THE VIETNAMESE AGENDA OF ADOPTING ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

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Abstract: English as a medium of instruction has been recently adopted in Vietnam's educational system. This gives rise to a concern as why a Vietnamese-speaking country decided to endorse EMI programs as one of its critical educational reforms. This paper aims to analyse the literature to explore the various agendas (social, economic, political, and educational) that underlie the EMI expansion. It examines the world literature as a framework of reference for analysing the Vietnamese case. Hopefully, the paper will provide policy-makers and implementers insights into the EMI processes to maximise the benefits and avoid pitfalls.

Keywords: English as a medium of instruction (EMI), agenda, Vietnam, policy

1. Introduction

It is now a truism to state that English is spreading rapidly around the world. English is not limited to communication within Englishspeaking nations. Speakers of English as a first, second and foreign language have increased from 1.2 billion in 2003 to 1.5 billion in 2006 (Crystal, 2006). In China alone, the number of bilingual speakers (English and Chinese) has increased to 200-500 million in 2009 (Crystal, 2009, as cited in Cheng 2012). With this increasingly important role of English in economic development and international communications, it is common that English is used as a medium of instruction in many nonnative English speaking (NNES) contexts where the majority of the population speak a local language (Hamid, Nguyen, & Baldauf Jr, 2013; Kirkpatrick, 2012a; Wilkinson, 2012). Many governments in these contexts, such as Hong Kong and Singapore, have legislated English in their educational systems, with a naïve

* Tel.: 84-947273006 Email: nhavtt@vnu.edu.vn belief that this is the most effective means of internationalisation and development. Wachter and Maiworm (2008, as cited in Doiz et al., 2012b, p. xvii), for example, note that at over 400 European higher education institutions, there were 2400 English-medium programs in 2007, which represented a 340-percent increase within bachelor and master courses compared with 2002.

Scholars attributed various factors to this widespread use of English, including linguistic features (Cheng, globalisation (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2012; Lo Bianco, 2010), national development (Coleman, 2011a), and the power of the people who speak the language (Cheng, 2012; Crystal, 2011). This paper attempts to explore the agendas that NNES countries with a particular emphasis on Asian contexts have for adopting EMI. Following the general discussion of EMI driving forces in the world contexts, it critically analyses the Vietnamese agendas to endorse EMI to illustrate. Hopefully, the paper will be of reference for English language policy makers at various levels

2. Theorising EMI developments

This section will specifically and selectively examine some common theories to explain the spread of EMI. They include globalisation (Doiz et al., 2012; Lo Bianco, 2010), development (Coleman, 2011a; Kirkpatrick, 2012b), power (Cheng, 2012; Crystal, 2011), and national identity and language policy (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007b).

2.1. Globalisation and EMI

The phenomenon that globalisation impacts the spread of English and English teaching in many NNES contexts has been well accepted in the literature (Barton, 1994; Block, 2008; Chang, 2006; Dang, Nguyen, & Le, 2013; Doiz et al., 2012; Graddol, 1997; Hamid, 2013). It is generally described as a demandsupply relationship in which globalisation increases the demand of English through the increasing exposure to English materials and communication. English becomes a required skill for a working person in the multi-ethnic professional environment. As a result, English literacy becomes a standardised commodity exported to other non-English speaking markets, which significantly changes local literacy practices (Barton, 1994; Lo Bianco, 2010).

