

# EMI (English-medium instruction) across the Asian region

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## Abstract

This article has two main aims. First, to describe the general background to English-medium instruction (EMI) with reference to Outer Circle and Expanding Circle societies in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and East Asia. Second, it analyses data from each of the four case studies in the symposium in this issue in order to identify and explain the background to, and varying forms, of EMI in higher education in Cambodia, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Korea.

## 1 | INTRODUCTION

Thirty years ago, Bolton (1992) commented on the increasing spread of English in many Asian societies, motivated by the dynamics of internationalism, modernity, and higher education. Since that time, the use of the English language has continued to spread extensively throughout higher education in many Asian societies, not least with reference to English-medium instruction (EMI), which is typically defined as ‘the use of English to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English’ (Macaro, 2018, p. 19). This definition certainly applies to most contexts in Asia, although less clearly to Singapore, where English has now become the de facto first language of most young people in the society (Singstat, 2022).<sup>1</sup> This article begins by describing the general background to EMI throughout the Asian region. It then proceeds to analyse data from each of the four case studies in the symposium in order to identify and explain the background to, and varying forms, of EMI in higher education in Cambodia, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Korea.

## 2 | EMI IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE ASIAN REGION

There have been a number of book-length studies of EMI in higher education in the Asian region in recent years. These have included Hamid, Nguyen, and Baldauf (2014), Fenton-Smith, Humphreys and Walkinshaw (2017), Park

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and Spolsky (2017), Barnard and Hasim (2018), Liyanage and Walker (2019), and Tsou and Baker (2021). Hamid et al. (2014) surveys language policies and their implementation at different levels of education in a number of Asian societies, including Bangladesh, Hong Kong, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, the Maldives, Nepal, Vietnam, and East Timor. Fenton-Smith et al. (2017) present case studies from various EMI programmes at tertiary level in such Asian societies as Brunei, Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Japan, Malaysia, Myanmar, Pakistan, the Philippines, Singapore, South Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam. Park and Spolsky's (2017) volume comprises 10 chapters dealing with issues related to both EMI and English language teaching in higher education. The volume edited by Barnard and Hasim (2018) includes case studies from various Asian universities, including Brunei, Indonesia, and Malaysia, as well as methodological and theoretical analysis from scholars such as Barnard, Lin, and Kirkpatrick. Liyanage and Walker (2019) present case studies on English-medium education at various levels of education in such contexts as China, Indonesia, Japan, Mongolia, Singapore, and Sri Lanka. Tsou and Baker (2021) adopt a translanguaging approach with reference to EMI in higher education in various Asian universities in China, Japan, Taiwan Thailand, and Vietnam.

English-medium instruction at Asian universities takes place in a number of complex and diverse sociolinguistic settings (Kirkpatrick, 2018). Many Asian societies were earlier the subjects of various colonial powers, and many nations have only begun to strongly promote their national languages in the years after the Second World War, as in Cambodia (with Khmer), Indonesia (with Bahasa Indonesia), Malaysia (Bahasa Malaysia), the Philippines (Filipino), and Vietnam (Vietnamese). In other Asian nations, that were not formally colonized, a similar process has also occurred in the same period, with, for example, the promotion of Thai in Thailand and Putonghua in China. At the same time, English has also been enthusiastically and often uncritically promoted in recent decades, so that in the 10 countries of ASEAN, the only nation where English is not a compulsory subject in primary school is Indonesia. In Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore, the English language is introduced from Primary 1 onward. The Asian region is also an area of immense linguistic diversity and home to many diverse language families, including the Austronesian, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian, Indo-Aryan, Sino-Tibetan, and Tai-Kadai languages. The promotion of EMI in Asian societies in recent years has not been unproblematic, as many research studies have noted (Kirkpatrick & Liddicoat, 2019).

### 3 | EMI IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN OUTER CIRCLE AND EXPANDING CIRCLE CONTEXTS

As Bolton and Botha (2020) explain, there are major differences between Outer Circle and Expanding Circle contexts in Asia, with reference to the use of English as a medium of instruction in higher education.

#### 3.1 | EMI in outer circle Asian universities

A key characteristic of Asian Outer Circle societies is that these were previously colonies of Anglophone (typically British, but US in the case of the Philippines) powers, where, in the post-colonial period, English has been retained for important official purposes in such domains as government, law and education. The Outer Circle societies discussed by Bolton and Botha include, in South Asia, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka; Brunei, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, in Southeast Asia; and Hong Kong, in East Asia. The use of English in higher education varies greatly from context to context, in response to the sociolinguistic realities of each of these countries, but, at the risk of simplification, Table 1 sets out to describe the current status and functions of EMI in higher education in Outer Circle Asian societies.

