews in this study. Looking at the websites of the eight targeted universities, we see that these terms are being used repeatedly, in both English and Japanese, in greetings or welcome messages (Table 6).

It is not surprising that these terms are used so often in promotional documents given their dominance in government discourse on higher education. However, the use of the terms *internationalization and globalization* is actually unhelpful for understanding the growth of EMI since both are multi-vocal symbols and can be taken to have many meanings. They have been used as near synonyms for modernization in

the past and currently, there is a tension between images of internationalization as an opportunity for an opening of Japan and as a challenge that needs to be dealt with rather than embraced (Goodman, 2007). In addition, to say that a university implemented an EMI programme in the name of internationalization begs the question of why internationalization is valued. So, rather than looking at the official discourse and promotional statements, it may be more enlightening to listen to stakeholders' voices to focus on specific contextual factors, both challenges and benefits, seen as drivers of EMI innovations. These include a perceived need to catch up with other universities, a desire to sharpen a university's public image, an attempt to serve students' needs and questions of status within the university community.

Table 6: Use of *internationalization* and *globalization* in university greetings

Term	Number of Messages	Number of Uses	Examples
International	7 of 8	28	– international recognition as a world ranked institution – continuing internationalization
Global	6 of 8	26	– global society – global perspective – global human resources

Playing catch-up

A desire to catch up to elite universities was cited by informants from universities C, D, G and H. When the Global 30 universities, and a few others, began offering or expanding EMI programmes, it was seen as a threat or challenge. The exact benefits of an EMI programme may have been only vaguely understood, and there may not have been a strong intrinsic desire to *internationalize*, but there was a clear sense that not having a successful EMI programme of some kind would somehow leave the university falling behind. This can be seen as the fulfilment of part of the Global 30 universities' mandate. Along with cultivating the elite universities, a goal of the programme has always been for the innovations developed in the funded universities to spread to other universities.

The desire to catch up is also connected to university rankings. Positioning on domestic and international ranking tables can be extremely important for universities (Yonezawa, 2010). Internationally, a good ranking facilitates the creation of partnerships with universities, research institutes and business interests abroad. Domestically, rankings are a major deciding factor in both private investment and public funding. It is also common knowledge which universities are considered elite or academically low-level and potential students will choose accordingly. For universities struggling to maintain or improve their ranking, EMI can be seen as an investment.

There is some question as to whether or not the size and scale of an EMI program will actually influence a university's ranking. However, decision makers at some universities are proceeding on the assumption that it will. For university D in particular, its rankings were part of the equation. Paul reported that a considerable drop down one of the major university rankings lists (caused in large part by a change in the method for calculating the rankings) was a "massive jolt to the system" and it pushed the university into making several internationalization reforms including the level of priority attached to developing an EMI degree program.

There is also a sense that Japan needs to catch up with the educational innovations of other countries. EMI programmes for domestic students are growing in neighbouring Korea and China, and various EMI paradigms are now commonplace in Europe, to which Japan has long looked as a referent for innovation. As Robert, from university F, said:

> There's a lot of media focus on Finland and other Scandinavian countries that do CLIL so I think now there will be more institutional pressure [to increase EMI].

Public relations and promotions

Closely connected to the idea of ranking is the desire for EMI programmes to be part of universities' public relations (PR) strategy. For private universities competing for students amidst a declining youth population, EMI can be seen as a way to distinguish themselves from their competitors. Universities A and E cited PR as an important part of the initial motivation for establishing EMI and according to Peter, university C viewed the expansion of its current programme as a PR opportunity, "There are moves to see this become a new marketing tool, particularly in the Foreign Languages and Science fields". For university G, PR was the overriding factor. Albert described implementing the EMI programme as a reinvention:

> So if we can say we are a centre for English education, it might attract students who want to work for foreign companies or want to study abroad. It's a sense of survival. It provides an exciting alternative to the mainstay of Japanese education.

This focus on PR is consistent with other EMI contexts, for example in Europe where sharpening the image of the university is often cited as a motivator for offering EMI (Coleman, 2006).

Japanese EMI programmes tend to be a financial burden, or at best revenue neutral (Goodman, 2007). Class sizes are relatively small, recruiting students is more difficult and, because of the special requirements of EMI programmes, staffing can be problematic and expensive. In addition, if an EMI programme serves largely international students, they can be seen as a drain on university resources due to their lack of ability to live independently in Japanese society (Breaden, 2012). In contrast to many other countries, international students pay the same fees as domestic students in Japan, and some, particularly short-term students, may be accepted on full or partial fee waivers, so direct income from tuition is often not a main driving factor for the creation of EMI programmes.

Many universities may be willing to accept this financial burden due to perceived PR benefits. EMI programmes run for domestic students can help give a university a sense of academic rigor, which, stakeholders hope will attract higher-level students. When the focus of the programme is on international students, their very presence on campus is a selling point for potential domestic students. It is very common to see Japanese university promotional materials featuring international students, especially westerners, far more than their actual representation in the student body would warrant.

