

portant national/regional solidarity symbol and are necessary to access public service positions. In addition, a strong command of one's mother tongue facilitates learning a second language.

In the five countries of the study, how the government chooses to address EMI in the national education system greatly influences attitudes toward language, access, equity, and the effectiveness of the policy. South Africa is linguistically diverse and the government claims to promote progressive policies regarding multilingualism. Yet the lack of resources and the sensitive connection of the issue with racism are significant obstacles. Malaysia has a multiethnic population among which the national language is well accepted as a unifying tool, but who gets to learn English depends on social class. France counts several regional languages, with French as the national language; a particular challenge nowadays is the rise of a number of immigrant languages, and it is unclear how the government will institutionalize multilingualism going forward. In Spain, minority languages also have considerable political presence in the regions where they are spoken, and the population is trying to adapt to English.

These societal realities bear on the populations' attitudes toward languages, which could translate into the successful acquisition of a language or in abandoning one. Regardless of the policy direction, if individuals do not identify with a certain practice, trying to enforce a policy will not be effective. For example, if people in South Africa feel that Afrikaans carries colonial connotations, or if people in Catalonia feel that Castilian (standard Spanish) is a symbol of a central government with which they no longer identify, the status of these languages may become threatened. Education plays a strong role in promoting diversity and teaching tolerance, and the practice of multilingualism at higher education institutions could serve as a good example for the larger society.

APPLICABILITY OF EMI IN HIGHER EDUCATION

The applicability of EMI varies greatly depending on the general development of higher education, how many resources the government is able to put forth, and how much the population is prepared to invest in learning. Among the five countries of the study, Spain and France have mature higher education systems. Under the EU umbrella, their status as developed countries guarantees financial security and political support; local languages are strongly prevalent and introducing English is a successful endeavor. The situation is different in Brazil, Malaysia, and South Africa. These are former colonies, which has an impact on the current state of national economic development. Local languages could be pushed into the periphery if the use of English is

further promoted, with all of the benefits it brings. In South Africa and Malaysia, introducing English is not a new policy. The struggle lies in whether it is a good idea for the system as a whole to accept the potential traumatic baggage that comes with extensively using a colonial language and recognizing it as an indispensable tool in the world today, at the expense of the effort to indigenize and reclaim a culture and a social order that was lost.

These three countries are also confronted with a higher level of social inequality. In Brazil and Malaysia especially, where foreign language education in the public system is less than adequate, the wealthy can afford English language courses and succeed in university or on the job market. Inequality is perpetuated. In South Africa, the interaction between class and race is magnified, given the history of apartheid.

There are no simple solutions to any of the obstacles mentioned above when introducing EMI. Furthermore, the process needs to be constantly reviewed with a critical eye for its potentially long-lasting impact on the higher education and knowledge system. Each national context comes with a unique set of historical and societal factors that influence stakeholders differently within the system, which makes it valuable to conduct global comparative research on this topic, to encourage learning from each other's victories and mistakes. ■

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Malaysia's National Language Policy and Graduate Employability

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Malaysia's public-private higher education providers graduate over 200,000 candidates yearly. One in five remains unemployed—the equivalent of 35 percent of the country's youth. The National Graduate Employability Blueprint, 2012–2017, highlights that over 50 percent of the graduates are below par in terms of competency in subject knowledge, languages (English in particular), communication and writing skills, and work attitude. The 2013

JobStreet.com survey points out that 70 percent of employers are of the opinion that the quality of the country's recent graduates is average and that their command of English is poor.

The mismatch between demand and supply of high-quality human capital is preventing Malaysia from fulfilling its aspiration to be a creative, innovative, technology savvy, and export-oriented high-income country by 2020. The new Pakatan Harapan (Alliance of Hope) government has postponed that goal to 2023.

MALAYSIA'S HIGHER EDUCATION SYSTEM

Malaysia's public-private higher education provision is politically driven with varied sources of funding and a racially polarized student enrollment. Public provision is highly subsidized and driven by a politically resolute, race-based, affirmative action strategy, with the national language as the teaching medium. Since independence, English has been a compulsory second language in public schools. However, in the last four decades, it has been undermined by poor quality teaching and usage. This has drastically hampered schools from preparing students for tertiary education in English, for them to keep pace with the accelerating growth in new global knowledge and compete in the fast changing graduate labor market.

The expectation was that competition among for-profit and market-oriented providers with English as teaching medium would produce quality human capital to meet the economy's skill needs. On the contrary, all these education providers are drivers of credentials and of quantity over quality. Can these private-public providers, essentially driven by overpowering political and economic motives, generate the right mix of high-quality human capital to meet the needs of a technology savvy and knowledge-driven economy?

SUPPLY-DEMAND MISMATCH AND GROWING UNEMPLOYMENT

The outcry from both the public and private sectors is that the country's universities are educating graduates with insufficient English language skills and mental building blocks to think constructively—capabilities that Malaysian industrial and service sector employers are in dire need of. As the demand for skilled workers with a global awareness increases, many top companies recruit almost exclusively Malaysian graduates returning from selective overseas English-medium universities, rather than from the country's more insular institutions.