**TABLE 1** Current status and functions of EMI in higher education in Outer Circle Asian societies

Country	Current status of EMI in higher education
Bangladesh	Government policy strongly favours the promotion of Bangla (the national language) in public institutions. In public universities, Bangla is the dominant language in the humanities and social sciences while English is used more widely in STEM subjects.
Brunei	The leading university of the nation, the University of Brunei Darussalam (UBD) is a bilingual university, with both a Malay and an English stream. At present, English-medium courses are predominantly favoured by students, although all Brunei students are functionally bilingual, and also take at least one Malay-medium compulsory course.
Hong Kong	EMI is the norm at most publicly-funded universities, although one of the eight public universities is officially bilingual (the Chinese University of Hong Kong) and one trilingual (the Education University of Hong Kong).
India	English is the dominant medium of instruction in higher education throughout most universities, and is particularly strong in STEM subjects at the nation's leading universities, while Indian languages are also used within the humanities and social sciences in many tertiary institutions.
Malaysia	Since independence in 1957, government language policy has promoted the national language, Bahasa Malaysia (Bahasa Melayu). Many of the private universities use English, and, in recent decades, the government has permitted the increased use of EMI at the country's leading public universities.
Myanmar	After the era of military rule from 1962 to 2011, the civilian government began to revitalize university education, and to re-introducing English as a teaching medium. However, in 2020, the military government regained power, and currently the future of higher education is highly uncertain.
Nepal	Reports indicate that a 'mixed-mode' of language instruction tends to be the norm at most universities, with English-language textbooks, together with spoken instruction in Nepali and other languages.
Pakistan	Most universities in Pakistan use English as the main medium of instruction, although this policy has been widely challenged in recent decades. There have been mixed official messages concerning language policies, although the government currently recognizes the utility of English in higher education.
Philippines	English is largely unchallenged as the dominant medium of instruction for engineering, science and professional subjects, although Filipino and other Philippine languages are used in some of the humanities and social science subjects. Otherwise, code-mixing and code-switching are also widely practised throughout tertiary institutions.
Singapore	English is the official medium of instruction for higher education in all tertiary institutions, and this EMI policy is consistently enforced in higher education, as well as throughout primary and secondary education.
Sri Lanka	After the independence of Ceylon in 1948, the government strongly supported Sinhala as a national language, although Tamil was recognized as an official language in 1978. Today, English is also widely used at Sri Lankan universities, particularly for the teaching of such subjects as engineering, law, medicine and science.

Adapted and updated from Bolton and Botha (2020, pp. 154–155).

### 3.2 | EMI in Expanding Circle Asian universities

Given that Expanding Circle contexts are generally those countries where, sociolinguistically, English has had the status of a foreign language rather than a second language, one would expect that the use of English in Expanding Circle universities would be on a lesser scale than in Outer Circle institutions. Generally speaking, this is largely the case, although, again, this varies greatly according to the particular context. Expanding Circle Asian countries include Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Macau, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. Three of these societies, Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam, are former French colonies, but also members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), as are Indonesia and Thailand. Since 2009, moreover, ASEAN has decided to adopt English as its official working language (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

**TABLE 2** Current status and functions of EMI in higher education in Expanding Circle Asian societies

Country	Current status of EMI in higher education
Cambodia	In recent decades, English has become recognized as a 'first foreign language', and has largely displaced French as a language of wider communication in Cambodian universities. EMI education has now been established for a range of subjects at leading universities in the country.
China	Putonghua is the default language of instruction at all public universities in China, but, since the early 2000s, various Chinese universities have established English-medium programmes. One motivation for these has been to attract foreign students to study subjects such as business, engineering and medicine in China.
Indonesia	Currently, a number of private universities in the country are running English-medium programmes, although the official policy of the government has been to maintain and promote the use of Bahasa Indonesia as the main language of instruction in all public universities.
Japan	Despite a number of government initiatives to promote English-medium education in Japan, a number of studies have reported on wide-ranging problems associated with the adoption of EMI courses. Many EMI programmes are reportedly aimed at attracting foreign students, rather than providing an international education for Japanese students.
Laos	At present, EMI education has not gained a major foothold in the Lao PDR, where the language policy of the government is largely focused on the promotion of the Lao language. English is taught as a foreign language at the National University of Laos.
Macau	The two leading universities in Macau both claim to teach through English, although recent research has shown that in at least one of these institutions, a great deal of Chinese is used instead of English.
South Korea	In recent decades, the government has encouraged EMI programmes at South Korean universities, which are now well-established at a number of leading universities. In part, this has been driven by the desire of Korean universities to excel in international rankings, but the implementation of such programmes has been problematized by various studies in recent years.
Taiwan	For a number of years, the Taiwan government encouraged universities to recruit more international students. More recently, the government is also actively promoting English-medium instruction for Taiwanese students, in order to promote Chinese-English bilingualism in the society.
Thailand	A number of leading Thai universities are now offering 'international' English-medium programmes, aimed mainly at Thai students wishing to gain an international education, and to increase their opportunities in the employment market.
Vietnam	In recent years, there have been various schemes to promote English-medium education in various institutions, and for Vietnamese universities to form joint ventures with foreign universities. However, the results of these initiatives have often been seen as problematic.

