Exploring the Effects of English as a Medium of Instruction in Higher Education: The Impact on Lecturers' Habitus

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Declaration

I, Benjamin Beaumont, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Using the sociological lens of the Bourdieusian thinking tools of *habitus*, *field* and *capital,* the aim of this thesis is to identify and view the personal and professional issues lecturers with English as an additional language encounter when moving into an English Medium of Instruction (EMI) context. With much research focussing on the language level needed to engage in EMI or on the comparability of the achievement of learning outcomes of EMI and non-EMI courses, there has been little attention given to the sociological effect of a change of language of instruction on lecturers, specifically in relation to their dispositions, or habitus, as educational professionals. To establish the effect of a change to EMI on lecturers' habitus, I initially look at the relationship between lecturers and their sense of habitus and then investigate how the use of EMI affects that habitus.

Adopting Bourdieu's '*constructivist structuralism'* and using interviews with lecturers across five first language groups, I show how language is only one element that needs to be considered alongside resourcing, pedagogical training, professional expectations, and a lecturer's general working conditions. I also suggest potential issues of symbolic violence that arise when English is accepted as a legitimate language in HE, as well as areas where issues could be turned into professional and pedagogical opportunity.

The significance of this study is that it informs our understanding of the sociological difficulties of adopting a new medium of instruction, beyond problems relating to language level. This thesis also raises concerns about the unquestioned growth of EMI and, where it is implemented, suggests possible changes to micro-level policy that may enable EMI strategy to be implemented in a way that supports lecturers and reduces discord between habitus and altered forms of capital.

Impact Statement

The knowledge, analysis and insight described in this thesis have the potential to benefit those working at macro (policy), meso (institution) and micro (delivery) levels of EMI, with there being specific benefit for lecturers working at the micro level of interaction in the learning environment and those working with such lecturers. By providing micro-level analysis of macro-level policy, this research has been able to identify issues that lecturers experience when moving into an EMI context and, using the Bourdieusian thinking tools of habitus, field and capital, has suggested reasons why these issues exist. This provides the first benefit of this study: the recommendations for policy consideration before EMI is implemented at an HEI and also for policy once EMI has been implemented. Following the recommendations which are contained in this thesis has the potential to reduce the issues experienced by lecturers and other professionals working in and around an EMI environment.

The knowledge, analysis and insight detailed in this thesis have already impacted in my own EMI-specific work in two specific ways: writing and consultancy. With reference to my writing work, the research has led to one published chapter on EMI lecturers' pedagogical and language support needs. It has also led to the co-authorship of a book chapter with Julie Dearden, author of the foundational 2014 British Council report EMI, on ways to mitigate and move on from pedagogical issues for subject-specialist lecturers working in EMI - this to be published at the end of 2022. The second area is that of my EMI consultancy work, which involves working with the British Council, the EMI training organisation Oxford EMI and the Taiwanese Ministry of Education on EMI implementation as part of the Taiwanese Governments 'Bilingual English-Mandarin 2030' agenda. My role in this work has been to offer advice on EMI implementation, giving practical output to the recommendations from this thesis, and also to assess HEIs in their EMI planning, partly to ensure that processes are in place to mitigate issues with implementation at the micro-level of learning.

This thesis has also had an impact on my current work as Head of Teacher Education at an international exams board: a Bourdieusian approach to language use, and in particular legitimate language, has informed my work and directly influenced the creation of two new, internationally available qualifications for teachers. One of these, the Ofqual-regulated Certificate for Practising Teachers, is the exam board's first qualification that can be completed in languages other than English and allows teachers to demonstrate their pedagogical knowledge and skills, relevant to their teaching context, without using English. A further, and potentially more wide-ranging, element of impact is that of the Bourdieusian approach to analysing the EMI 'phenomenon'. This thesis has identified a number of issues that

different agents experience in an EMI space, and while there is a growing body of work researching these issues, the sociological implications of EMI implementation remain relatively un-researched. It is my hope that the Bourdieusian knowledge, analysis and insight in this thesis will be a fillip for others researching this area.

Reflective Statement

This thesis could be described as the main product output of my whole Doctorate in Education (EdD) course at the Institute of Education, and as such, might receive more attention than the process of getting to the point of thesis completion. The thesis also represents the majority of assessed written work for the EdD and is arguably the primary indicator to show whether or not I am capable to operate as an independent researcher in my chosen field. As important as this thesis is in representing my learning and labours over the course, to not consider the importance of the earlier stages of the EdD would be to do them a disservice.

The three modules that comprised the first year of study were incredibly helpful in upgrading my academic expectations of study and research, developing and extending these from my master's degree. The Foundations of Professionalism module was aptly named as it did indeed provide me with the foundational concepts of what the EdD was and how I, as a practising teacher educator, interacted with different spheres of the educational establishment. I was fortunate in that I knew which area of my professional practice I wanted to explore, and the taught elements of the course provided me a lens through which I could consider that practice. Looking back at the work produced at that time, I also see that the module provided a necessary learning space in which I could conceptualise, apply and critically evaluate different theories of learning and development that ultimately helped shape my final choices in the planning of my thesis.

In terms two and three of the first year, the Methods of Enquiry modules (1 and 2) brought an assessment edge to the learning space that I had been exploring in the first term. As an experienced educational practitioner, I was confident about my vocational skill set, but I was less confident about my ability to conduct robust research. The assessed work for the two Methods of Enquiry modules now focused my attention on this area of development necessary for my academic work, with the first module helping me conceptualise the different stages of a research project and the second module providing the invaluable experience of going through those stages and then reflecting on them. The assessed work of the first year being graded, I was able to use an external metric of assessed grade and qualitative feedback for each of the three assessed Year 1 components to complement my reflections on my academic development. Happily, I passed the first-year modules, although the grades for my Method of Enquiry assessments were not as high as that for my Foundations of Professionalism assessment, giving me external data that suggested areas on which I needed to focus for the next stage of the course.

The Methods of Enquiry modules had provided an assessed element to the learning space of the first year of the EdD; the second year then raised the stakes, as it were, with the Institutional Focused Study (IFS). At the time, the IFS represented my longest piece of academic writing and I viewed it as a trial run for the theories, processes and techniques that I planned to use in my thesis. Reflecting on the IFS process, I can now think of it as an extension to the learning space of the first year, although it certainly did not seem like that then. Once more, there was considerable learning in the process of completing a whole research project, a thesis in miniature, it might be said. As part of the IFS, my learning and academic development was now aided by my research supervisor, Professor Lesley Gourlay, who was invaluable in guiding me through those early research stages. As well as the academic guidance with the research, Lesley's advice and encouragement was reassuring when, at times, I doubted the appropriacy of me being on an EdD programme. Once more, the feedback and grade I received, this time for the IFS, was invaluable in helping me identify where I needed to focus my attention for further research.

Finally, I reached the stage of planning the thesis itself. I was in no way an accomplished researcher at the end of the IFS stage of the programme, so the additional benefit of having Professor Amos Paran as second supervisor was very much welcomed. Although the taught sessions had long since concluded, the learning from the regular supervision meetings continued to strengthen my academic awareness and my understanding of what robust, quality research is. Part of this learning related to the importance of being able to stand by one's research and explain why certain choices were made over others and what the impact of those choices were. It may be a cliché to suggest this, but the doctoral programme has developed my ability to consider experience and 'fact' through the lens of alternate perspectives, which I believe is part of the process of being able to critically evaluate one's own work and to explain it open and honestly to others.

The EdD has provided me with the opportunity to focus on an area of professional interest, resulting in this thesis. However, perhaps more important than this for me, the whole course has provided the space, support and tools to develop my understanding of what research is and how this can operate in tandem with my professional practice.

Contents

List of Abbreviations

ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for languages
CLIL	Content & Language Integrated Learning
CPD	Continuing Professional Development
EAL	English as an Additional Language
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
EME	English-Medium Education
EMEMUS	English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings
EMI	English Medium Instruction
ERASMUS	European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students
ESAP	English for Specific Academic Purposes
ESP	English for Specific Purposes
ETPs	English Taught Programmes
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
ICLHE	Integrated Content and Language in Higher Education
IGO	Intergovernmental Organisation
L1	First language
L2	Second / additional language
LEAP	Learning English for Academic Purposes
LPP	Language Planning and Policy
MoE	Ministry of Education
MOI	Medium of Instruction
MTB-MLE	Mother-Tongue Based Multi-lingual Education
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OS	Objective Structure
WTO	World Trade Organisation

1. Introduction

English Medium Instruction (EMI) in Higher Education (HE) is a relatively new academic phenomenon and one that has seen considerable growth over the previous three decades (Sahan, Mikolajewska, Rose, Macaro, Searle, Aizawa, Zhou, Siyang & Veitch 2021), with growth in its application seeming to be greater and faster than in associated research. Reasons for growth range from the application of international policy (Council of Europe 2014) to pursuit of financial gain (Earls 2016), but research into more wide-ranging questions, e.g. the appropriacy of EMI in each of its many operational contexts or its academic impact is still lacking, meaning that many of these questions remain either unformulated or unanswered (Macaro 2018). The variety of educational contexts in which the term 'EMI' is used and the varied meanings attributed to the initialism itself also add layers to misunderstandings relating to research and policy, as well as in the application of EMI. This research is placed directly in this context of ambiguity and uncertainty, with a focus on the effects of policy and application on lecturers and their dispositions as educational professionals in an HE environment.

