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## Issues in the adoption of the CEFR: A case study of the English language program at a private university in western Japan

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### Abstract

This article examines the adoption of the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) in the English Language Program at a private university in Western Japan. The CEFR was developed as a unified educational package with a number of key foci including the primary goal of facilitating transparency and coherence in language education. Nonetheless, there has been widespread misinterpretation and misapplication of the CEFR, particularly in the appropriation of its scales of proficiency and their descriptors. Analysis of the adoption of the CEFR in the English language program at a private university in Western Japan highlights a number of issues involving reference to the framework being made appropriately, most fundamentally the assertion that the process of implementing classes within the English course in accordance with the CEFR has been achieved. A higher level of transparency would be a helpful step towards adopting the CEFR in a manner consistent with its key foci as well as the directives issued by the Council of Europe (CoE) to address quality concerns in its implementation, and particular attention needs to be given to developing appropriate procedures by which assessments are linked to the CEFR. The university might also consider revising its claims about the CEFR in the English language program until key issues in its adoption have been more adequately addressed.

Keywords: CEFR, transparency, coherence, quality, Top Global University (SGU) Project

The Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) was originally conceived to help facilitate Europeanization, a movement conventionally understood to have begun in 1945 in the wake of World War II and driven by the idea that Europe could overcome its historical political fragmentation and enter a new era of unity and peace through some kind of political union or federation (Urwin, 2014). Nonetheless, the CEFR has spread beyond its original context, and its proliferation evidences, to a greater or lesser degree, the major factors that have driven the paradigm shift underway in the field of English language teaching since the early 1990s, namely the rise in expectations and forms of accountability as a result of economic restructuring and globalization, the questioning of traditional forms of testing, and developments in constructs of language and language learning (Davison & Cummins, 2007). However, its broad impact and adoption has not been without issues, most notably the widespread normative adoption of the CEFR against the insistence of its authors and experts in the field that it is a descriptive rather than a standard-setting document and that it constitutes a unified educational package rather than simply a series of proficiency scales and competency descriptors to be appropriated without regard for the key concepts within which they are embedded. This makes both familiarity with the CEFR, and some examination and even questioning of its adoption by institutions in which teachers work, a worthwhile and arguably important area of research and provides the impetus for the present study of the CEFR's adoption in the English Language Program of a private university in Western Japan.

### The Development, Goals and Features of the CEFR

In November 1991, at Rüslikon, near Zurich, a symposium entitled *Transparency and Coherence in Language Learning in Europe* was held to address the difficulty of relating the statements regarding proficiency contained in language course or examination certificates within Europe to each other and to address the lack of coherence in the organization of language learning and the reporting of results achieved in it. The main outcome of the symposium was “the recommendation that a transparent and coherent Common European Framework should be produced to assist in the definition of language learning objectives” (North, 2008, p. 21). Following this recommendation, a CoE international working party

developed the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) between 1993 and 1996, piloting two internal editions in 1996 and 1997, before the CEFR's 2001 publication (North, 2008).

The contents of the framework are “designed principally to act as a frame of reference in terms of which different qualifications can be described, different language learning objectives can be identified, and the basis of different achievement standards can be set out” (Morrow, 2004, p. 7), by providing a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabi, examinations, textbooks, etc. (Council of Europe, 2001). Moreover, enshrined in the CEFR are the principles that the CoE has identified to form the basis of common language policy in Europe (Council of Europe, 2007). Given that Europe is not a political entity of the same kind as a nation state, the CoE regards the linguistic principles used in nation states as irrelevant (Council of Europe, 2007). Language education policies, which the CoE regards as decisive in forming citizens' sense of belonging to a common political and cultural space, should address the development of cultural homogenization and the resurgence of ethnocentrically based nationalism. Furthermore, they should be based on a shared definition, and implemented at all educational levels (Council of Europe, 2007). To these ends, the CEFR promotes *plurilingualism*, which:

emphasizes the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact. (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 4)

The CEFR provides a definition of communicative competence at six levels (A1, A2, B1, B2, C1, C2) arranged in three bands (see Appendix 1). This is the *vertical* dimension of the CEFR (Trim, 2011). However, as Morrow (2004) points out, the set of reference levels “is just the tip of the iceberg” (p. 9). Underpinning it is the *horizontal* dimension of the CEFR (Trim, 2011): “a taxonomic *descriptive* scheme, covering domains of language use, communicative language activities and strategies plus the competences that the learner as a language user needs for such activities” (North, 2014, p. 9). The CEFR provides the descriptions of language proficiency in the form of “Can do” statements for the reception, interaction and production categories of language activity, as well as for some of the strategies employed in performing communicative activities (Council of Europe, 2001).