Adapted and updated from Bolton and Botha (2020, pp. 156–157).

### 3.3 | The dynamics of EMI in Asian universities

As can be seen from Tables 1 and 2, the societal contexts, status, and functions of EMI in higher education vary greatly from country to country across the Asian region. However, as far as one can judge, the current drivers of EMI in Asian universities include at least five major factors: (i) the predominance of English as the international language of science and technology; (ii) the importance of English in the world's research journals; (iii) the reputation of US, UK, Canadian, and Australasian universities, as well as the prestige of leading EMI universities elsewhere, as in Singapore); (iv) the importance of English as the lingua franca of the international business world, and organizations such as the ASEAN, UN, and UNESCO; and (v) university ranking systems, including the Times Higher Education (THE, 2022) and Quacquarelli Symonds (QS, 2022) rankings. In our opinion, the importance of ranking systems in motivating EMI education is often overrated, but in the context of Asian EMI, it is useful to note the difference between elite universities versus non-elite universities, not least with reference to the four case studies we present in Section 4 of the article.

**TABLE 3** THE versus QS Asian university rankings (2022)

University	THE	QS <sup>a</sup>	Country
Tsinghua University	1	5	China
Peking University	2	2	China
National University of Singapore	3	1	Singapore
The University of Hong Kong	4	3 =	Hong Kong
Nanyang Technological University, Singapore	5	3 =	Singapore
The University of Tokyo	6	11 =	Japan
Chinese University of Hong Kong	7	11 =	Hong Kong
Seoul National University	8	18	South Korea
Hong Kong University of Science and Technology	9	9	Hong Kong
Fudan University	10	7	China
Zhejiang University	11	6	China
Kyoto University	12	15	Japan
Shanghai Jiao Tong University	13	10	China
Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST)	14	14	South Korea
Hong Kong Polytechnic University	15	-	Hong Kong
University of Science and Technology of China	16	-	China
Nanjing University	17	-	China
Sungkyunkwan University (SKKU)	18	17	South Korea
Southern University of Science and Technology (SUSTech)	19	-	China
Ulsan National Institute of Science and Technology (UNIST)	20	-	South Korea
Universiti Malaya	-	8	Malaysia
Korea University	-	13	South Korea
Yonsei University	-	16	South Korea
National Taiwan University (NTU)	-	19	Taiwan
City University of Hong Kong	-	20	Hong Kong

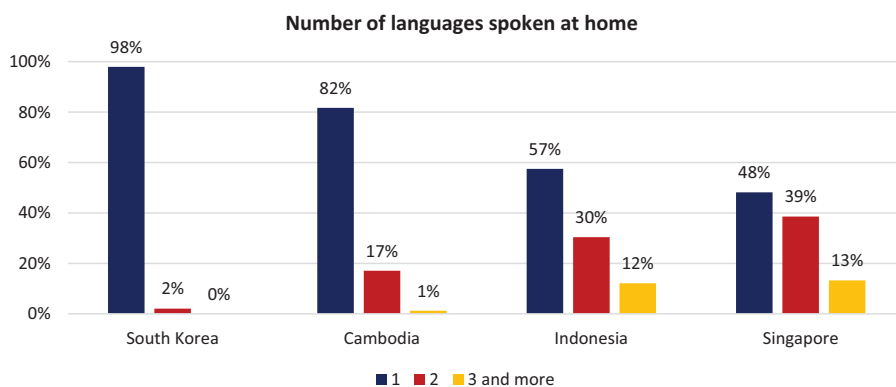
Note: <sup>a</sup>The = symbol indicates a tied ranking.

Here, it may be useful to scrutinize the latest rankings for the 'top 20' universities listed in the and QS rankings, which are presented in Table 3.

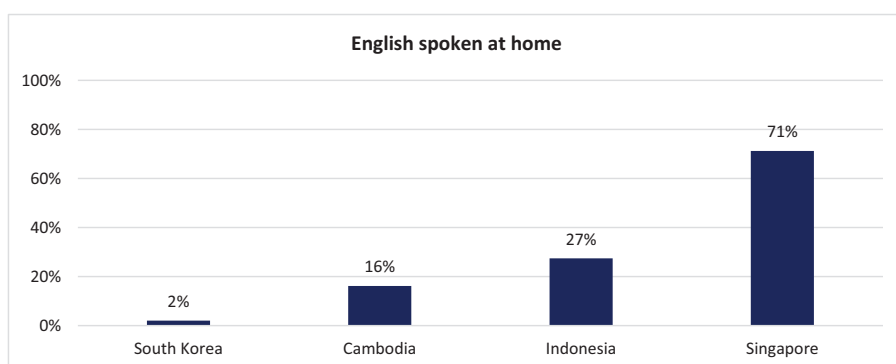
With reference to the four case studies discussed in Section 4, it is useful to note that two of the six universities in the Singapore case study, namely the National University of Singapore and Nanyang Technological University, Singapore, are listed in Table 3, as are all four of the South Korean universities, that is, Korea University, Korea Advanced Institute of Science and Technology (KAIST), Seoul National University, and Yonsei University. However, neither of the two universities from Cambodia and Indonesia gained a place in the top 20.