This introduction will therefore first define the term 'EMI' as used in this research, and then review its growth and suggested reasons for this growth. It will also identify areas where further EMI-focused research may be beneficial and outline my own connection as a researcher to this research area.

1.1 A definition of EMI

At its most elementary level, EMI is exactly as its name suggests: instruction that takes place in the English language, in primary, secondary or tertiary levels. However, this simplicity belies a host of facets that seemingly contradict each other when the term is used in different contexts. Moving beyond the context of 'traditional' linguistic imperialism (Phillipson 2009) and foregrounding twenty-first century learning, EMI is sometimes differentiated as separate from Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and can be interchangeable with 'English-taught programmes' (ETPs) or 'Teaching through English' at a tertiary educational level (Werther, Denver, Jensen & Mees 2014). EMI can be described in more general terms as "the teaching of subject content by adopting a specific vehicle, namely English" at a tertiary level (Guarda & Helm 2017: 2). It is sometimes used interchangeably with CLIL and English as a Foreign Language (EFL) at secondary level (Chan 2015) while also described by Costa & Coleman (2013: xiv) as "more than a subset of CLIL". There is also the question of whether it is 'English as *a* Medium of Instruction' (Belhiah & Elhami 2015), 'English as *the* Medium of

Instruction' (British Council & TEPAV 2013) or simply 'English Medium Instruction' (Dearden & Macaro 2016). The first of these suggests English is one of many languages used; the second that it is the only language used; and the third recognising that English is used in instruction but that further clarification is necessary for each context being referred to. Despite the care taken by many in defining these terms, suggesting such distinctions between definitions may not accurately reflect the precise reality of language use at an EMI site of interaction, where the use of English and other languages can vary widely in different contexts (Galloway, Kriukow & Numajiri 2017). And although the sometimes-used EME (English-medium education) and EMEMUS (English-medium education in multilingual university settings) suggest a wider application of English beyond direct instruction, there is neither agreed nor clear distinction between EMI and EME (Macaro, Curle, Pun, An & Dearden 2018).

This is not to say that any of these explanations are wrong; only to say that there are conflicting definitions of what EMI is, depending on the context being considered. Amid these conflicting definitions, therefore, the first task in any discussion about EMI, is to establish what we mean by 'EMI'. I do this here by defining the term through academic use and through contrastive analysis of what it is and what it is not. As this research is focused on EMI in HE settings in countries where the first language (L1) is a language other than English and where there is the potential for other language use, I have adopted the '*English Medium Instruction*' version of 'EMI' used by Dearden (2014: 2):

> The use of English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English.

Even with a definition as clear as this, to avoid ambiguity, it is still necessary to clarify the following points in relation to this research:

- 'use': That English is used at the site of live interaction of learning, e.g. a lecture, seminar or tutorial, for what research participants believe is the majority of their instructions and interaction.
- 'English language': This research does not prescribe or preclude any variety of English used in EMI; only that lecturers perceive that what they are using is English.
- 'teach': The act of teaching refers to the live site of interaction between a knowing other, e.g. a lecturer, and a learner in an HE environment. This site

of interaction may be online or face-to-face, but should involve real-time interaction, e.g. a lecture, seminar or tutorial.

- 'academic subjects (other than English itself)': All subjects taught at a tertiary level, including those that might also be called 'vocational'. However, this does not include the teaching of English, either as a primary learning outcome or a secondary one, creating a difference with CLIL or Integrated Content and Language in Higher Education (ICLHE), which are usually described as having dual content and language learning outcomes (Coyle, Hood & Marsh 2010; Unterberger & Wilhelmer 2011).

- 'countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English': This excludes nation states such as the UK, Australia, the USA and New Zealand but includes countries where English is a second language or a foreign language, encompassing countries where it may also be an official language, e.g. Nigeria, India or Philippines.

1.2 The Growth of EMI

The growth in the number of EMI programmes in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) worldwide has been well documented and has been described as a "galloping phenomenon" (Chapple 2015: 6) and "an unstoppable train… [that has] already left the station" (Macaro 2018: 12). Growth has occurred at different rates in different countries, but with the pace of growth itself being something to note. Wächter & Maiworm (2008) report a 1,016% increase in ETPs of over 13 years in Europe, from 725 in 2001 to 8,089 in 2014; Brenn-White & Faethe (2013) detail an increase in the number of English taught master's programmes in Europe of 42% from 3,701 in 2012 to 5,258 in 2013; and Guarda & Helm (2017) note that in Italy there was an increase of 72% in ETPs in just one year from 142 in 2014, to 226 in 2015. Throughout Asia there is a similar increase in the number of EMI programmes, supported by national policies for EMI implementation (Jiang, Zhang, & May 2019). In summary, research suggests that universities have created a de facto race for HE language Anglicisation, one where universities seem to compete against each other in terms of desirability for international faculty and students, using EMI courses as a key element in that race.

This growth in EMI programmes has been attributed to a number of reasons (Galloway et al., 2017; Sahan et al., 2021), not least the increased use of English as a global language (Macaro 2018). Awareness of the bi-directional relationship between the use of English globally and the use of English in HE programmes, where the increased use of English globally makes people expect the provision of EMI

programmes, is not new (Coleman 2006). This relationship, in turn, likely increases the number of EMI programmes offered, which then leads to more English-educated graduates in the world using English in more diverse environments. van der Walt goes further and describes the EMI phenomenon as HE being "directed towards and by English" (2013: 74).

There are also concrete policy decisions that help explain the sudden growth of EMI programmes. The Bologna Process (Council of Europe 2014), agreed in 1999, created a formal arrangement for European countries to establish a common HE framework to help, amongst other things, remove boundaries for student mobility. A further desire to enable student mobility was to support plurilingual development, although this, in actuality, appears to have promoted English as a lingua franca in European HE, rather than a plurality of languages (Earls 2016). The promotion of English as a lingua franca in HE is compounded by the pressure to publish research in English (Curry & Lillis 2010) and its normalisation (McKinley & Rose 2018), and then is repaid by increased prospects in the economic marketplace of HEIs themselves (O'Regan 2021). In China, there has been an overt policy specifically towards English where, in 2000, there was a commitment to delivery of 5-10% of undergraduate courses in English (Hu, Li & Lei 2014) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) increased the status of English by adopting it as its 'working language' in 2009 with the majority of ASEAN nations requiring their populations to learn English in addition to their L1 (Kirkpatrick 2012). At a more local level, it is many universities' desire to attract international students, perhaps for financial as much as reputational reasons (Earls 2016; Guarda & Helm 2017), that also encourages the use of English rather than other languages in taught programmes. When the majority of students have English as a second language, it makes practical sense to run programmes for those students in English rather than in a less-dominant language. And when reputational excellence is also linked to internationalisation and the number of EMI programmes offered (Delgado-Márquez, Escudero-Torres & Hurtado-Torres 2013), the case for increasing the number of EMI programmes becomes even clearer.

These are only six reasons amongst many more which offer an explanation as to why English is being used explicitly in HE and professional contexts, each with wide-ranging implications. And while these reasons suggest a 'top-down' approach to the requirement of English in these contexts, a bi-directional appreciation of the situation will help explain these language requirements. These are requirements that exist not because of the will of a minority of decision makers, but because of the wider use of English internationally, from trade and industry to communications and the internet. Each new decision to use English in HEIs or elsewhere further reinforces English's

dominant position as a cultural norm, or 'cultural arbitrary' (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990), embedding it deeper into international policies and preventing other languages from gaining ground as a language norm. One description of the situation (O'Regan 2021: 148) suggests the world system of capital and governance is both "networked and hooked" on English. Through continued reproduction, rather than replication, the pervasive use of English has led to it being described as a 'killer language' (Coleman 2006: 2), 'hydra' (Rapatahana 2012: 3) and 'bully' (Barker 2012: 18). Yet the language is also described favourably in areas of society, science and business (Galloway & Rose 2015), where it is reproduced as a global language, or an English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), to facilitate interaction, collaboration and commerce. With some researchers explicitly describing the affordances of EMI/EMEMUS (Dafouz & Gray 2022; Galloway et al., 2017), to represent the growth of English use in HEIs as being either positive or negative may be an over-simplification which is as unrealistic as ascribing its growth to a single factor.