Nonetheless, this demand-supply rule seems insufficient to explain why English is used as a medium of instruction in a context where speakers could use a local language as an easier option (Akyel & Ozek, 2010; Kyeyune, 2010; Manh, 2012; Mohamed, 2013). Lo Bianco (2010) proposes the concept of knowledge power to examine the relationship between globalisation and EMI popularity. First, he states that knowledge in any form (creation, transfer, and generating skill competence) has world-changing power in a reciprocal bond between global market and universities. He argues:

New markets emerged demanding skilled competence.... Universities today, both Western and non-Western, are enmeshed in rapidly integrating markets for competence as they supply these markets with skills. Universities also reinforce the existence of these markets and their reliance on universities. These markets, then as now, transcend boundaries of nation and culture, though most are still grounded in national traditions and all are marked by stratifications of power and inequalities of wealth. (Lo Bianco, 2010, p. 201)

Therefore, Lo Bianco believes that knowledge, especially technical skills and philosophical reflection, is "endlessly mutable, applicable, and exchangeable" (p.202) and should not be confined to one national setting where the universities are based. As a result, an international market for competence emerges, which produces a growing need for a shared medium of instruction and standardised literacy. English, therefore, has become a facilitating medium for international education. The demand for English is rising and English has become a "kind of foundational knowledge or basic skill used for globalisation" (Lo Bianco, 2010, p. 203). Unfortunately, as English is still located in some geographical areas and other languages are also the language of scholarship, it brings in contradictions and conflicts to international education. English, consequently, is often seen in a binary choice between "imperial instrument" and "unproblematic asset" (Lo Bianco, 2010, p.203). This situation has exacerbated the inequality or bias in the market. Those who own an English competence, such as bilingual or native speakers, have advantages compared to those who do not. The next section will further elaborate reasons for adopting EMI from the development perspective.

2.2. Development and EMI

English for development is strongly promoted by international development agencies or non-government organisations (NGOs) in developing countries (Coleman, 2010, 2011b; Seargeant & Erling, 2011; Wedell, 2011). Every year, these countries receive a huge flow of foreign investments for diverse social and economic activities. Statistics from UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development) show a nearly five-time increase in inward foreign investments to South-East Asian developing countries from US\$ 284.364 billion in 1980 to US\$ 1,319.479 billion in 2012⁽¹⁾. This process creates a demand for local people to learn English to work for foreign companies or to receive international knowledge and technology from development projects. To enhance this development process, some organisations such as the British Council even provide English language courses to local people. It is noted that the new concept of development does not mean economic or social enhancement. It is about "freedom" (Sen, 1999, as cited in H. Coleman, 2010, p.3), which is facilitated by incomes, social and economic arrangements, and political and civil rights. English in relation to development, therefore, is assumed to play various roles in "increasing employability, facilitating international mobility (migration, tourism, studying abroad), unlocking development opportunity and accessing crucial information, and acting as an impartial language" (Coleman, 2011a, p. 18). The following paragraphs will examine these roles in turn.

In the first role of increasing employment opportunities, research reveals a positive correlation between English ability and employability (Coleman, 2010; Grin, 2001). For example, Grin (2001) conducted a telephone survey with 2,400 respondents in three regions in Switzerland. By controlling education and experience variables, he found that the wage gap for the top level of competence could exceed 30% for individuals. This gap was also found at lower levels of competence. The result was in line with that in previous statistical studies with immigrant workers in America and French men in Ouebec Canada (Bloom & Grenier, 1996; Vaillancourt, 1996, as cited in Grin, 2001). It, however, remains doubtful that a replicated study in Asian contexts could obtain a similar result. Grin (2001) himself admitted that the results could change over space and time. Some other case studies (Bolton, 2013; Suárez, 2005) reported foreign investors' preference of English abilities in their investment decision. Nonetheless, it remains inconclusive that English in general, or EMI in particular, has a causal effect with enhanced employability, and it is suggested that the effect of English should be considered in a particular sector like tourism (Coleman, 2010).