Key to the CEFR's descriptive scheme is its definition of language use and learning (Council of Europe, 2001):

Language use, embracing language learning, comprises the actions performed by persons who as individuals and as social agents develop a range of competences, both general and in particular communicative language competences. They draw on the competences at their disposal in various contexts under various conditions and under various constraints to engage in language activities involving language processes to produce and/or receive texts in relation to themes in specific domains, activating those strategies which seem most appropriate for carrying out the tasks to be accomplished. The monitoring of these actions by the participants leads to the reinforcement or modification of their competences. (p. 9)

The general view of language use and language learning the CEFR adopts is thus an “action-oriented” approach i.e. one that views users and learners of a language primarily as “social agents” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 9). As North (2007) notes, the action-oriented approach is actually the *heuristic* behind the CEFR's descriptive scheme: “An action-oriented approach suggests focusing on relevant content and experiences, systematically including holistic activity so that learners can develop strategic competence” (p. 656). Strategies, the means by which the language user utilizes their linguistic resources to complete

the communicative task in question (Council of Europe, 2001), are thus “seen as a hinge between the learner’s resources (competences) and what he/she can do with them (communicative activities)” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 25).

In summary, the key goal or aim of the CEFR is to facilitate transparency and coherence in language education (Trim, 2011):

By providing a common basis for the explicit description of objectives, content and methods, the Framework will enhance the transparency of courses, syllabuses and qualifications, thus promoting international co-operation in the field of modern languages. The provision of objective criteria for describing language proficiency will facilitate the mutual recognition of qualifications gained in different learning contexts. (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 1)

The CEFR’s other key foci can be summarized in terms of plurilingualism as a guiding philosophy; autonomous, life-long learning as a process and enabling structure; and action-oriented, communicative learning as a process and technique. In turn, the grid of language ability level descriptors is one instrument to assist in realizing the potential of the above four foci, along with the booklet for individual learners to record their progress which accompanies the CEFR, called the European Language Portfolio. As such, the CEFR “encompasses a unified educational package, rather than simply a set of more limited pedagogical tools” (Rappleye, Imoto & Horiguchi, 2011, p. 417).

The CEFR’s impact on language learning, teaching and assessment has been unquestionable (Figueras, 2012), both within Europe, where it has come to frame language education policy (Byrnes, 2007), and beyond (Alderson, 2007). It is widely known among language teaching professionals (Byram & Parmenter, 2012), and continues to be widely adopted by schools in mainstream and adult education, by publishers and by examination providers (North, 2008). Two of its features in particular - the reference levels and the reference level descriptors - have been rapidly adopted and widely used (Figueras, 2012; North, 2014; Deygers et al., 2018). As Figueras (2012) notes, “it is common today to talk about what students ‘can do’ and describe it positively, in relation to what can be observed and not in relation to what they cannot do, as was previously the case” (p. 480). Its broad impact and adoption notwithstanding, it is worth noting that there is little evidence that either the CEFR’s descriptive scheme as a way of conceptualizing language learning and use, or the action-oriented approach as an inspiration for teaching, has been broadly adopted (North, 2014; Alderson, 2007). In fact, despite its indisputable impact, the adoption of the CEFR has proceeded in a very partial manner: “In various settings and various discourses...people who talk about the Framework are actually referring only to its scales of proficiency and their descriptors” (Coste, 2007, p. 6).