#### 4 | A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE ON FOUR CASE STUDIES

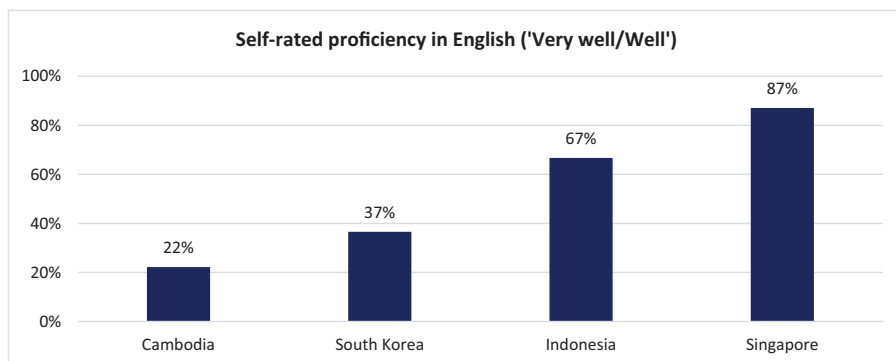
In this symposium, we present the results of four case studies dealing with EMI in higher education in four very different contexts, that is, Cambodia, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Korea. Here, we examine the results of quantitative



**FIGURE 1** Number of languages spoken at home [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]



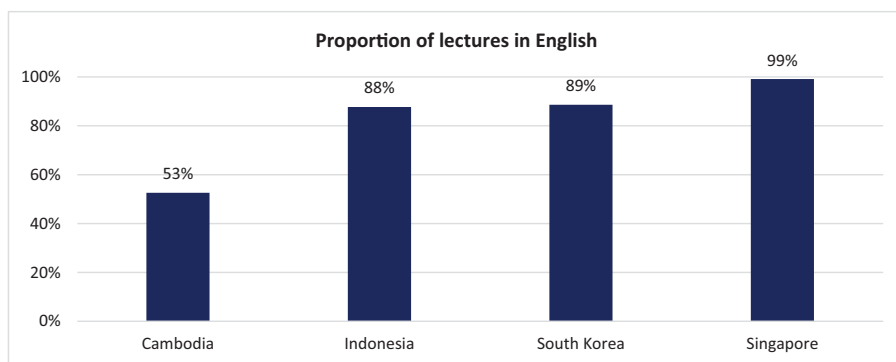
**FIGURE 2** English spoken at home [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]



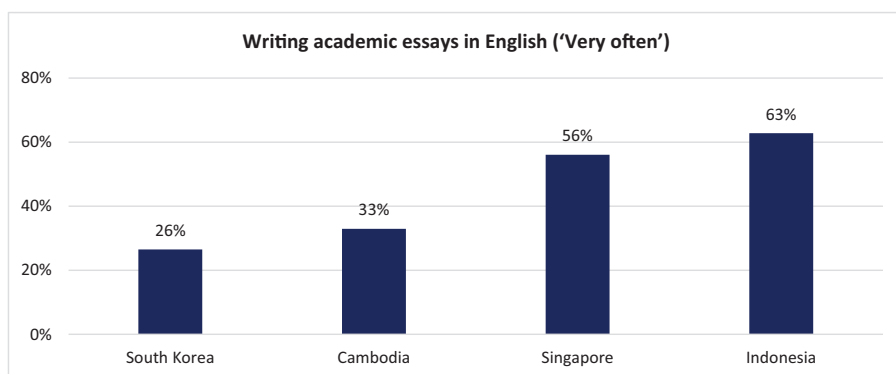
**FIGURE 3** Self-rated proficiency in English [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

surveys of undergraduate students attending universities in these four countries, where a total of 3,174 students responded to questionnaires concerning EMI in their universities.

In the case of Cambodia and Indonesia, empirical data is collected from only one university in each context, the Royal University of Phnom Penh (RUPP), and BINUS University in Jakarta. In Singapore, data was collected from the six major universities, while in South Korea, data was compiled from four leading universities, as mentioned above.