Another role of English to facilitate international mobility is obvious in the rising number of international students into Englishspeaking countries. Kell and Vogl (2012) examine student mobility and indicate that the international higher education market has been rapidly growing. The number has increased from 600.000 international students in 1975 to 2.9 billion in 2006 (Kell & Vogl, 2012), and exceeded 3 million in 2009 (Shields, 2013). Favourite destinations for international students are English-speaking countries the United States, United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Shields, 2013). Asia has contributed the most international students, making up approximately 47.7% of total international students in the OECD countries (Kell & Vogl, 2012, p. 2). These statistics reveal a growing lucrative market

 $^{{}^{1}}http://unctadstat.unctad.org/TableViewer/tableView.\\ aspx$

for international education, which might be a strong driving force for the establishment of English-taught programs in NNES contexts of Europe (Ball & Lindsay, 2012; Wilkinson, 2012) and Asia (Byun et al., 2011; Chang, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Tsuneyoshi, 2005). As Kirkpatrick (2011, 2012b) points out the rising number of new EMI programs in Asia can be seen as a response to give more choices to students and reduce the loss of funding and human resources via student mobility.

The next role that associates English with development is its accessibility to development opportunities and information. H. Coleman (2010), for instance, cites statistics from previous studies to confirm that the lack of English has deprived local professionals of overseas training programs. In addition, it is well acknowledged that English is the dominant language of scholarship (Kirkpatrick, 2011; Lo Bianco, 2010). The number of English-speaking conferences, English websites, English-written journals and textbooks has surged in recent years. Therefore, a common belief is that English is the better language to obtain knowledge and competence (Lo Bianco, 2010) as well as to disseminate knowledge (Ferguson, Pérez-Llantada, & Plo, 2011; Hamid, 2006; Kirkpatrick, 2011). Although little statistical evidence can be found to support the soundness of this belief, it seems to have had significant effects on English replacing other languages as a medium of instruction and publication (Lillis & Curry, 2010).

The last role of English as an impartial language can be found in multilingual societies at conflict such as Sri Lanka, Bangladesh, Afghanistan (Coleman, 2010, 2011b). In these contexts, local people may not reach a consensus on which local language should be selected as the official and instructional language of the country. Therefore, they resort to English to avoid conflicts. This solution,

however, is likely to result in the loss of training opportunities for local people and the death of local languages as in the example of Bangladesh (Shamim, 2011).

To summarise, the development agenda has been closely associated with the spread of EMI. However, it is challenging to generalise that there is a causal relationship between the two. English, in any role, comes with both opportunities and risks for development.

2.3. Power and EMI

Crystal (2011) strongly maintains that power decides the rapid spread of English worldwide. Unlike the concept of knowledge power proposed by Lo Bianco (2010), his concept of power relates to the people who use the language. He states:

Alanguage becomes an international or global language for one reason only: the power of the people who use it. In the case of English, we are talking about a combination of power factors that influenced the language over a period of 400 years-political (the British Empire), technological (the Industrial Revolution), economic (especially the US), and cultural (developments such as the telephone, pop music and the internet). All of these aspects developed initially through the medium of English. (Crystal, 2011, p. 30).

Accordingly, he conceptualises power in historical periods and in the dominant area under each period. This approach provides a multi-layer analysis of the English power relationship. However, it seems problematic to identify the group of people in power as the owners of English. In fact, it is well acknowledged that bilingual speakers of English are taking more influential roles than in the past (Cheng, 2012; Crystal, 2004; Kirkpatrick, 2011). Therefore, the criteria that can define the groups in power (geography,

nativeness, or both) are inconclusive (Maley, 2010; Widdowson, 1994).

2.4. National identity and national language policy

National identity, articulated by national language policy, has been seen as one of the contributing factors for increasing and diverse EMI practices in Asian countries (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007b). While acknowledging that globalisation has brought about the widespread use of English in Asia as a "much sought-after commodity" (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007b, p. 2) with paradoxes, this approach specifically emphasises the role of government and national language policies in promoting EMI. This approach seems to confirm that the effect of globalisation can be two-way between the West and other parts of the world (Block, 2008). Tsui and Tollefson (2007b) point out that the roles of English can be universal, but each nation with its own national identity adopts English in a selective way to promote its identity. Accordingly, they define national identities "imagined communities" which are "discursively constructed" (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007a, p. 9). Four intertwined elements of national identities include the uniqueness of a nation, historical memories (true, partly true, or legendary), future development and orientation of the nation, and emphasis on origin, continuity, tradition, and timelessness of the nation. These underlying elements differentiate national language policies in response to globalisation.