### **Issues in the Adoption of the CEFR in the English Language Program at a Private University in Western Japan**

The adoption of the CEFR at this university centers on the setting and achievement of performance indicators for the Japanese Ministry of Education’s Top Global University (SGU) project. The project is summarized in the following way:

Since 2014, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) has been carrying out the Top Global University Project to provide prioritized support to those universities that are leading the internationalization of Japan’s education by launching new programs to encourage and deepen interactions and partnerships with the world’s top universities, reforming personnel and educational systems, enhancing educational systems to help students develop the ability to act globally and accelerating other globalization initiatives. (Top Global University Japan, n.d.)

An important initiative of the SGU project at the university in question is to improve the quality of its educational programs, a process which began in the university's College of International Management through a focus on *assurance of learning* (AOL) as part of its efforts to obtain accreditation through The Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) (Blackwell, 2016). Making all language subjects CEFR-compliant falls - along with evaluating learning outcomes based on AOL, obtaining international accreditation such as AACSB and EQUIS, and achieving a top 30 QS Asia Business School Ranking - within the "Pursue global-standard quality assurance" section of "Original Indicators and Goals for Assurance and Improvement of Quality in Learning" to be realized in ten years (Top Global University (SGU) Project, 2014). The adoption of the CEFR in the English language program is consistent with most CEFR initiatives in Japan, which have been predominately observed in universities and focus on the development and use of Can do statements to create transparency in terms of achievement objectives and assessment, or "on quality assurance of foreign language education through such measures" (Sugitani and Tomita, 2012, pp. 201-202).

There are a number of points to be made in relation to the SGU Project's focus on the CEFR as a means to assuring quality. To address quality concerns in respect to the variation between institutions' assessment cultures (Noijons et al, 2011), and to respond to the expectation that the CEFR should offer a set of stable standards for assessment purposes (Milanovic & Weir, 2010), the Council of Europe has developed a manual for the purpose of relating language examinations to the CEFR. The manual states that relating an assessment to the CEFR is best understood as a process of building an argument based on a theoretical rationale, within which the central concept is *validity*:

The existence of a relationship between the examination and the CEFR is not a simple observable fact, but is an assertion for which the examination provider needs to provide both theoretical and empirical evidence. The procedure by which such evidence is obtained is in fact the "validation of the claim". (Council of Europe, 2009, p. 7)

Furthermore:

Linking of a test to the CEFR cannot be valid unless the examination or test that is the subject of the linking can demonstrate validity in its own right. A test that is not appropriate to context will not be made more appropriate by linking to the CEFR; an examination that has no procedures for ensuring that standards applied by interviewers or markers are equivalent in severity, or that successive forms of tests administered in different sessions are equivalent, cannot make credible claims of any linkage of its standard(s) to the CEFR because it cannot demonstrate internal consistency in the operationalisation of its standard(s). (Council of Europe, 2009, p. 9)

However, not only do the university's SGU-related documents lack evidence to support the CEFR-related validity of any assessments within the English language program, they do not outline the methodology by which such validity arguments have been developed, nor is there any published information available upon request which would illuminate this aspect of CEFR adoption in the English language program. This is problematic in two respects. Firstly, as there is no published material available by which the claims regarding the CEFR-related validity of any assessments in the program can be evaluated, it is difficult to evaluate the claim that the process of implementing classes within the English course in accordance with the CEFR as per the SGU project plan has been achieved (AY 2017 Operating Report, 2018). Secondly, this lack of transparency is inimical to the CEFR's goals of building competence in the area of linking assessments to the CEFR, promoting transparency on the part of examination providers, and "the development of both formal and informal national and international networks of institutions and experts" (Council of Europe, 2009, p. 1).

The issue of competence building in the area of linking assessments to the CEFR requires some further comment. As part of the evidence to support the CEFR-related validity of an assessment, *all teachers involved in any CEFR-related assessment need to be involved in the process of linking it to the CEFR specifically*, and this process begins with “a selection of training activities designed to ensure that participants in the linking process have a detailed knowledge of the CEFR, its levels and illustrative descriptors” (Noijons et al., 2011, p. 17). The manual distinguishes, in this respect, between simple presentations of the CEFR, which it regards as inadequate, and the requisite familiarization seminars/workshops, which should instill in participants an understanding of the CEFR levels sufficient to enable them to analyze and assess test tasks and performances in relation to the CEFR levels (Noijons et al., 2011). However, *the process or methodology by which assessments will be linked to the CEFR is still being worked through at the management level* and is not yet finalized. As such, the members of the management level are not comfortable burdening their teaching colleagues with work that directs their focus away from classes and students until the process by which familiarization will be carried out has been decided. One aspect of the process that is still to be determined is the extent to which the CEFR will even be referenced; the management is presently inclined against relating individual assessments to the CEFR directly, and would prefer to work with the Global Scale of English (GSE) exclusively (Director of the English language program, personal communication, November 13, 2018).