As suggested by the expressive labels given to the English language above, the reproduction and growth of EMI in HEIs is not without controversy, with issues in macro-level policy, meso-level planning and micro-level implementation (Aizawa & Rose 2019). At the site of lecturer-student interaction, issues are manifest and include identifying an appropriate productive language level to lecture in and a receptive language level for students that is high enough to allow practical participation (Jeffrey, Melchor & Walsh 2019). Other practical issues relate to changes needed in curriculum design and lecture planning to support students and lecturers who have a level of English below that which may be optimum for EMI (Di Sabato 2010). A further consideration is the time it takes for lecturers to be trained to deliver EMI programmes, often linked to the speed at which EMI programmes are implemented, as well as the extra time needed to prepare individual session content (Borg 2016, Costa & Coleman 2013). Also of relevance to this study is the change in 'value' experienced by lecturers: a change *from* lecturers with a high level of content knowledge and possibly low English language skills *to* lecturers with a high English language ability, but potentially lower levels of content knowledge (Iyobe, Brown & Coulson 2011). These issues can then be compounded by the creation and reinforcement of social and economic inequalities, often caused by access to English language learning and English language ability (Lueg & Lueg 2015). Although some of the problems identified are directly linked to language ability, the issues with a growth in EMI go beyond this, with policy, political, pedagogical, and social repercussions that need to be considered.

As indicated above, the varied uses of the term 'EMI' mean that generative implications for practice based on research evidence can be difficult to isolate for a

particular context. While there has been a 'dramatic surge' in the number of EMI research studies since the turn of the twenty-first century (Macaro 2018: 16), a closer investigation reveals that the majority of studies relate to secondary educational contexts or those that include CLIL (ibid). The amount of research on EMI when used to describe tertiary education without dual learning aims of content and language is considerably less.

Considering that the main change in implementation in an EMI programme at a macro, meso or micro level (Aizawa & Rose 2019) is likely to be the language use, or Medium of Instruction (MOI), it is unsurprising that the focus of research is generally on the language level needed to engage in an EMI programme. This research focusing on either a learner's ability to access a programme or a lecturer's ability to deliver one. Some research also looks at the specific Continuing Professional Development (CPD) needs of lecturers working in EMI contexts. On this point, Airey (2011) identifies linguistic, pedagogic and technical support, amongst others, Beaumont (2019) reports on a need for pedagogical training, opportunities to collaborate with peers and focused language support, i.e. English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) and Haines (2017) describes the need for training to enable purposeful interaction with language and content. Dafouz and Smit (2016) encompass these issues and more in their comprehensive 'ROAD-MAPPING' framework, which includes six macro areas for consideration when analysing or implementing EMI programmes. Their framework facilitates an "analytical zooming in and out over sociological scales" (2020: 77), helping ensure key considerations are not overlooked, but still requiring a 'zooming in' on different areas of effect, e.g. the roles and use of English.

In EMI research to date on the skills needed to engage in EMI, the focus has often been to find a skill or knowledge gap in language or pedagogy. In terms of language, the aim has either been to upskill lecturers and students to engage in EMI programmes, or gatekeep students from such programmes. With reference to identifying a language gap, we again need to be careful of taking an overly simplistic approach to the issues surrounding a change of MOI. Our current understanding of what it is to be communicatively competent in a language has progressed considerably from the Saussurean distinction of *langue* or *parole* (De Saussure 1911) or Chomskyan *competence* and *performance* (Chomsky 1965). Since Chomsky's binary notion, there has been a growing appreciation of the role interaction and context play in language use and usage. From Saussure's relative structuralism and the relationship between signifier and signified, our understanding of what language is and how it is used has become more relativist, recognising how the interaction of discourse can shape and restrict language use. This was

developed with Hymes's coining and exploration of 'Communicative Competence' (1972), arguably a cornerstone for modern linguistic analysis, Goffman's (1983) 'Interaction Order' and also with Kramsch's suggestion that successful communication requires a "Sphere of Inter-subjectivity" (1986: 367). Holliday (1994) recognises the role context has in discourse, especially in language learning settings and the move to 'social action' as a starting point for understanding communication is developed further with Scollon, Scollon & Jones's 'Discourse Approach' to language analysis (2011). This moves us closer to considerations of language as linguistic repertoire (Otheguy, García & Reid 2015) and translanguaging (Garcia & Wei 2014). This is by no means a comprehensive summary of the developments in the field of applied linguistics and sociolinguistics, but is included here to demonstrate the distance those who research the area have come in the last 60 years. Clearly a great deal has happened, and while much of this is relevant, a more detailed consideration of these points in relation to EMI is beyond the scope of this work. What is evident, however, is that many approaches to understanding language ability may not take into account relevant factors to accurately assess whether or not a student, or lecturer, is able to interact as necessary in an EMI context. Therefore, language levelling systems which are based on such understandings are at best a broad-brush description of ability and not necessarily an indicator of interactional success in an EMI environment.

The suggestion is that to be communicatively competent in an EMI context requires something in addition to competence within a social context, and should include a greater awareness of 'the other' in any interaction, and an awareness of their perceptions of the discourse. Language, specifically that used to educate, is at the locus of interaction in EMI, and to consider language ability without looking at its wider effects, including how those in an interaction perceive its use, is to ignore its social effect and to "look within words, for the power of words, that is looking for [power] where it cannot be found" (Bourdieu 1991: 107). Language does not exist in a linguistic vacuum and there is a need to recognise not only the effects on the individual when they change from one language to another, but also the effects on others with whom that individual interacts. If we take this as a basic tenet of communication, then to fully understand the effect of language use and language change in an EMI context, we must increase any scope of study relating to a language gap to include considerations about the perceptions of others and the value they place on language use. This approach recognises the co-terminus nature of language use and language user and aligns with theories suggesting a more co-dependent relationship between linguistics and sociology, rebutting purely objectivist or subjectivist models of either (Grenfell 2011a).

Reviewing the recent literature on EMI use, I would suggest that while it is necessary to focus on language level relating to an ability to perform certain tasks, there is more that needs to be considered. In addition to the language needed to perform particular tasks, we need to consider how the change of language is affecting those who are using that language. Bourdieu and Wacquant (quoted in Grenfell 1998: 73-4) note:

> Even the most simple linguistic exchange brings into play a complex and rarefying network of historical power relations between the speaker, endowed with a specially specific authority and his audience who recognises his authority in varying degrees, as well as between the respective groups to which they belong.

In the hierarchical world of HE, a world comprising a variety of layers, outwardly symbolised by publishing record, tenure, title and even physically represented by ceremonial garb, not to consider something as integral as an ability to enable learning at the site of a lecture would be a problematic omission. Replacing a lecturer's means of communication with another they perhaps have less ability and/or confidence in, and perhaps less than their learners, will likely have an effect on their perception of self and also others' perceptions of them. Changes with the site of learning, moving it from one where instruction occurs in a first language to one where it occurs in English, will necessarily affect the value given by interlocutors to each other if they are unable to use English to a level needed to interact at that site. Taking a Bourdieusian perspective, there are different expectations for the agents at different sites, or 'fields': the 'feel for the game' (Bourdieu 1990a: 9), the implicit rules and beliefs associated with a particular context, change. Understanding that language is more than a 'communicative competence' and recognising the effects of language on oneself *and* others is to appreciate the 'ripples' of wider sociological significance. And it is this area, how the sociological ripples caused by a transition into EMI affect a lecturer's received dispositions, i.e. their habitus, which is the focus of this study.

1.3 Outline of positionality

My current vocational role at an international awarding organisation involves the academic and operational leadership of a variety of English language teaching qualifications. Because of this, my day-to-day work means interacting with educational professionals from teachers to policy makers, interactions with clear links to the focus of this research. My previous experience as an EFL teacher, EFL teacher trainer and generic teacher educator for a tertiary-level teaching qualification in the UK have all served to influence my understanding of learning and teaching

and the different ways in which we can support learners. Based on my experiences, in the diverse sectors of EFL and generic state-sector teacher education at a tertiary level, the resultant interest in EMI may not appear surprising. That this research area is also linked to a keen personal interest in the sociological effect of language use in different contexts is something to note however, and something that is explained in detail in Section 4.1.3. So at this point, it is perhaps enough to say that, as a developing educational professional, this research into EMI is both influenced by *and* influences my professional practices and personal interests.

A full statement of my positionality in relation to this research area and the theoretical framework is covered in Section 4.1.3, with a detailed reflexive account of my role as an EMI researcher in Appendix 1. This section, therefore, only briefly identifies my professional interest in EMI as part of my ongoing professional growth.

2. Literature review

Amongst the variety of issues affecting EMI, this literature review will explore two main areas relevant to the aim of this study: development and implementation of HE EMI policy and a Bourdieusian approach to language use and language change, with direct links to Bourdieu's thinking tools of habitus, field and capital and the associated concept of misrecognition. The review of policy considerations will reveal some of the problematic issues surrounding the use of EMI and the following section will suggest how a Bourdieusian frame of reference can help contextualise these issues, providing a theoretical lens for understanding them.