Recently, a lawmaker pointed out that apart from their communication, interpersonal, and leadership skills, thousands of public university graduates were unemployable by the private sector primarily because of their poor command of English. The government had to recruit them into

the highly bloated public service. The failure of thousands of local university graduates to secure employment due to their poor command of English—their inability to “string a sentence together in English”—was reiterated by the former chief minister of the East Malaysian State of Sarawak, the late Adenan Satem. To mitigate the problem of “graduates without a future,” the chief minister made English Sarawak's second official language.

The National Graduate Employability Blueprint highlights the mismatch between the supply and demand of graduates in the labor market and emphasizes that employability rates “remain poor and unimproved.” The Malaysian Employers Federation too points out that graduate unemployment is a serious problem. Poor command of English is singled out as the primary reason for employability decline.

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To boost employment, the former Barisan national government instituted the 1 Malaysia Training Scheme and the Graduate Employability Management Scheme. It is perplexing how public university graduates have to be retrained, at taxpayers' expense, while the education system is not able to correct the deficiencies, despite nearly 6 percent of the country's GDP being spent on education.

DECLINE IN TEACHING AND USAGE OF ENGLISH

Singapore has retained English as medium of instruction at all levels of its education provision with the aim of keeping pace with the fast evolving global knowledge and market systems. Malaysia, inversely, made Bahasa Malaysia the main medium of instruction to counterbalance the linguistic imperialism of the English language. However, unlike South Korea, it has failed to turn Bahasa Malaysia into a main vehicle of scientific scholarship.

Although English has been a compulsory second language since independence, patriotic sentiments combined with national political exigencies and teaching incompetency have progressively resulted in a greater usage of Bahasa Malaysia, while English, these past forty years, has been allowed to decline drastically among school leavers, tertiary education students, and the academic community.

Most non-English-speaking countries aspiring to keep abreast with a rapidly globalizing world have made English the first foreign language in their schools. For instance, English is taught from primary level upward at Dutch, Chinese, and Indian schools. In China, the demand for English competency is surging, particularly among upper tier higher education institutions. Malaysia's ASEAN neighbor and competitor, Vietnam, has identified English-medium education as key to improving the quality of its rapidly expanding tertiary institutions. In addition, Vietnam states that English is crucial to its larger aim of modernizing and internationalizing the economy. The Indian National Knowledge Commission of 2009 emphasized that "an understanding and command over the English language is the most important determinant of access to higher education, employment possibilities, and social opportunities. School leavers who are not adequately trained in English as a language are always at a handicap in the world of higher education." English is a key requirement to secure social mobility and high-wage employment in highly competitive areas such as commerce, finance, trade, technology, and science, among others. The British Council reckons that English is spoken at a working level by some 1.75 billion people, a quarter of the world's population.

Malaysia's effort to develop into a modern, technological savvy, and export-driven nation depends on strengthening its human capital. Competency in the English language guarantees access to the latest scientific discoveries and developments. ■

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International Faculty in Japan

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Since the 1980s, hiring international faculty has been used by national higher education systems across the world as an effective strategy to improve their universities' standing in global rankings and their international competitiveness. Accordingly, and as a result of new global and national contextual factors, the profile of international faculty has undergone tremendous changes in terms of work roles as well as perceptions of internationalization of higher

education in their host countries. Japan is no exception.

Unlike in other East Asian countries, international faculty have a historic role in Japanese higher education. As early as the late nineteenth century, Japan invited a large number of foreign experts, scholars, and professionals from the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and France in an effort to establish a modern society and higher education system based on Western models. Post-WWII, the introduction of the US general education ideal to Japanese universities required them to hire international faculty, especially from English-speaking countries, to provide foreign language programs to Japanese students. Subsequently, the implementation of the 1982 act for "Employing Foreign Full-time Faculty at National and Local Public Universities" made it possible for public sector institutions to employ international faculty full-time and with tenure, and allowed them to be involved in administrative matters at their institutions. In recent years, recruiting international faculty has also been used as an effective way to enhance the quality and international competitiveness of Japanese higher education. These factors have contributed to a rise in the number of international faculty at Japanese universities: national statistics show that the number of full-time international faculty increased from 940 (0.9 percent of all faculty) in 1979 to 8,262 (4.5 percent of all faculty) in 2017. In light of this significant increase, this article analyzes the changes that occurred in their personal and professional profiles, in their motivations for coming to work to Japan, and in their perceptions of the labor market, based on a comparison of findings from national surveys conducted in 1979 by Professor Kazuhiro Kitamura and in 2017 by the author.

MORE ASIANS AND MORE WOMEN IN THE HARD SCIENCES

In terms of country of origin, the first survey shows that in 1979, international faculty came predominantly from the United States (39.1 percent), followed by the United Kingdom (17.1 percent), Germany (15 percent), Spain (7.7 percent), France (6.6 percent), China (4.4 percent), and South Korea (2.7 percent). By contrast, the second survey shows that in 2017, the largest groups came from China (22.2 percent), followed by the United States (18.8 percent), South Korea (13.2 percent), the United Kingdom (8.2 percent), Canada (4.8 percent), Germany (3.8 percent), Australia (2.8 percent), France (1.8 percent), and Taiwan (1.7 percent). In terms of gender, the number of female faculty increased from 20.7 percent in 1979 to 26.4 percent in 2017. In terms of disciplines, in 1979, the subject areas of international faculty in Japan were mostly languages (33.4 percent), followed language and literature (26.1 percent), and literature (17.4 percent). In 2017, while the humanities were still the most