The GSE, which builds upon the research carried out by Brian North and the CoE in creating the CEFR, is “a standardised, granular English proficiency scale which runs from 10 to 90, and is psychometrically aligned to the Common European Framework of Reference” (Mayor et. al., 2016, p. 4; Figure 1).

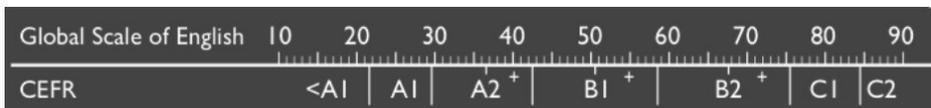


Figure 1: The Global Scale of English and its alignment to the CEFR (De Jong & Benigno, 2017, p. 5).

Currently, students are placed into a level of the program (ELE: Elementary English; PIE: Pre-intermediate English, IE: Intermediate English etc.; Figure 2), each of which consists of a 4-credit “A” subject and a 2-credit “B” subject, on the basis of their results in the Pearson English Placement test, an adaptive test that produces an overall score from 10 – 90 on the GSE (Pearson Placement, 2019). Contrary to the statement that “Each class corresponds to a different CEFR level” (AY 2017 Mid-Term Evaluation Forms (Excerpt), 2017, p. 52), each level of the program is actually spread across two CEFR levels, with some overlap between levels to take into account the speed at which students work through the levels of the program (Associate Professor of the English language program, personal communication, November 5, 2018).

| CEFR  | A1-A2 | A2-A2+ | A2+-B1 | B1-B1+ | B1+-B2 | B2-B2+ |
|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Level | ELE   | PIE    | IE     | UIE    | AE1    | AE2    |
| GSE   | 20-35 | 30-41  | 39-48  | 47-56  | 56-65  | 63-74  |
| Range | 15    | 11     | 9      | 9      | 9      | 11     |

Figure 2: The correspondence between English levels, CEFR levels and GSE ranges in the English language program (Associate Professor of the English language program, personal communication, June 20, 2018).

However, the description of the levels does not correspond exactly to the GSE ranges/CEFR levels, with the gap particularly pronounced at the Upper Intermediate (UIE) and bifurcated Advanced (AE) level (see Figure 3), making the program's employment of this widely-used terminology idiosyncratic and arguably misleading. Regardless, students' proficiency is not, on the whole, assessed in terms of the GSE. While each level of the program consists of a 4-credit "A" subject and a 2-credit "B" subject, it is only at the ELE A and PIE A levels that students receive a GSE score, and even then that score only constitutes 25% of the overall grade for those subjects. Moreover, that GSE score is obtained through the Pearson Progress test, which is a diagnostic tool intended to identify the strengths and weaknesses of a student in order to better target their individual learning needs: "*Progress* is a formative assessment instrument....As such, the intended score use is not for the certification of the student's English proficiency level; it is for supporting the student's learning" (Pearson, 2015, p. 18). In other words, not only is the overwhelming majority of the program not linked to the CEFR, but the small percentage of the program that could be said to be ascertaining students' proficiency in relation to the CEFR *through the GSE* relies upon the inappropriate use of the Pearson Progress test. The claim that "Student achievements have been confirmed using course syllabi that were drafted in accordance with CEFR standards" (AY 2017 Mid-Term Evaluation Forms (Excerpt), 2017, p. 52) appears, on this evidence, to be highly questionable.

| GSE                | 20  | 30 | 40   | 50   | 60   | 70 | 80 | 90 |
|--------------------|-----|----|------|------|------|----|----|----|
| Advanced           |     |    |      |      |      |    |    |    |
| Upper Intermediate |     |    |      |      |      |    |    |    |
| Intermediate       |     |    |      |      |      |    |    |    |
| Pre-intermediate   |     |    |      |      |      |    |    |    |
| Elementary         |     |    |      |      |      |    |    |    |
| CEFR               | <A1 | A1 | A2 * | B1 * | B2 * | C1 | C2 |    |

Figure 3: The GSE, CEFR and English language levels (Pearson English Graded Readers, 2018).