2.1 Language policy and planning

A central area of review for EMI is the policy environment in which it is planned and operationalised, with EMI spanning both education policy and language policy, and with such EMI policy facilitating the growth of English in countries which had previously been able to resist the seemingly unstoppable influence of the 'anglosphere'. To understand this growth, we need to look beyond isolated policy decisions relating to language management and consider these changes as part of a broader, inter-related system of change, and one that "reflects local and individual language acquisition decisions, responding to changes in the complex ecology of the world's language system." (Spolsky 2004: 90). The growth of EMI, with its effects that reach beyond the HE environment, demonstrates the need to take this broader and contextualised view to the analysis of change and appreciate the local nuances of macro policy decisions, i.e. we need to consider the 'complex ecology' of the related EMI and historical language policy landscape. Because of the transnational nature of EMI and this research, the policy landscape I shall review will include examples of transnational government policy (supra-macro level) as well as national (macro level) and institutional (meso-level) policy decisions, finally giving examples of implementation at the locus of interaction between lecturer and students (micro level). The aim of including specific transnational and national language policy examples is to illustrate the wider context in which EMI is being used rather than to provide specific case studies for a particular HEI, country or region. A further purpose of providing these examples is to demosntrate how macro-level policy decisions which lack sufficient detail can lead to ambiguity in micro-level policy implementation. We will also see how poor implementation can cause anxiety at the site of change and create issues for professional practice in higher education.

2.1.1 Supranational language policy

This section will review the language policies of two Intergovernmental Organisations (IGOs) that operate across multiple countries and which affect policy at a national, as well as transnational, level: first the policies of the EU; and then ASEAN. The EU has been chosen as it covers three of the five countries with nationalities represented in the data collection (with a fourth, Ukraine, applying for membership at time of writing); ASEAN has been chosen in contrast, both geographically (there is no overlapping membership) and also as there are no countries in ASEAN represented by research participants, providing the opportunity for further contrastive analysis.

Within the wider European area there has long been a desire to support student mobility and increased linguistic ability: the 1987 ERASMUS (European Region Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) programme, which aimed to increase student mobility and equip them with a broad range of vocational skills, including L2 ability (European Commission 2015), enabled the conflation of a number of existing HEI exchange programmes. As noted earlier, the 1999 Bologna Process was also designed to increase mobility for European students and, with the addition of the Lisbon Strategy, aimed to make the European Union (EU) "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world" (European Council 2000). For the aims of student mobility and knowledge-based competitiveness to be met, English was increasingly being chosen as the language used to communicate and for official documentation (Earls 2016). The political aim of linguistic diversity was not, however, to have English as the de facto lingua franca of HEIs. The 2003 action plan to promote linguistic diversity, which followed the Bologna process, urged Europeans to "redouble our efforts to learn languages" in order to gain "one of the basic skills that all Europeans require" (European Commission 2003: 3). The aim was to equip Europeans with proficiency in three languages: their 'mother tongue' and a further two, thus laying the foundations for European national and institutional policy to promote language learning beyond one's L1.

ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations), used English as the language of its founding declaration in 1967 (ASEAN 2016) without actually referencing any official language within the declaration itself, thereby sidestepping the potentially thorny issue of an identifying one. However, ASEAN officially adopted English as its working language in 2009 (Kirkpatrick 2012), without the explicit policy declarations of the EU and without explicit reasoning as to why it would be the working language. Reasons for its adoption are believed to include colonial legacy, English being considered the language of international trade and the importance which different

governments over time have placed on learning English (Kirkpatrick 2012; Galloway & Rose 2015).

In the use of English as a working language, neither the EU nor ASEAN give details about which English should be used or how it should be used, with only general information about the global aims of English use. However, the EU documents referenced above, the 1967 ASEAN declaration and the ASEAN website adopt British English spellings, without explicitly stating this as policy, although this detail for written English language does exist in the EU's publishing style guide (European Commission 2020) but is omitted in the public-facing *ASEAN Corporate Design Manual* (ASEAN 2015). If one takes a purely linguistic approach to this matter, then the standardised spellings and use of a 'native-speaker standard' becomes a curiosity or point of interest; when viewed through a sociological lens, it becomes a matter of linguistic inequality, with supranational structure reinforcing the dominance of those who speak English as a first language and even more so, those who use British spellings. There is not an equivalent guide to grammatical or lexical choice, perhaps as this might be considered harder to codify and because differences may be less obvious to those without a specialist knowledge in language differences. There is also no equivalent documentation for spoken English, possibly reflecting a greater tolerance and respect for regional differences with pronunciation.

Other examples of this phenomenon are the fact that the first two working languages of the United Nations (UN) were English and French (Spolsky 2004), with other languages added at its first General Assembly. The International Criminal Court uses English and French as its two working languages (ICC n.d.), although jobs specify an ability in English *or* either English or French, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) also uses English and French as its two working languages (NATO 2017), with job applications accepted in both languages. None of these organisations specify which type of English should be used or give a level of English proficiency for a 'working language'.

These kinds of supranational policies involving the English language have wide-ranging effects on the perception of English, especially its suitability for different contexts and the kind of people who use it. Although each nation state is able to formulate its own policies with regard to language use in education, the adoption of English at an international government level and in international education, as either a common or working language, is recognised as a strong influence in the development of EMI policies and practices (O'Regan 2021). The message appears to be that if one wants to work as a professional in any international environment,

the acquisition of English is a prerequisite, although without detail about level or if there is a variety which is preferred.

2.1.2 The development of national policies for learning English

This section will briefly review key historical language policies that relate to the use and teaching of English in China and Ukraine, two of the five countries represented by participants in this research, and also explore EMI implementation in both countries. While there are common driving forces behind the development and use of EMI, as described in Section 1.2, there can be differences at national, regional and institutional levels relating to how EMI is implemented (Macaro 2018). For example, in some nation states, such as France, EMI implementation first required the passing of national legislation (Blattès 2018); in others, such as Italy, references to EMI in national legislation are conspicuous by their absence (Macaro 2018). I have chosen to focus on China and Ukraine for specific analysis here primarily because they provide examples of two different approaches to language policy and associated interventions at an HE level. A secondary reason for choosing to focus on China and Ukraine is that other studies have noted how the majority of research into EMI has taken place in Europe, suggesting that reviewing non-European contexts may help balance our overall understanding of EMI as a global phenomenon (Galloway et al., 2017; Hu & Lei 2014; Macaro 2018). On a supplementary note, for the countries represented by participants in this study, they occupy the greatest distance from each other in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), China in second place, Ukraine in fifty-seventh (UN 2019), and also have the largest (China) and smallest (Ukraine) populations of countries represented in the study. Information on GDP and population size is added to provide wider contextual information about the chosen countries for review, rather than because there is an explicit link between GDP or population size and EMI implementation, which there is not.

China

As with many countries that have been involved with Britain's imperial past, China's relationship with the English language has been subject to a variety of internal and external political and economic pressures, helping to form Spolsky's 'complex ecology'. The relationship started with the use of an English pidgin to facilitate trade in the seventeenth century (Galloway & Rose 2015) and the relationship continues to evolve according to the political and economic considerations of the day (Pan 2015). Despite early attempts by domestic powers to limit the growth of English, military defeats led to the English language being forced upon China. The status of English was further enhanced by the 1858 Sino-British Treaty of Tien-Tsin, which gave the English language a superior position to Chinese in domestic law (ibid),

providing us with formal example of linguistic violence committed by a 'dominant arbitrary' (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). Since that time, English has been added or removed from domestic curricula according to domestic political directives, with decisions about inclusion often based on the need to learn from or provide protection from western powers, internally focused policies or policy alignment with other communist powers (Pan 2015). China's entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001 and the hosting of the 2008 Olympic Games increased the perceived need for an English-proficient workforce (Beckett & Li 2012) and the belief that China's position in the world relied upon building a national English proficiency. This prompted changes to the domestic education policy:

- In 2001 the Ministry of Education (MoE) mandated that 5-10% of undergraduate courses were taught in English (ibid), but with no direct policy instruction on how the 5-10% should be managed or how much English should be used in them, e.g. are they 100% in English or 70% English and 30% Chinese?
- In 2004 the MoE suggested that 10% of undergraduate credits should be earned through courses run in the medium of English (ibid), again with no policy instruction on how this should be implemented.
- In 2007 the MoE called for 'foreign expertise' in Chinese HE and aimed to set up 500 bilingual Chinese-English courses between 2007 and 2010 (Rose, McKinley, Xu & Zhou 2020). There was no policy direction over what 'bilingual' meant in these courses.

These initiatives have greatly increased the number of EMI courses across China with continued increases expected into 2024 (ibid). Perhaps because of the pace of change, however, there appear to be contradictions in national policy in supporting this growth, such as new regulations requiring coursebooks to be written in Chinese (ibid). However, this could also be seen as a way to protect and codify the status of the Chinese language during the rapid expansion of EMI courses.

In contrast to the earlier episodes of linguistic violence perpetrated by the UK, current educational policies appear careful not to legitimise English beyond a functional level of international communication and do not favour any one variety of English, with reference made to "the language in English-speaking countries" (Pan 2015: 86). Coupled with the codification in state education course books of a specific form of Chinese, this could be seen as a way to neutralise the linguistic power that may be associated with different varieties of English and remove issues of a particular 'legitimate form' that could challenge the local language, as in the case with the Treaty of Tien-Tsin.