**FIGURE 4** Proportion of undergraduate lectures in English [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]



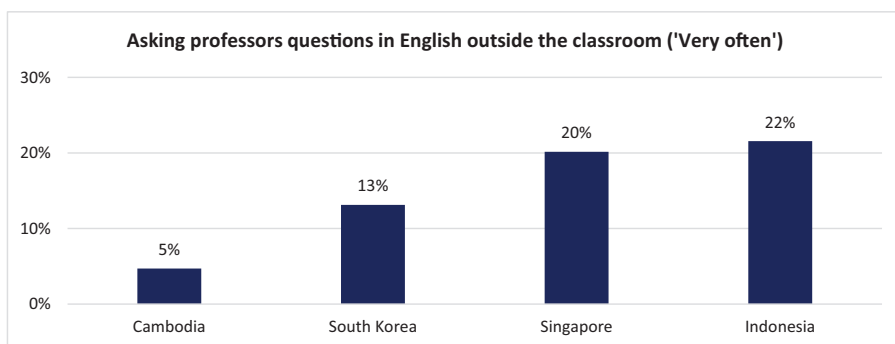
**FIGURE 5** Writing academic essays in English ('Very often') [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

The results presented below thus cite composite data from Singapore and South Korea. In these results, we set out to compare EMI in higher education in Cambodia, Indonesia, Singapore and South Korea, from a comparative perspective with reference to a number of key variables. These were: (i) number of languages spoken at home; (ii) whether students spoke English at home; (iii) the proportion of lectures that were given to students in English; (iv) how often students wrote academic essays in English; (v) whether students asked professors questions outside the classroom in English; (vi) whether students used English to discuss with other students; (vii) how often students used English when they socialize with other people; (viii) whether students mixed languages when talking to professors; (ix) the perceived proficiency of students' English; (x) students' perceived stated need to improve English; and (xi) students' identification of language skills needing most improvement.<sup>2</sup>

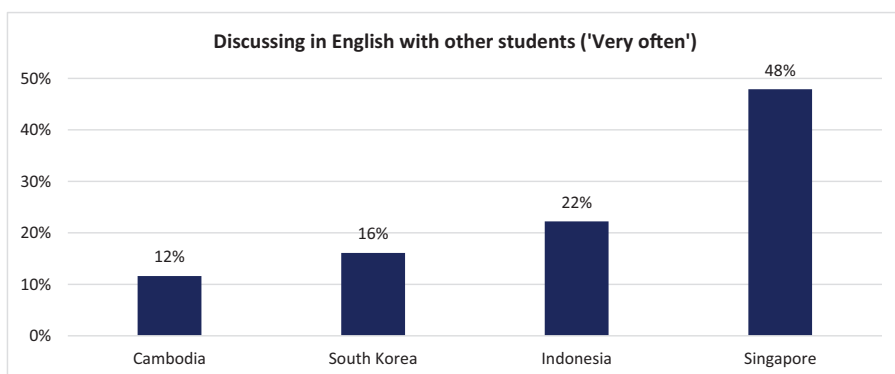
Figure 1 presents the results on number of languages spoken at home by these undergraduates, results that clearly reflect the extent of multilingualism in the four societies, with the highest rates of multilingualism in Singapore and Indonesia, and rather limited multilingualism in the home domain in South Korea.

Figure 2 presents the results for English spoken at home, where, remarkably, 71% of the Singapore students reported the use of English in the home domain, with much smaller totals for Indonesia and Cambodia and minimal English at home in Korea.

Students were asked to rate their own proficiency in the language. The results for this are set out in Figure 3. Singapore students rated themselves highest, followed by students from Indonesia, South Korea and Cambodia.



**FIGURE 6** Using English to ask professors questions outside the classroom [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]



**FIGURE 7** Discussing in English with other students [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

Figure 4 illustrates the results for the proportion of lectures delivered in English in the four settings, with Singapore showing close to universal English use, high rates for South Korea and Indonesia, and only about half for Cambodia. Note that the results presented in Figure 4 and for all figures in this article are from students enrolled in English-medium programmes in their respective universities. Whereas all courses in Singapore (apart from a few designated language courses) are de jure and de facto English medium, the students from Cambodia, Indonesia, and South Korea were drawn from that subset of students who were enrolled in EMI courses. Thus, the percentages in Figure 4 refer specifically to the subsets of EMI students in the three settings, not to the undergraduate body as a whole.

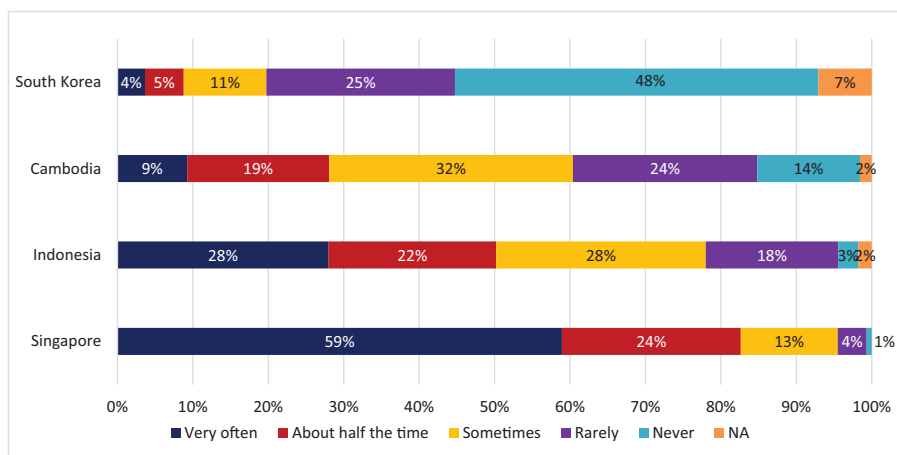
Figure 5 illustrates the extent to which whether students are required to write academic essays, with more than half of Indonesian EMI and Singapore students reporting they write essays in English 'very often', with less than a third in Cambodia, and South Korea.