Also, Tsui and Tollefson (2007b) further investigate the notion of language policies in three aspects: language management, language ideology, and language practices (Spolsky, 2004 as cited in Tsui & Tollefson, 2007a). This appears to be a useful framework to analyse various English education policies across Asian countries. Regarding language

management, governments take interventions to decide their language preference. For example, they regulate that learning English is a national mission (for example in Japan or Malaysia) or a means to learn other subjects (for example in Japan, Malaysia, Cambodia), which results in increased curriculum time and resources. There is also a tendency that English is introduced to younger children at lower education levels. Referring to language ideology and practices, the authors discuss the underlying cultural beliefs about language varieties and communicative practices. It has been observed that Asian learners seem to prefer English, especially British or American varieties, than other languages (Maley, 2010). Another observation is that Western pedagogies can be incompatible with the pedagogies adopted by Asian EFL teachers which are different and "have been interpreted out of context and dismissed as traditional and ineffective" (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007b, p. 9). They argue that further research is needed to illustrate the congruence of language practices and policies.

In summary, this section has reviewed different approaches, each of which offers a different focus or perspective to capture the rapid developments of EMI. However, the thread of the four approaches is that EMI embraces both risks and opportunities, which immensely impacts individuals and organisations in various contexts. Each context with its own social, economic, and ideological features may position itself in the continuum between the two. The next section will specifically analyse the Vietnamese context as an example.

3. Vietnamese agenda

Vietnam, a developing country in South East Asia, started to adopt English as a school subject in the 1950s (Le, 2007). Parallel with the country's rapid and continuous sociopolitical reforms over the last 50 years, English has become the most popular foreign language in its educational system, and finally the medium of instruction in some universities in 2008. Vu (2014) concludes that Vietnam has adopted EMI on a mixed agenda at three levels (national, institutional, and personal). The following subsections will eloborate on the agenda in detail.

3.1. The national socio-political agenda

The last thirty years of Vietnam has been transitioning from an inward-looking nation to a more active member of the world community. During the ten years following 1975, the united Vietnam was under the leadership of the CPV government, which strongly promoted socialism and friendships with socialist countries, especially the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (now Russia) and China. The economy was heavily subsidised by the government. The government, responsible for all economic ownerships and planning, was the leading implementer and funding supplier of most economic and social activities. Vietnam was literally a closed economy with little international cooperation (except for its close ties with the Eastern block led by the Soviet Union and China). Therefore, Russian, Chinese and French were more popular than English at that time (Le, 2007; Nguyen, 2009; Wright, 2002).

The year 1986 was a milestone for major political, economic and social changes in Vietnam (Le, 2007; London, 2006; World Bank, 2014; Wright, 2002). The 6th National Assembly of the CPV acknowledged the weaknesses of the existing practices and resolved to comprehensively reform the economy through ten missions, notably: improving socialism (cåi tạo xã hội chủ nghĩa) (mission 2), reforming economic management mechanism (Đổi mới cơ chế quản lý kinh

té) (mission 3), and actively promoting diplomatic activities (mission 7) (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1986). These missions promoted actions that directly changed the national education in general and language education in particular.

Missions 2 and 3 focussed on the development and diversification of economic sectors in terms of ownership, management, and distribution. State-owned and collective enterprises were still subsidised by the government to maintain their dominant role. However, the non-state sector (collective, private, individual) and even the foreignowned sector were also encouraged to participate in economic and social activities. Their involvement has become increasingly important to the economy. For example, of the three economic sectors in 2012 (GSO, 2014b), the non-state sector was estimated to invest the most in socio-economic development (VND 385,025 billion, making up 38% of total investments). The state sector came second, investing VND 374,300 billion (37.8%). Foreign-owned enterprises contributed VND 229,975 billion (23.3%), an increase of 11 times the 1995 levels. Regarding state revenue contribution, foreign-own enterprises doubled their share from 5.22% in 2000 to 10.99% in 2011 (GSO, 2014a).