At a national level, we see high-level support for EMI growth but with no explicit guidance on implementation beyond the general percentage requirements. We can also see that there is a desire to ensure the primacy of the Chinese language, suggested by requirements about publishing textbooks in Chinese or by not linking the English language mandated at a policy level to a particular variety that could be associated with specific countries or an external power base.

EMI implementation in China

The use of EMI in China in many ways is reflective of the international picture described in Section 1.2: there has been a large increase in the number of EMI programmes and EMI students, but this increase in programmes has not been matched by research into EMI at a macro, meso and micro level (Rose et al., 2020). This increase in EMI programmes is in part a result of state-led initiatives to increase the global rankings of Chinese HEIs (Galloway et al., 2017; Hu 2008) to meet the national aim of becoming an international HE power by the mid-21st century (State Council 2015) as well as intensive funding programmes funded at the national level (Huang 2015). These HE initiatives include specific English language plans, such as the creation of the bilingual courses referenced above, and also non-EMI focused initiatives which provided support to raise research standards and increase opportunities for socio-economic development, e.g. Project 211, comprising 116 HEIs, and Project 985, comprising 39 HEIs (Rose et al., 2020). These projects have been superseded by the current Double First Class programme, comprising 148 HEIs (Ministry of Education, Ministry of Finance, & National Development and Reform Commission 2017), which has a core aim of raising China's status as a global HE power. These initiatives have been supplemented by policies which adopt a deficit approach to EMI adoption, such as MoE performance indicators, which are linked to funding agreements: HEIs offering 10 per cent of all courses in English are graded 'excellent'; those with few or none as 'poor' (Hu, G., Li, L., & Lei, J. 2014: 29). Hu's description of EMI in China as a "runaway juggernaut" (2008: 195) gives some indication of the scale of EMI growth in China, and suggests a faster and less controlled increase when compared with Macaro's metaphor for international EMI growth as an 'unstoppable train' (2018: 12). For China, this is a growth that operates across all types of HEI, including Tier 1 'prestige' and transnational universities, but research suggests that there is an incredibly mixed picture of policy and implementation at different HEIs across the country.

At the level of implementation, there are full degree courses delivered in English at Chinese HEIs, full degree courses delivered in English at transnational university campuses in China, degree courses structured to offer two years domestic study and

two years international study, and courses with dual content and language learning outcomes (i.e. CLIL/ICLHE courses). Differences in course type can also exist within single institutions, e.g. the Nanjing University of Aeronautics and Astronautics which has three types of EMI course: Type A, with more than 85% of instruction in English with all resources in English; Type B, with more than 50% of instruction in English and all resources in English; and Type C, with more than 15% of instruction in English and 50% of resources in English (Rose et al., 2020). While it may seem logical to stream levels of EMI in this way, the practical implications of measuring such precise percentages in language interaction and course resources suggests that such a system would be problematic.

The research suggests that in spite of the different ways of implementing EMI, there are a number of common issues that have been identified, the most common of these being that students and lecturers often do not have a level of English proficiency that is sufficient for HE learning. EMI stakeholders have been described as having "inadequate English proficiency" (Jiang et al., 2019: 10) and the language of learning has been described as "impoverished classroom discourse" (Galloway et al,. 2017: 7). This has led researchers to suggest an increase in English language support across EMI provision (Galloway et al., 2017; Jiang et al., 2019; Rose et al., 2020) as well as clearer policy guidance on how both Chinese and English is used at the site interaction. The issues caused by stakeholders not having a high enough English language ability to maximise learning in an EMI context have led to suggestions that EMI courses are the "purview of the privileged" (Hu et al., 2020: 33) and serve to reinforce existing societal inequalities. Despite the immanent language issues, the general picture across China appears to indicate that EMI instruction is mostly in English, but with interaction between students mostly being in Chinese (Rose et al., 2020).

Other than concerns with policy and practice in relation to English language use, research suggests that a key concern of lecturers is the additional time required to produce materials appropriate for an EMI context when compared with similar resources for Chinese-medium of instruction courses (Galloway et al., 2017; Jiang et al., 2019; Rose et al., 2020). Some institutions attempt to offset the extra time required with additional pay or changes to how a lecturer's workload is calculated, (e.g. one hour of actual instruction in English can be counted as 1.3 hours of a lecturer's teaching requirements), but this is reported as not being sufficient to cover the extra time necessary for session preparation (ibid.). As well as a mixed picture in terms of language and incentives, at an institutional level, there is also considerable variation in the amount of support and training offered to EMI practitioners: Tier 1 and transnational HEIs tend to provide more institutional-level

support than other HEIs, but the exact levels of support will vary institution-by-institution.

Ukraine

When giving a brief history of the national policy of English and language in general in Ukraine, because of its interwoven history, it is necessary to reference the role of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union (Goodman 2014). Aside from early encounters with traders, it was the advocacy of Peter the Great in the late seventeenth century that gave English its positive reputation across the wider Russian Empire, including Ukraine, which included the promotion of an early form of English for Specific Purposes with scientists and craftspeople encouraged to learn English (Proshina & Ettkin 2005). Although French overtook English as the most popular foreign language in the nineteenth century, English was still learnt for literature and cultural purposes (ibid).

Throughout this period in Ukraine, both Ukrainian and Russian existed in a de facto bilingual environment, until the late nineteenth century when revolutionary and nationalist influences led to a focus on language purism and 'Russification' (ibid), which suppressed Ukrainian in favour of Russian in media and education (Pavlenko 2008), and which culminated in the creation of the Soviet Union in 1922. While initially pursuing a bilingual language policy, the cultural dominance of the Russian language, in addition to the purges of Ukrainian language activists, resulted in Russian becoming "the sole language of power" (Goodman 2014: 6). As with the situation with the Sino-British Treaty of Tien-Tsin, this can be viewed as symbolic violence (a violence that replaces the prestige of one thing for another) through a language policy by a dominant cultural force, albeit committed more pervasively with actual violence in the form of political and language purges.

The centralised policies of the Soviet Union produced a standardised approach to learning other languages, identifying them as a skill to be mastered rather than "an aspect of enlightenment and personal development." (Lewis 1962: 16). Despite political sensitivity during the cold war, there was a "determination to use the foreign language as a medium of instruction in important subjects such as history, geography, science and technology." (ibid: 15), with the focus being on German, English and French rather than any Soviet 'minority' languages. In Lewis's research, he found no detail given about why these subjects were deemed important, why it was the 'important' subjects that were taught in a foreign language or how the medium of instruction was used. Although similar to the EU and China in that there were centralised policies on language learning and use, Ukraine [as a part of the Soviet Union] did appear to standardise a foreign language learning method,

characterised by drills and rote learning of inauthentic, and inaccurate, texts (ibid). This approach to learning possibly led to the distrust in the state (the Soviet Union and, latterly, Ukraine) to teach English effectively, with reported problems with pedagogy, resource accuracy and resource availability (Tarnopolsky & Goodman 2012).

Independence in 1991 gave Ukraine the opportunity to reassert its national language, reintroducing Ukrainian as the language of instruction into schools and requiring all non-Ukrainian films to be dubbed, sub-titled or synchronously translated into Ukrainian (Pavlenko 2008). This last measure was arguably an act of linguistic independence, and symbolic violence, which discriminated against Russian, the first language of 30% of those living in Ukraine. A further example to promote Ukrainian at the expense of Russian and other minority languages was the 2017 law to require Ukrainian to be the language of instruction in state schools from the age of 10 onwards (RFE/RL 2017), enshrining moves that started shortly after independence and which might be referred to as 'policy without plan', owing to the lack of Ukrainian language resources to implement such a move. The 2014 annexation of Crimea and the 2022 invasion by Russia into the rest of Ukraine will likely further cement desires to remove the Russian language from day-to-day usage.

This very brief summary of language policy in Ukraine does not aim to cover all aspects of such a complex ecology, which continues to evolve, but serves to show that traditional classifications of first and second language speakers, national diaspora or of language minorities may be overly simplistic. This overview also shows the contentious context in which English has been introduced in higher education. While there has been a concerted effort to reduce the influence of Russian and other minority first languages, English and other western European languages have fared considerably better.

EMI implementation in Ukraine

Within Ukraine HEIs, as with the case with Chinese HEIs, there is a desire to increase the standards of English to attract students and international partnerships, seen as key in driving up international status and global HEI rankings (Bolitho & West 2017). This desire is mirrored by the Ministry of Education and Science with plans to support the development of HEIs including an overall reform of the sector to reduce the number of HEIs, development of quality assurance measures and an increase in autonomy. There is a specific focus on English with the ambitious aim to achieve transformational change in students' English language attainment to Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR) B2 or C1 in 20 leading universities within the first three years of an 'English for Universities' project (ibid).