Figure 6 charts the responses of students to the question of using English to ask professors questions outside the classroom, which was not common in any of the four countries, but most frequent in the Indonesian and Singaporean context, less common in South Korea and rare in Cambodia.

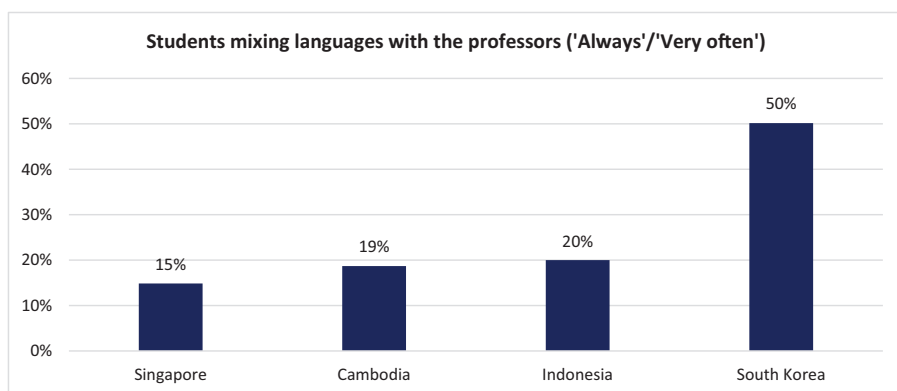
Figure 7 presents the results to a question which asked students how often they used English to discuss matters with other students. Here, it is evident that Singapore students were much more likely to use English when talking to classmates or other students with nearly 50% reporting that they used English very often, but less than a quarter reporting this in the other countries.

Figure 8 shows that more than half of Singaporean students used English very often when socializing with others,





**FIGURE 8** Socialising in English with other people [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]



**FIGURE 9** Students mixing languages with the professors [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]

compared to a quarter of the Indonesian students surveyed, and very few Cambodian or South Korean students.

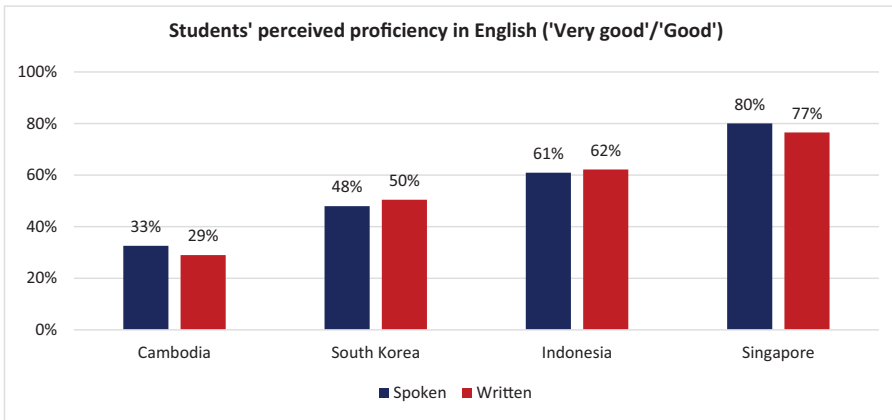
Figure 9 illustrates the results for language mixing in conversation with professors, where it is very evident that in South Korea there is a very high frequency of language mixing in such contexts, with rather less elsewhere.

Figure 10 shows that language mixing in conversation with professors is much more acceptable in South Korea, with half the students using this always or very often, while it was 20% or less for the other three countries.

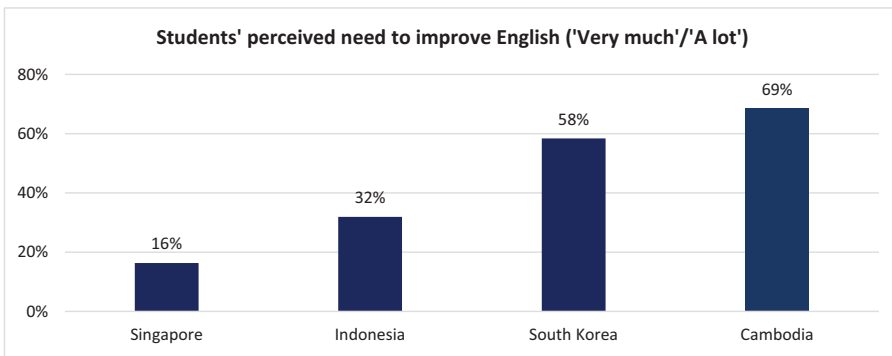
Figure 11 concerns students' perceived needs for English improvement, with Cambodian and South Korean students expressing the greatest need, followed by Indonesia and Singapore.