Another important change that was promoted at the 6th National Assembly of the CPV was the diversification of international cooperation. The CPV resolution (Communist Party of Vietnam, 1986) stated Vietnam's determination as follows:

[Vietnam] will develop relationships with all nations on the principle of peaceful co-existence. On the principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, and mutual respect, Vietnam is willing to negotiate and solve problems in Vietnam-China relations, to normalise and re-establish diplomatic relations

between the two countries for the benefit of their peoples, for peace in South East Asia and the world. (Mission 7, my translation and emphasis)

This determination could be evidenced in Vietnam's diplomatic achievements in the late 20th and early 21st century, such as membership in ASEAN (the Association of South East Asian Nations) in July 1995, the US removal of the trade embargo against Vietnam in 1994, officially becoming a member of the World Trade Organisation in January 2007. As a result, this period witnessed the influx of foreign investments into Vietnam, which rapidly increased the need to learn English (Kirkpatrick, 2012a; Le, 2007; Pham, 2006; Ton & Pham, 2010; Vang, 2003; Wright, 2002).

In summary, at national level, Vietnam has undergone significant socio-economic changes in the last few decades, which has influenced the expansion of English and its role as a means of economic and social development. The next section will elaborate on how these changes have influenced the educational sector

3.2. The institutional educational agenda

With the aim to provide human resources to serve the cause of socio-economic development and political stability, educational sector has dramatically has changed its English language education policy. It is evidenced in the rapid spread of English in schools and the institutional efforts to improve teaching quality.

Previously, English was a minor foreign language compared to Russian. When Vietnam initiated the dramatic change towards a centralised market economy that was more open to the western world, a huge flow of foreign investments came in. Industry and tourism developed. English was then an attribute of development; a key to accessing

"knowledge about the miracles of science and technology" and "a better standard of living" (Denham, 1992, p. 64); and "an unquestionable asset" (Le, 2007, p. 172) for any Vietnamese person seeking a well-paid job in a foreign company. Diplomatic success in the 1990s created a great demand for English. English courses were widely offered at tertiary institutions, secondary schools, and in evening classes and in-service programs. In 1994, the Prime Minister issued 422/TTg Order to request high-ranking officials under 45 to be trained in English (Le, 2007).

Indeed, the 'English language fever' helped to spread English to most educational levels in Vietnam. In 2000, 98% students at schools in Vietnam opted to study English as a school subject (Vang, 2003, p. 458). In a study of English learning at the tertiary level in Vietnam, Le (2007, p. 167) reported that English (out of four main foreign languages) was the choice of 90% of students. In 2008, the Vietnamese government formally launched a national initiative on foreign language teaching and learning in the educational system from 2008-2020 (Vietnam Government, 2008), which is also called the National Foreign Language Project 2020 (Chi, 2012, September), and English 2020 Initiative (Hung & Dudzik, 2010). The focus of English language education nowadays is to teach English as a means of communication for work and study in a multi-ethnic environment. The project aims to develop English education in both breadth and depth in order to meet the diverse needs of students. By 2020, it is intended that 100% of year 3 students will study the ten-year English program; 10% of vocational students and higher education students (both English major and English non-major) will receive intensive language instruction (Việt Nam, 2008). To achieve these goals, the government has committed to invest VND 9,378 billion over a period of 12 years.