Ukraine joined the Bologna Convention in 2005 with an aim to introduce reforms in HEI, EMI and ESP, but this was only passed into law in 2014 with comprehensive compliance not having been achieved by 2017 (ibid).

Bolitho & West's same report identified the problems in improving students' English language attainment, which included: a lack of professional development planning to improve lecturers' language or teaching skills; the belief that a study of philology is more valuable than methodology or practical skills for language teaching; and a lack of institutional support, through policy directive or professional development, to deliver language attainment goals (ibid). Only one HEI "had a 'concept' for improving English as part of its ten-year upgrading and internationalisation plan." (ibid: 69) but overall, the report noted that "While there seems to be a broad national policy in place permitting EMI in universities, this seems to be somewhat passive – permitting EMI rather than actively promoting it." (ibid: 68). The conclusions of a 2004 study into issues surrounding students' language attainment identified "absence of generally accepted criteria in content, methodology, course organisation, assessment, and learning outcomes with reference to international standard." (Ministry of Education and Science of Ukraine/British Council 2004: 6). These conclusions were reiterated in the 2017 report, suggesting a continued lack of policy engagement and support at a national and institutional level. The 2017 report notes that across the sector this is resulting in inconsistent practice, stress and anxiety at the site of learning and interaction, missing of language attainment targets and "confusion and indecision" (2017: 79) in general.

In a study reviewing policy and practice in EMI courses at one Ukrainian HEI, notable at the time because of variety of nationalities represented in the cohort (58 students from Algeria, Nigeria, Ukraine and the UK), English was used as the main medium of instruction with Russian used for clarification, explanations, inter-language and inter-culture comparisons and for organisational reasons, e.g. setting homework (Tarnopolsky & Goodman 2012). There was no organisational policy stated on how a lecturer should use the local L1 (described as Russian, although the report notes this may have been Ukrainian for many), with the lecturer judging for themselves when it was appropriate to use English or Russian or when to demand the use of English from students. There was also no data reported on how lecturers felt about changes in language use or what affected the decisions about how to help students with language use or what help to give them. Curiously, despite the international cohort, the study concluded that there was no visible harm in using the 'L1' at the site of learning.

Another HEI study (Goodman 2014) indicated that a lack of planning to integrate EMI resulted in language problems in content delivery by subject-matter experts, more courses being taught by language experts with low content knowledge and a lack of print resources in English to help teach through the medium of English. As with the other examples cited, there was no institutional policy regarding when to use the L1 or English or what level of English lecturers should have, only that there would be EMI courses. And where there were EMI-labelled courses, it was not necessarily expected that all classes would be conducted in English, leaving some ambiguity over how much English one could expect in an EMI course. Of the problems identified, apart from anxiety relating to fluency and accuracy, the lack of English language ability by subject-matter experts meant that lecturers felt unable to criticise students' work in English, as they perceived themselves as having a lack of authority to justify such criticism. And although there was a "privileging of English knowledge over content knowledge" (ibid: 10), resulting in those who had an EFL background teaching subject content, this was not seen as problematic by the university. There was no information on how subject-matter lecturers felt about such privileging. Regarding resources, as there was a lack of published material available, the university allotted a higher ratio of funding for printing to EMI courses than other courses, providing a further form of language privileging. Despite the inequalities described, the lectures and students interviewed described learning in English as a worthwhile opportunity.

Short courses to support lecturers have proven effective, however, suggesting that there are opportunities for intervention to help lecturers in the issues detailed in the 2017 British Council report. Borg (2019) noted that the British Council 'English for Universities' project, which included the running of five-day EMI training courses, was helpful in giving lecturers useful pedagogical techniques and in improving lecturers' confidence. The project also enabled collaborative professional development, supporting lecturers' day-to-day teaching. Developments in EMI practice remained at a local level, however. National policy remains ambiguous, including there being no suggested level or standardised proficiency tests for students or lecturers taking or running EMI courses (Sahan et al., 2021). The 2022 war will doubtless mean a necessary change of priorities for the national government, making it more than likely that policy uncertainty will be accentuated for some time.

2.1.3 Policy issues on language level
The role of a lecturer in a non-EMI environment does not require nationals of the country where the job is based to have a particular language qualification; lecturers are assumed to have the communication skills necessary to interact in their first

language. This is not an unwarranted assumption, considering lecturers will likely have completed their primary, secondary and tertiary education in that language and will have taken their place as tools of a pedagogic authority and become expert reproducers of both that language and system of education that produced them. However, with the growth of EMI comes the need for lecturers to be able to use English to a level at which they can effectively lecture. This leads to the question of how one can demonstrate that ability and, if it requires a measurement, what is the necessary level at which one can effectively lecture. There is much discussion about what language level lecturers need in order to lecture effectively in English, with a general perception that this should be around CEFR B2 or C1 (Banks 2018; Mancho-Barés & Aguilar-Pérez 2020; Belyaeva & Kuznetsova 2019; Sahan et al., 2021), this being the level where one is able to talk about abstract concepts (Council of Europe 2001). Problematically, global systems of levelling, e.g. CEFR levels, are, at best, rough guides for language ability and, by their nature as a tool for all, are problematic when used to identify the level required for a lecturer in their given professional area.

The demonstration of language level through certification is also problematic, as the ability to use English at a certain level is not necessarily the same as having a qualification that states an ability at that level. When considering this point, it is necessary to consider notions and practices in language assessment, specifically what is being assessed and how. A language assessment might not assess spoken English or the spoken English it assesses may not accurately reflect the communicative language needs of an HE lecturer. In some tests, the speaking skills are an optional addition, e.g. Aptis (British Council 2022) and TOEIC (ETS 2022a), many assessments have a spoken element that is a response to mono-directional computer prompt and do not feature actual interaction, e.g. Linguaskill (Cambridge University Press and Assessment 2022), the Duolingo English Test (Duolingo n.d.), TOEFL (ETS 2022b), and even those that do feature live interaction and assessment by a human examiner are likely not focused on the subject-specific communication needs of a lecturer, e.g. IELTS (IELTS n.d.), Trinity ISE (Trinity College London 2022). The area of language test construct and validity is beyond the scope of this study, but the point being that internationally recognised language qualifications are not equal in what they measure or how they measure it. It is also useful to consider that globally used language assessments will need to be relatively generic, owing to the practical considerations of international test development (Bachman & Palmer 2010), meaning a difficulty in assessing the specific language skills necessary for lecturing. The implications of policy that uses language certification as a selection criterion for employment is that certification may be inappropriate, different boards being unequal in assessment approach and measurement.

A change in MOI does require policy guidance at some level to ensure that those working in the MOI have the abilities to do that work. However, the nature of language use and of language assessment mean that specific policy guidance on language level for EMI will be difficult to achieve.

2.1.4 Policy overview

As shown, understanding reasons for language policy at an international level can help us identify reasons for policy decisions at more local levels, including the choice to implement EMI programmes. And while decisions at different levels are connected, this is not a top-down process of imposition but a 'push and pull' of different factors that influence policy. English is used internationally in different domains for differing reasons, but often with the common aim of socio-economic gain. Despite its extensive use, however, it is unusual for policy to give detail on which English is used, how ability can be accurately measured or to provide detail of how to stem the potential change in value of a local language and local knowledge. In many cases, the decision to introduce EMI programmes could therefore be described as 'policy without plan', with many stakeholders unaware of rationale for EMI or micro-level support to implement EMI courses effectively. These issues appear to leave lecturers and students to operate in an environment of language ambiguity and potentially unrealistic expectations of what is expected of them, whether these be linguistic, pedagogic or academic expectations.

2.2 A Bourdieusian perspective on language use and language change

As introduced in Chapter 1, if we are to gain a better understanding of the issues associated with a change of language of instruction, we need to look beyond a purely linguistic analysis of language use and identify connections and overlapping points that a sociological analysis can bring (Bourdieu 1991). Language exists at the site of interaction and is both the medium through which content is presented and also the content itself, giving it a power that is sometimes not fully appreciated, or is 'misrecognsied'. This site of language interaction is rich with meaning, conveyed through the implicit denotational and connotational meaning of language itself, and also through the pragmatic meaning that only comes from contextualised language use. In my analysis of the effects of EMI on lecturers, field, capital and habitus are invaluable in helping us understand not only the intricate relationships between the actors involved in an EMI 'space', but also how lecturers are affected by a change of MOI, in this case, to the language of the dominant cultural arbitrary: English.

To help locate Bourdieu's approach to sociological change in relation to this research, this section first reviews some of the concerns related to core elements of Bourdieusian practice relevant to this research, namely the thinking tools of habitus, capital and field and also the principle of misrecognition. It then identifies the foundational concepts relevant to this research, illustrating them with examples related to changes in MOI before finally presenting a heuristic diagram to represent the various influences that impact an individual's habitus, influences which are presented in Chapters 5 and 6.