Figure 12 presents results concerning which skill needs the most improvement in the four countries. This is arguably the most helpful chart in this section in terms of understanding how best to better meet student needs as regards EMI in Asia. We see that about 30% of Cambodian and South Korean students most need help with listening, while about a third of Singaporean and Indonesian students most need help with writing and about a third to half of students in all four countries need help with speaking.

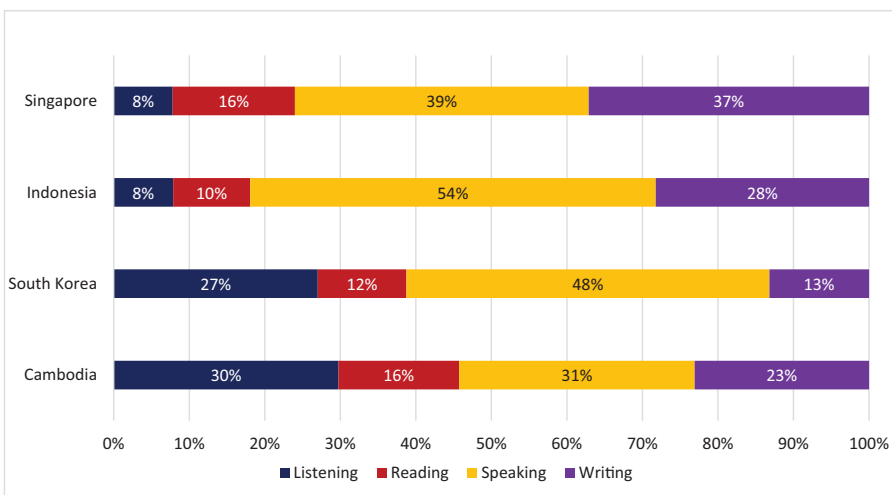
Whether the results in Figure 12 are generalisable to the wider academic communities in each location may be debatable given the particular characteristics of the students' surveyed in these four rather different contexts, the details of which are described in the four case study articles in this symposium. Again, it is worth noting that two of the four contexts (Singapore and South Korea) include highly-ranked elite universities, and two (Cambodia and Indonesia)



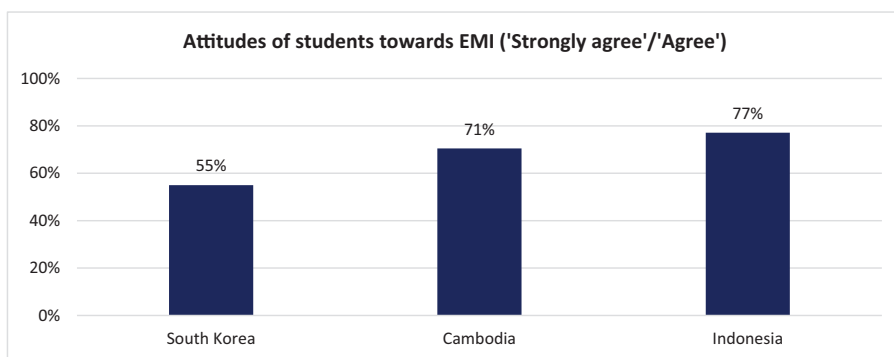
**FIGURE 10** Perceived proficiency of other students' English [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]



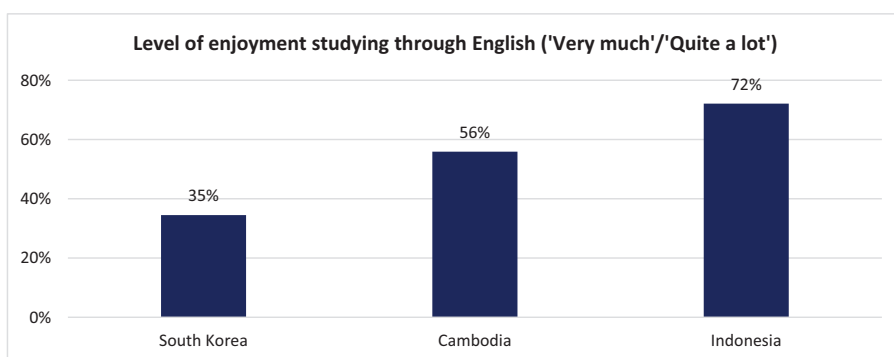
**FIGURE 11** Students' perceived need to improve English [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]



**FIGURE 12** Skills that need the most improvement [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com)]



**FIGURE 13** Attitudes of students towards EMI [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]



**FIGURE 14** Level of enjoyment studying through English [Colour figure can be viewed at [wileyonlinelibrary.com](http://wileyonlinelibrary.com)]

non-elite universities. In the case of Indonesia, the particular private university where data was collected is well known for its EMI courses and its appeal to students from families with higher socioeconomic status, and is untypical of most universities in the country.