In addition to introducing early exposure to English, the English 2020 Initiative aims to improve the quality of ELT in Vietnam. First, on 28 January 2014, the MOET released a circular on a unified language proficiency framework (KNLNN), which is based on the CEFR's (Common European Proficiency Framework of Reference) six levels of proficiency. The second action promoted in the project is the establishment of EMI courses. It states that "educational institutions are encouraged to develop and implement bilingual programs" (Vietnam Government, 2008). The EMI courses can be established in both high schools and higher education institutions. As a result, multiple EMI programs have been offered in both public and private universities in Vietnam since 2008; for example, VNU's International Standards Programs in 16 training courses in 2008, or the 30 Advanced Programs released by the MOET at several higher education institutions nationwide from 2008 to 2015 (MOET, 2008). English is the language of instruction for almost all content subjects under the programs. The curricula were adapted from the existing programs of various foreign partner universities. Vietnam National University, Hue University, Hanoi University of Technology, Thai Nguyen University, and National University of Economics were the first to implement the Advanced Programs. In private sectors, open universities, such as Hanoi Open University, Dai Nam University, and Tri Viet University also introduced joint programs with their foreign partners to offer EMI courses in Economics, Computer Sciences, and Business Administration.

The argument for the establishment of these EMI programs in Vietnam is that EMI will improve the quality of English learning by providing a direct link between learning English and students' professional development. Consequently, content-based teaching is

perceived as an effective way to improve English language education quality (Huong, 2010; Vân, 2008). Vân (2008) argues that:

Experience in some Asian countries such as Singapore, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia shows that the most effective way to improve ELT quality in universities is to turn them into bilingual environments in which the mother tongue is the means of general communication and the instructional medium of social science subjects, and English is the instructional medium of science and technology. (Van, 2008, p.34) (my translation)

However, EMI was introduced into educational institutions with more complicated agenda. Take the case of the International Standard Program (ISP) at Vietnam National University as an example. The overall goals of the EMI program was stated in various documents such as ISP project document (VNU, 2008) and VNU's EMI program temporary regulations (VNU, 2009). The program aimed to develop: i) a skilled work force for the context of internationalisation; ii) capacity building for teaching staff; iii) research quality improvement; iv) transformation of curricula, teaching materials and higher education management; and v) enhanced international cooperation in higher education, research, and technical transfer (VNU, 2009, n.d.). Indeed, the program has incorporated various political, economic and educational agendas. Overall, it aims to prepare a skilled workforce for economic development and internationalisation. Educationally, it aims to transform the rigid academic year-based system into a credit-based system with greater flexibility, to improve the quality of English education.

To sum up, Vietnam's educational sector has eagerly endorsed English, hence EMI,

to meet the socio-economic and educational development demand. EMI seems to be a lift-up solution for educational institutions. The next section will further examine the agendas that individuals attach to EMI.

3.3. The personal agenda

At the personal level, Vu (2014) studied the attitudes of the staff and students involved in EMI programs at a public university in Vietnam in 2012. Data were collected from the questionnaire, interview and class observation. The findings revealed that the personal motives for adopting EMI varied. On the surface, findings from the student and lecturer questionnaires indicated that the majority of the students took the EMI course for learning purposes only because it was the requirement of the program. However, the interview data revealed that they had deeper reasons for embarking on EMI. The students stated that they could more easily access up-to-date textbooks and electronic resources such as documentary channels, online lectures, and articles via English. Moreover, their learning seemed to improve because the lecturers themselves had better conditions for accessing knowledge and preparing for teaching. For example, they could use quality English textbooks and online resources. More importantly, they could be actively engaged in course design and material development. On their side, the lecturers emphasised that the use of English textbooks helped improve understanding and avoided the knowledge loss that tended to occur in translated textbooks. These findings illustrate Lo Bianco's (2010) argument that EMI has been increasingly adopted because English is a powerful language of scholarship, which enables individuals to access and share knowledge.