As implied above, the use of Bourdieu in educational research is not without its critics or misapplication. Agha (2006) has suggested that habitus, rather than being a constantly changing feature of one's make up, influenced by and influencing the structures around it, is static, and which needs to incorporate agency. Akrivou & Di San Giorgio (2014) have suggested that while habitus does allow for some agency, it is an agency that is merely a reproduction of past actions, and that it needs to align more with Aristotle's original conception of habitus (*hexis*), which allows for greater human intention. Aside from concerns about the use of habitus, Sullivan (2008) suggests that Bourdieu's work relating to capital and cultural reproduction may be limited by its original base in the arts and humanities of elite French universities 2008. And in relation to 'field', the lack of defined boundaries and Bourdieu's own examples of multiple dominant and subordinate sites makes it difficult for researchers to know where to stop analysis of a particular area (Thomson 2014); how far do the effects of the phenomena being studied reach?

These examples appear to suggest that it is not that there are particular flaws with Bourdieu's conceptions of sociological study, but that we must be wary of overstating what Bourdieu proposed; be sensitive of reading meaning into that which Bourdieu did not intend; and be careful not to take a Bourdieusian approach to research where another approach would serve more effectively. As helpful as Bourdieu's concepts are in understanding our social world, it is necessary for any research to be clear about which terms the research is using and to use them within the frames of reference which Bourdieu originally intended. The next subsection will therefore explore Bourdieu's concepts and explain how they relate to the topic of this research.

2.2.1 Foundational concepts and their relation to EMI
Bourdieu conceptualised his thinking tools in a manner that gives them flexibility across different contexts: the exact meaning of the concept is not within the concept itself, but partly defined by the context in which it is used. This requires any research that uses Bourdieu's thinking tools to explain their use with reference to context (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). In taking this flexible approach to a conceptual

framework, Bourdieu was able to demonstrate the systemic value of social science research, moving away from purely positivist analysis. So, in order not to read meaning into concepts that Bourdieu did not intend and to be sure that this research is using Bourdieusian frames of reference within areas with which they should be, this sub-section will explain and exemplify the key Bourdieusian concepts used in this research. Just as these concepts should not be used without reference to a system which can help define them, it is necessary for Bourdieusian approach to social research to use his theoretical terms consistently, in connection to each other and as part of his wider theory of practice, i.e. not independent of each other and only used as an 'intellectual hair spray' (Hey 2003, quoted in James 2015) to give research some notional theoretical weight. Bourdieu summarises this integrated use of his thinking tools with the equation "[(habitus) (capital)] + field = practice" (Bourdieu 1984: 95), and by using the example of MOI in EMI to give the necessary context, the remainder of this section will show how these concepts are closely intertwined. We will then see how the concept of 'misrecognition' enables a researcher to identify both influence and symptom of a social space.

Field

In order to make sense of a situation, Bourdieu posits that it is not enough to study the agents in the situation; there is also a need to study the social space in which an interaction takes place (Bourdieu 1977a). This is because the features of that space will affect the actions of the agents within it, just as the agents will affect each other's actions. This 'field' or 'field site' is the network of the recursively operating 'structuring structures', i.e. the agents and the objective structures, that exist as part of the field. Perhaps the clearest definition is that given by both Bourdieu and Wacquant:

> In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital)… as well as by their objective relation to other positions.
>
> Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97

Bourdieu's use of field is primarily a conceptualisation of an abstract space, although it could represent a physical one. Field is a heuristic to help explain the events that happen within a given social space and which are affected by the features of that space and the agents within it. As these fields are not physical places, they do not have fixed boundaries; the limits of a field are when the effect of the field no longer affects any of the structures within it. When an object is within a particular field, what

happens to the object, and recursively, what is done by that object to the field and other structures within that field, cannot be explained by the intrinsic qualities of that object alone (ibid). To fully understand the actions within a field, one must therefore know what influences, or '*structuring structures*', exist in that field and also their relation to each other. It necessarily follows that there are many different fields, often with many subfields: primary, secondary and higher education can be considered three separate subfields of education, each of these again with the possibility of subfields, each field with its own 'logic' and 'rules' that apply with it. In relation to this research, an EMI context is one of the many subfields in which a lecturer will work, with them likely transitioning between this and a field of first-language instruction and interaction as part of their working week. Bourdieu also refers to a field as a 'market', although tending to use market when referring to the different types of linguistic capital, aligning his choice of language with the analogy of finance: field sites function as markets where there is a function of supply and demand, with the agents within a field acting as if capitalists accumulating resources (Winzler 2014). Bourdieu (quoted in Wacquant 1989: 47) states that "Any discourse is the product of the encounter of a linguistic habitus, that is, a competence at once technical and social, and a market, i.e., a system of relations of force which determine the price of linguistic products and this helps fashion linguistic production." The concept of market and value being ascribed to language and other skills is explored further in the section on capital below.

Of the structuring structures that exist within a field, Bourdieu describes both objective structures and agents that exert influence. The objective structures may be considered physical influences like buildings or the physical classroom, or more abstract influences, such as regulations or policy. They are 'objective' because they exist "independently of individual consciousness and will" (Marx cited in Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97); and agents are "…endowed with a practical sense that is an acquired system of preferences, of principles, of vision and … schemes of action" (Bourdieu 1988: 25). This suggests that agents are people, but to assume this would be to limit the use of the heuristic. Bourdieu cites "intellectuals, artists, politicians, or construction companies" as examples of agents within a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 105), thereby suggesting that organisations can also act with an "acquired system of preferences" and "vision". Indeed, one need look no further than organisational mission statements and policy documents to understand how one could conceive of an organisation such as a construction company as having a "practical sense". In the application of Bourdieusian concepts, it is important to remind ourselves that Bourdieu does not prescribe a fixed definition of terms; he eschews 'professorial definitions' for explanations that are themselves defined by their context and which help an understanding of the social phenomenon being

studied. So while a construction company could be an agent within a field, that is not to say that constituent parts of a construction company, e.g. the policies that regulate its operation, could not be considered as objective structures within that field. To return to our example of education, this suggests that HEIs and other educational institutions as a whole might act as agents, and that the features that comprise them, e.g. the physical buildings and policies that regulate them, could be labelled as objective structures that influence actions within a field. The key here is not to label something with a fixed definition, but to conceptualise it in a way that helps understanding, using field as a heuristic to help understand what is being analysed.

Within a field, it is necessary to consider how the structuring structures within it affect the other structuring structures in that same field. As Bourdieu's naming suggests, the relationship is dynamic and dialectal, a 'constructivist structuralism' or 'structural constructivism' (Bourdieu 1989: 14). This is as much the case for the objective structures, which "inculcate, through the direct or indirect but always convergent experiences which give a social environment its *physiognomy*," (Bourdieu 1977a: 86 original emphasis), as for the agents. Bourdieu and Wacquant further explain the relationship between field and the different structuring structures:

> … the external determinations that bear on agents situated in a given field (intellectuals, artists, politicians, or construction companies) never apply to them directly, but affect them only through the specific mediation of the specific forms and forces of the field, after having undergone a *re-structuring* that is all the more important the more autonomous the field, that is, the more it is capable of imposing its specific logic, the cumulative product of its particular history.
>
> Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 105 (original emphasis)

Here we again see how a field itself, through the combined dispositions and actions of the structuring structures within that field, will recursively influence the different structures of that field. If we take policy documentation as an example of an 'external determination', then to fully understand the effect of the policy on the agents in a field, we must consider the effect of the field. Taking 'language requirements' as an example of a potential objective structure in an EMI context: If the policy is about recruiting lecturers for an EMI context at an HEI in the EU, because of Article 21 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights (EU 2012), it would be illegal for a recruitment team to advertise or recruit a lecturer on the basis of them being someone with English as a first language, this being discrimination against prospective employees based on language. Instead, a recruitment team wishing to recruit a lecturer for an EMI context would likely cite a specific English level requirement, e.g. CEFR B2, for

the role. The role of Article 21 of the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights would not have the same relevance in a non-EMI context, as it would be unlikely that HEIs would want to include language ability, beyond one's first language, as a selection criterion. The language requirements are different for an EMI context and when it comes to recruitment, this is demonstrated, or 'restructured' in what becomes relevant when advertising for a role. By identifying what the structuring structures are in an EMI field, that is to say the agents and the objective structures, we will be better able to analyse the sociological effect of EMI on lecturers and their habitus. The substance of an agent's effect on an individual brings us to the second key concept: 'capital'.