In conclusion, the claim that the process of implementing classes within the English course in accordance with the CEFR as per the SGU project plan has been achieved does not appear to meet organizations' responsibilities to ensure that all the conditions are met for proper reference to be made to the framework, particularly that the levels of competence certified by their language examinations and the CEFR reference levels are linked in a transparent, reliable manner (Goullier, 2007b). While it is beyond the scope of this paper to address how key educational policies might develop in such a problematic manner within an institution, it is worthwhile noting the observation that

those who draft the operational plans of the university might come up with ideas or elements or components that they believe need to be added, but the implementation of them is quite challenging, perhaps because the people who have drafted the plan do not have a good working knowledge or thorough knowledge of those elements. (Director of the English language program, personal communication, November 13, 2018)

### Proposed Solutions to Issues in the Adoption of the CEFR in the English Language Program

Regarding the issues of quality and transparency raised above, one solution would be for the university to observe the directives issued by the CoE in relation to policy making, curriculum and textbook development, teacher training, and assessment. These directives appear in the document *Recommendation*

*CM/Rec(2008)7 of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on the Use of the Council of Europe's Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and the Promotion of Plurilingualism* (Council of Europe, 2008), which, driven by the acknowledgement that the right to quality language education is an essential part of the fundamental right to education, recommends that governments of member states employ every available means “in accordance with their constitution, their national, regional or local circumstances and their education system to implement the measures set out in Appendix 1 to this recommendation with respect to the development of their language education policies” (*ibid*, pp. 1-2). The most salient directives are as follows:

4.5. ensure that all tests, examinations and assessment procedures leading to officially recognised language qualifications take full account of the relevant aspects of language use and language competences as set out in the CEFR, that they are conducted in accordance with internationally recognised principles of good practice and quality management, and that the procedures to relate these tests and examinations to the common reference levels (A1-C2) of the CEFR are carried out in a reliable and transparent manner;

4.6. ensure that full information regarding the procedures applied in all tests, examinations and assessment systems leading to officially recognised language qualifications, particularly those used to relate them to the common reference levels (A1-C2) of the CEFR, is published and made freely available and readily accessible to all the interested parties;

4.7. encourage all other bodies responsible for foreign/second language assessment and certification to adopt measures that guarantee the provision of fair, transparent, valid and reliable tests and examinations in conformity with the principles set out in paragraph 4.5 above and to publish their procedures, particularly those used to relate these tests and examinations to the CEFR common reference levels (A1-C2) as outlined in paragraph 4.6 above. (*ibid*, p. 4)

Quality concerns in relation to assessment validity require specific attention, particularly the crucial area of linking assessments to the CEFR through constructing a validity argument i.e. “a series of propositions which describe why recommended interpretations of tests results are valid and provide evidence and theory to support this” (Council of Europe, 2011, p. 56) and the related issue of building teacher competence in the area of linking assessments to the CEFR. The most useful approach to adopt might be the approach taken in the manual for *Relating Language Examinations to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR)*. The process outlined in the manual clarifies the relative roles of teachers and the panel of experts appointed to oversee the process of linking assessments to the CEFR – in this case members of the management level of the program – in the process of building the validity argument. The process consists of five interrelated sets of procedures: familiarization; specification; standardization training/benchmarking; standard setting; and validation (*ibid*). Teachers need to be actively engaged from the *standardization training/benchmarking* stage, in which a common understanding of the CEFR levels is implemented and verified (Council of Europe, 2009). This involves four steps, the first of which is carrying out the *familiarization* process that the panelists appointed to oversee the process of relating assessments to the CEFR will already have undertaken: the selection of training activities designed to ensure that participants in the linking process have the detailed knowledge of the CEFR, its levels and illustrative descriptors mentioned above (*ibid*). The subsequent three standardization training steps involve “working with exemplar performances and test tasks to achieve an adequate understanding of the CEFR levels” (Noijons et al., 2011, p. 48), developing the ability to relate local test tasks and performances to the CEFR levels, and ensuring that all parties involved share a common understanding which can be implemented in a consistent fashion (Council of Europe, 2009).