Interestingly, a financial motive was also evidenced at the individual level. Some

students said during interview that they selected the EMI program to be able to access modern facilities, scholarships, and lower tuition fees for English learning. Similarly, the lecturers indicated that they received extra pay for their EMI teaching hours. Another personal motive was to increase international mobility (Coleman, 2010; Kell & Vogl, 2012). Data from the questionnaires and interviews of both students and lecturers overwhelmingly indicated that the EMI program could enhance student mobility. They could have access to more job opportunities, travel overseas. and study abroad. It was notable that EMI was seen as increasing Vietnamese students' outward mobility rather than curbing it as Kirkpatrick's (2011) analysis showed. It seems likely that most of the enrolled students were Vietnamese nationals who could not afford to pay to take a degree overseas. However, with good English skills acquired on the EMI program, they might have more of a chance to gain scholarships for overseas training. This motive appears to be in contrast to the intended internationalisation policy to attract international students to the local programs (Tsuneyoshi, 2005; Wilkinson, 2012).

In summary, the country's changing economic and political priorities in the past few decades have placed new agendas for institutions and individuals. EMI seemed to be a solution that might fit these various objectives. On the positive side, this shows collective support for EMI development in Vietnam. The government provides resources for the institution to enact the change (Kennedy, 2013) in individuals. However, the negative effect was the lack of focused financial investments and effective criteria to evaluate change outcomes. Fullan (2007) points out that an educational change can be approached by focusing on the innovation or the organisation's capacity to implement change (innovativeness) or both. However, these two approaches must have different timeframes and outcomes. If they are combined, the focus of each implementation should be clearly identified. In the case of EMI implementation in Vietnam, the organisation's enthusiasm to adopt the top-down funded change seemed to overlook the need to access the feasibility conditions and an appropriate timeframe to evaluate the initial change outcomes, which is essential for effective implementation of EMI programs as a whole.

4. Conclusion

This paper has analysed multiple motives for enacting EMI in NNES countries. Among different theories on the rapid spread of EMI are globalisation, development, power, and national identity and language policy. In fact, no single factor can sufficiently explain the complex processes associated with the rapid spread of English. Historical and political factors can encode technological and cultural values in the language, which in turn makes it a desired means of technology transfer, development, and international cooperation (Lo Bianco, 2010). Meanwhile, national and individual responses to English language, which are essential to its promoted status, depend on their socio economic situations (Coleman, 2011b) and the values attached to national identity (Tsui & Tollefson, 2007b). Whatever agenda EMI is based on, it potentially comes with both benefits and risks. Therefore, the success or failure of EMI depends on various contextual factors of the specific educational setting where it is implemented. This is evidenced in the case of Vietnam's EMI development. To conclude, I would like to borrow Crystal's (2004, p. 22) saying: "English has achieved a presence and momentum which will be extremely difficult to dislodge.... Whatever the attitude towards the cultures who use it, the value of the language as a functional tool is widely accepted. Even those who are most opposed to it find themselves having to use it."

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English

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MỤC TIÊU CỦA VIỆT NAM ĐƯA TIẾNG ANH VÀO LÀM NGÔN NGỮ GIẢNG DẠY

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Tóm tắt: Tiếng Anh gần đây được đưa vào sử dụng làm ngôn ngữ giảng dạy (EMI) trong hệ thống giáo dục của Việt Nam. Một câu hỏi đáng quan tâm là lý do tại sao một nước đa phần sử dụng tiếng mẹ để là tiếng Việt lại quyết định triển khai chương trình học dạy bằng tiếng Anh và coi đó là một trong những giải pháp cải cách giáo dục quan trọng. Bài viết này nhằm phân tích các tư liệu và bài viết nghiên cứu đã có nhằm tìm hiểu những mục đích khác nhau (kinh tế, chính trị, giáo dục và xã hội) gắn liền với việc mở rộng chương trình giảng dạy bằng tiếng Anh tại Việt Nam. Hi vọng bài viết sẽ cung cấp cho những nhà hoạch định và thực hiện chính sách hiểu hơn về quá trình EMI nhằm tối ưu hoá lợi ích và tránh những sai lầm có thể xảy ra.

Từ khoá: Tiếng Anh là ngôn ngữ giảng dạy, chương trình, mục tiêu, Việt Nam, chính sách