Students in three of the societies were asked about their general attitudes to EMI higher education, and whether they thought that English should be used as the medium of instruction in their university. This question was considered inapplicable to the Singapore students given that since the early 1980s, English has been strictly enforced as the sole medium of education at all levels of education.

The results set out in Figure 13 indicate varying levels of agreement, with a sizeable majority of Cambodian and Indonesian students expressing clear approval of the adoption of EMI within their institutions, compared with a smaller majority of students from the four South Korean universities. However, when the South Korean students were asked the converse question of whether they would prefer the sole use of the Korean language as a teaching medium, only 9.8% of respondents expressed approval ('Strongly agree'/'Agree').

Students in the three countries were also asked whether or not they enjoyed studying through the medium of English, and the results for this are set out in Figure 14. These results are somewhat similar in terms of the rank ordering of responses. An overwhelming majority of students in Indonesia expressed a clear level of enjoyment, compared with much smaller totals for Cambodia and South Korea.

## 5 | CONCLUSION

This article has attempted to achieve two main objectives, first to provide an account of the general background to English-medium instruction (EMI) across the whole of the Asian region, and second, to compare various findings on EMI in higher education in Cambodia, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Korea. With reference to the first issue, the article has highlighted the differences between the implementation of EMI in Outer Circle versus Expanding Circle Asian societies. In the first category of Outer Circle universities, are such contexts as Bangladesh, Brunei, Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, and Sri Lanka. The second category of Expanding Circle universities includes Cambodia, China, Indonesia, Japan, Laos, Macau, South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand, and Vietnam. Given that Outer Circle countries are those which were previously Anglophone colonies, it is generally true that, in such contexts, EMI has had a stronger historical presence, and is more widely established than in Expanding Circle countries where English has traditionally been regarded as a foreign language. With reference to the second aim of this article, which was to present comparative findings from the four Asian settings, a number of such results have been discussed in this article, in relation to students' use of English inside and outside the classroom. These have included questions about the linguistic background of students, the proportion of lectures delivered in English, writing academic essays in English, using English to interact with their professors and other students, socializing in English, mixing languages, their perceptions of their own linguistic weaknesses, and their general attitudes to EMI in their universities.

Our intention in writing this article was to provide the general background to the four case studies on Cambodia, Indonesia, Singapore, and South Korea in this symposium. As many commentators, including Bolton and Botha (2020) have pointed out, EMI in Asian higher education can take a number of very different forms. For example, in the Singapore context, EMI education is strictly enforced by government edict at all levels of education. Elsewhere, some Asian universities adopt bilingual/multilingual approaches, where English dominates in lectures, and other languages are used for seminars and workshops, as is the case in Cambodia and Korea. There are also settings where, in 'parallel language' fashion, English is the language of textbooks, but the national language, or a mixed variety dominates at the spoken level, as in Cambodia. Indeed, there are widespread language mixing and switching practices in virtually all Asian higher education contexts, arguably with the exception of Singapore (at least within the formal classroom). Interestingly, there are also some universities that claim to offer EMI education, but largely do so in name only, as is apparently the case in some Chinese universities (Botha, 2013).

However, in addition to such educational and pedagogical considerations, it is also important to be aware of the sociohistorical and sociolinguistic backgrounds to each of these Asian societies, the complexities of which are only revealed by a close reading and understanding of the history, sociology, and linguistic ecology of the region and individual societies. One conclusion that emerges from all four case studies is that a full understanding of EMI in these contexts is only accessible through an understanding of their sociolinguistic histories. For example, Singapore's higher education system was shaped by its post-independence leader, Lee Kuan Yew, who understood the crucial role of language in nation building; Cambodia's enthusiasm for EMI developed in the post-Khmer Rouge era, when the country opened to the international world; Indonesia's current EMI policies reflect a balancing act in a highly multilingual nation, which is the world's fourth most populous nation; while South Korea's adoption of EMI has been motivated by its development as an Asian engineering and manufacturing powerhouse. The four case studies presented in this symposium therefore set out to embed the discussion of English-medium instruction in higher education in the wider context of the sociolinguistic histories of Asian societies.

### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion of official Singaporean language policies in Botha, Bolton, and Bacon-Shone in this symposium.

<sup>2</sup> The total number of undergraduates surveyed in each country was as follows: Cambodia 799, Indonesia 459, Singapore 1037, South Korea 879. Details concerning the survey methodology and results can be found in the four case study articles in this symposium.

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