Finally, the university might consider amending the claim in SGU-related documents that the process of implementing classes within the English course in accordance with the CEFR as per the SGU project plan has been achieved, until the role that the CEFR does and/or will play in the language programs in general, and the English language program more specifically, has been clarified, and claims regarding its role can be asserted with confidence.

## Conclusion

The CEFR's scope has moved beyond facilitating Europeanization through developing a European cultural identity in the hearts and minds of its people (Guidikova, 2010) and has been extended to a variety of contexts. Its authors claim that it represents "a significant step forward in a long process of educational reform, firmly rooted in a developing tradition under a wide range of intellectual, cultural, socio-economic and political influences and pointing to a period of further educational advance" (Trim, 2012, p. 32). However, complicating this idealized view of the CEFR is the reality that, "like any text, the intentions of its authors may not be read by its users, and the text may not be taken in its entirety but only used in part for the purposes of the users" (Byram & Parmenter, p. 4). This has made it necessary for the CoE to reiterate that the CEFR is a descriptive rather than a standard-setting tool, and to issue a number of directives as well as supplementary literature to address quality concerns in relation to its adoption. In adopting the CEFR for the purposes of satisfying the objectives of the SGU project, the university may not have sufficiently considered both the full implications of the CEFR as an educational framework or accounted for fundamental considerations of quality assurance in relation to its implementation. Given that the adoption of the CEFR by the university appears to be most fundamentally linked to pursuing global-standard quality assurance in its language programs - most conspicuously in the English language program - further reflection on, and clarification of, the role of the CEFR at the university and statements made in relation to that role would be constructive.

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## Appendix

### Common Reference Levels: Global scale

|                  |    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Proficient User  | C2 | Can understand with ease virtually everything heard or read. Can summarise information from different spoken and written sources, reconstructing arguments and accounts in a coherent presentation. Can express him/herself spontaneously, very fluently and precisely, differentiating finer shades of meaning even in more complex situations.                                                                                                                                      |
|                  | C1 | Can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning. Can express him/herself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions. Can use language flexibly and effectively for social, academic and professional purposes. Can produce clear, well-structured, detailed text on complex subjects, showing controlled use of organisational patterns, connectors and cohesive devices.                                       |
| Independent User | B2 | Can understand the main ideas of complex text on both concrete and abstract topics, including technical discussions in his/her field of specialisation. Can interact with a degree of fluency and spontaneity that makes regular interaction with native speakers quite possible without strain for either party. Can produce clear, detailed text on a wide range of subjects and explain a viewpoint on a topical issue giving the advantages and disadvantages of various options. |
|                  | B1 | Can understand the main points of clear standard input on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school leisure, etc. Can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in an area where the language is spoken. Can produce simple connected text on topics which are familiar or of personal interest. Can describe experiences and events, dreams, hopes and ambitions and briefly give reasons and explanations for opinions and plans.                    |
| Basic User       | A2 | Can understand sentences and frequently used expressions related to areas of most immediate relevance (e.g. very basic personal and family information, shopping, local geography, employment). Can communicate in simple and routine tasks requiring a simple and direct exchange of information on familiar and routine matters. Can describe in simple terms aspect of his/her background, immediate environment and matters in areas of immediate need.                           |
|                  | A1 | Can understand and use familiar everyday expressions and very basic phrases aimed at the satisfaction of needs of a concrete type. Can introduce him/herself and others and can ask and answer questions about personal details such as where he/she lives, people he/she knows and things he/she has. Can interact in a simple way provided the other person talks slowly and clearly and is prepared to help.                                                                       |

(Council of Europe, 2001, p. 24)