Benefits for students

Informants also often cited benefits of EMI for domestic students' future careers or educational opportunities. The assumption is that students who have completed an EMI

programme are advantaged in job-hunting or for graduate school admissions. Albert, from university G, said:

> The point of the [EMI] programme is to see these students go on to do postgraduate studies or to work in foreign companies, or to go on and do whatever they want with a good preparation in English.

This is certainly consistent with findings of EMI programmes in other contexts (see, for example, Bozdoğan & Karlıdağ, 2013). DeWit (2011), among others, has shown that perceived labour-market value motivates students joining internationalized university programmes. However, it should be noted that in the Japanese context there is, as yet, no long-term data on positive influences of EMI experiences on job-hunting. In fact, there may be reason to think the opposite is true. Kaneko (2013) reports that fewer than 15% of university graduates in Japan use English in their professional lives, and that proficiency in English offers no significant advantage to new employees in terms of their salaries.

Another benefit cited by informants from universities A, C, D, G and H is preparation for study-abroad programmes, internships and other international experiences. EMI classes can provide students with learning opportunities which parallel those they will experience abroad. Also, according to both Naomi and Keiko from university C, Japanese undergraduates can often return from studying abroad frustrated by their lack of ability to discuss their field in English. Keiko believed that EMI classes can help them before they go: “The students have to be able to talk about their specialty in English.”

A further benefit for students is validity and authenticity in language learning. Where the EMI classes are positioned within a language programme or communication-oriented department, faculty members tend to be English native-speaking language teachers. For them, EMI gives students an authentic experience in language input and a valid reason for language use (Pinner, 2013). This notion was mentioned repeatedly at five of the eight universities by Carl (university A), Sarah and Jane (university E), Robert (university F), Albert (university G) and David (university H). According to Jane:

> It's such a better way to teach [a language]. It's only in Japan that it's radical and different, untested and strange. In the rest of the world it's the norm.

Finally, EMI classes shared with international students are seen as a benefit for domestic students just for having international students in class. Paul, from university D, attributed the popularity of international courses on his campus to the presence of international classmates: "[international] really means you are sitting in a classroom with international students" and that is where the value of the course lies.

Department and faculty status

In some cases, EMI may be seen by faculty members as an opportunity to improve their own, and their department's, status or as an opportunity for professional growth. Paul reported that at university D, "As in many Japanese universities, only teaching English is seen as being lower status than having [content classes]" so starting a full-degree ETP could bring the languages department into the mainstream of the university community. However, he acknowledged that this was a minority view among the faculty. David reported that at university H, one of the benefits of EMI classes was that they give

teachers "a chance to explore what they are good at and flex their muscles in the lectures".

This opportunity for advancing status and professional challenge may be particularly motivating to foreign language teachers who are often seen as having a secondary position in education (Arkoudis, 2006) and in Japan suffer from marginalization, impersonalization and othering. Based on the work of (Geluso, 2013), Hashimoto (2013) argues that, due to the strong Japanese/Other dualism aspect of Japanese identity, "the attempts of native speakers of English to construct their professional identity as teachers are disrupted by the genericisation of foreigners in Japan" (p. 17). Thus, the opportunity to flex their muscles in an EMI programme may be a strong motivator for them.

Conclusions and future directions

The number of EMI programmes in Japan has grown rapidly over the past 15 years with programmes developing to suit local needs, though the number of students in such programmes remains relatively low. Although the growth of EMI has paralleled the increase in international students in Japan, the two do not seem to have been directly linked thus far. Rather, motivations for implementing EMI seem to have been tied to the status, rank and image of the university, and perceived benefits for domestic students. However, this may change as recent government initiatives shift the focus of EMI to the needs of incoming international students.

Looking to the future, there is a need for further research in two areas. Firstly, the current study has focused only on EMI programmes outside the G30. Because of their position in elite universities and strong ties to a specific government programme, the G30 programmes can be thought of as a separate phenomenon worthy of further research in their own right.

Secondly, the current study has illuminated the context of EMI in Japan. The factors influencing its growth have been discussed but the relative importance of each factor and the degree to which the vision is shared by all universities both remain to be seen. In the next step of the study, taking inspiration from Wächter and Maiworm's (2008) survey of European ETPs, a survey will be conducted of all 194 universities known to offer EMI in Japan as a way of gaining a broader view.

Acknowledgements

1. This work was partially supported by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C), Project Number 25370638.
2. The author would like to acknowledge the contribution of a co-researcher, Bethany Iyobe, who participated in data collection for this study.

About the author

Howard Brown is an associate professor in the Department of International Studies and Regional Development at the University of Niigata Prefecture, in Niigata Japan.
Email: brown@unii.ac.jp

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