Capital

In any field, there will be agents exerting different levels of power and Bourdieu's concept of capital can help us explain various power relationships that influence the intricate dynamics of the agents in a market/field and of their dispositions. Aligned with the concept of site of interaction as a 'market', Bourdieu believed that "It is in fact impossible to account for the structure and functioning of the social world unless one reintroduces capital in all its forms and not solely in the one form recognised by economic theory." (Bourdieu 1986: 15). In addition to the common usage of 'economic capital', i.e. that of 'money' [currency] or of assets that can readily be turned into money, Bourdieu identified two other central forms of capital: 'cultural capital' and 'social capital' (ibid). Cultural capital is itself broken down into three states: an 'embodied state', e.g. the dispositions of mind and body (including linguistic capital), an 'objectified state', e.g. physical, cultural items, and an institutionalised state, e.g. qualifications, awards or other forms of attainment recognised by a culturally dominant force. Social capital "is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network" (ibid: 286), e.g. one's affiliations, connections, and family. Explaining social and cultural capital as being akin to economic capital, we can say that just as the local worth of a dollar bill can change according to country in which it is tendered, so does the value of any of the above forms of capital, all dependent on the market in which it exists: the social connections or the knowledge one has of how to interact in one setting will not necessarily be perceived as having the same value in another, quite different setting. In the market of a university setting, the social capital someone has in one department will be different from that of another, and a person's cultural capital will change, depending on the subject area where their knowledge and academic credentials are being used.

As with most of Bourdieu's concepts, there is not necessarily a specific defining line between different types of capital. Should a piece of art be classified as the

objectified state of cultural capital, or is it something that can readily be turned into money, in which case economic capital? Unless we look at the wider context the question pertains to, the question can only be answered in the abstract, context being central to the understanding of Bourdieu's thinking tools. In an extension of this illustration, capital can also be transferred from one state to another: buying a work of art is an exchange of economic capital to an objectified form of cultural capital. Alternatively, using a professional network for financial benefit is an exchange of social capital to economic capital. With reference to this study, the transfer of capital may likely be to or from elements of cultural capital: linguistic capital (e.g. the learning of or change in value given to a particular language variety), institutionalised capital (e.g. attaining a qualification) or, perhaps problematically, symbolic capital (e.g. the change in a group's perception of what is valued).

Symbolic capital is part of Bourdieu's overall concepts of capital, and yet is separate from it. Often referred to simply as the 'prestige' transferred to every other form of capital (ibid), Bourdieu also describes symbolic capital as "the form that the various species of capital assume when they are perceived and recognized as legitimate" (1989: 17). Bourdieu explains further:

> Every kind of capital (economic, cultural, social) tends (to different degrees) to function as symbolic capital (so that it might be better to speak, in rigorous terms, of the *symbolic effects of capital*) when it obtains an explicit or practical recognition, that of a habitus structured according to the very structures of the space in which it has been engendered.
>
> Bourdieu 2000: 242 (original emphasis)

We see that symbolic capital is a differentiated form of capital, a capital that it is recognised (or 'misrecognised' in Bourdieusian terms) as being legitimate by the structuring structures of any given field. Being immanent across all other forms of capital, Bourdieu warns that symbolic capital is "the most cruel" of all distributions of capital (ibid: 241) as it has the power to change the state of existing capital. In doing so, it can give or take away one's prestige, one's recognition as a social being in a given context; it has the power of giving or denuding an individual the sense of their humanity.

This leads us to another key concept related to capital, and the effects that a change of capital can bring: 'symbolic violence', the "form of domination which… is only exerted through the communication in which it is disguised" (Bourdieu 1977a: 237). In this sense, symbolic violence is a violence exercised in and by the social situations

an individual finds themselves in. Those in the dominant classes need not take special action to perform acts of symbolic violence, they can just "*let the system they dominate take its own course* in order to exercise their domination" (ibid: 190, original emphasis). Bourdieu's various accounts of symbolic violence show that it arises when there is discord between habitus and field, possibly because of historical or political change that affects capital or the structuring structures, or else because individuals find themselves in a market where they do not have the necessary capital to interact effectively. Bourdieu (1977b) explains how such symbolic violence is manifested in relation to language change, with one language dominating a market forcing a re-evaluation of all other modes of expression: when a dominant cultural force dictates a new legitimate language, there needs to be a re-shaping and unification of the linguistic market, bringing agents into alignment with a revised 'feel for the game'. In this case, the revision is a new language and a change to the previous values of linguistic capital. Bourdieu references multilingual situations, where a new language may be forced upon agents by "linguistic crisis and revolution via political crisis and revolution." (ibid: 652). Bourdieu's use of the term 'linguistic crisis' is important, as language policy, be it EMI or on a national level, may be shaped in response to such crises.

The political dominance of the UK in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provides numerous examples of such political crises which allowed English to thrive, whether it be the annexation of New Zealand and the aggressive replacement of Maori as the national language (Smith & Rapatahana 2012), the unequal power that English exerts over other national languages because of its imperial legacy (Tupas & Rubdy 2015) or one of countless other well documented factors that have given the English language a cultural dominance (Phillipson 2009). Even after concerted efforts to replace the English 'native speaker' hegemony, the field of EMI still awards preferential capital to those who have English as a first language rather than local faculty with a non-English-first-language background and/or accent (Sahan et al., 2021). Such evidence is testimony to the fact that some languages are valued more highly than others, and Bourdieu's concepts of capital and symbolic violence help us appreciate why this is the case and what the resultant effects are. Relating this to the ever-increasing adoption of EMI in HE, I think it is not unwarranted to describe it as a crisis for those who have to either change their language of instruction or change the language they learn in, to one in which they may be neither proficient nor confident. This is a crisis that started with the expansion of empire and is now repeatedly reproduced by the dominant cultural arbitraries across the varied sites of linguistic interaction involving English.

Research that looks specifically at changes in linguistic capital and English within a 'unified linguistic market' are not unusual. Examples include the changing use of Bengali and English within the Bangladeshi diaspora in the UK and the linguistic adaptations immigrants need to make in order to function in society (Blackledge 2011), and also that of the use of English in international aid, with its adoption reproducing unequal hierarchies in aid organisations (Roth 2019). With specific reference to EMI, research at Vietnamese HEIs shows the symbolic violence an enthusiastic adoption of English reduces the linguistic capital of the national language and also the symbolic capital of Vietnamese HEIs (Tri 2021), and in Bangladesh there are examples of how the use of EMI actively disadvantages students culturally by limiting opportunities and resources for those who are unable to speak English (Sultana 2014). What is less well understood is the effect of the adoption of EMI on lecturers' own linguistic capital and the resultant effects on their professional symbolic capital and also their dispositions as an HE professional, i.e. their habitus.

Habitus

Habitus is one of Bourdieu's most common, yet also misunderstood, misused (Maton 2014) and contested concepts (Reay 2004) and is central to Bourdieu's sociological approach in bridging our understanding of the relationship between societal structure and individual agency. Bourdieu (2000) notes that habitus is "subject to a kind of permanent revision" based on one's lived experiences and operates recursively, affected by the different structuring structures around it. Describing habitus as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1990b: 53) or "a habitual state (especially of the body) and, in particular, a predisposition, tendency, propensity or inclination" (Bourdieu 1977a: 214), Bourdieu also explains it as a way "to account for the actual logic of practice… A socially constructed 'sense of the game.'" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 120-121). Illustrating this point, Bourdieu states:

> … when the habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product,
> it finds itself "as a fish in water," it does not feel the weight of water and
> takes the world about itself for granted.
>
> Bourdieu quoted in Wacquant 1989:43

As the equation referenced earlier suggests, habitus, or one's 'sense of the game', is part of what determines an individual's practice, their way of feeling, acting and being. In this, it is very personal and internal, yet externally influenced and influencing. With reference to linguistic ability, Bourdieu also describes a 'language habitus', it being "the capacity to use the possibilities offered by language and to

assess practically the moments to use them" (Bourdieu 1977b: 662). Djuraeva & Catedral's study (2020) into multi-lingual speakers' perceptions of having English as an additional language and the discourse of language 'ideals' expands the notion of a language habitus and explains how habitus is formed and affected by one's own habits and perceptions, as well as the actions of others in their sites of interaction, or field. Their research shows how the subjects' habitus is constantly being revised, in part through the discourse used by others but also by the discourse that the subjects choose to use themselves, illustrating the central role of individual agency in habitus formation. The commonality of features experienced with their habitus suggests that as well as being individualistic, habitus could be viewed through the lens of being a wider and dynamic social phenomenon and be considered as being common to participants in a particular field. This would be where the structuring structures create commonalities for a shared or overlapping language habitus, albeit recognising the other, unique structuring structures that influence an individual's habitus.

Habitus formation being affected by field as well as by the actions of agents, we can theorise that habitus will change when an individual moves between fields. One's 'sense of the game' will be more developed in one field than another, depending on one's history within that field and the capital they are accorded. Blackledge (2011) uses field, capital and habitus to explore the cultural basis of linguistic practices and ideologies of migrants to the UK and builds on research (Guarzino 1997) that shows a 'bifocality of dispositions' as migrants develop a 'transnational habitus' that allows them to interact with those from their homeland and with those in their new home. Taking a linguistic ethnographic approach to resultant code-switching and translanguaging, Blackledge suggests that Bourdieusian theory and practice "can usefully illuminate understandings of phenomena observed in a linguistic ethnographic framework." (Blackledge 2011: 124). Blackledge's study focuses specifically on the Bangladeshi diaspora in Birmingham and through analysis of the language that young people use, shows how many young people of Bangladeshi heritage are flexible with language according to the field of language use (e.g. local school, Bengali language school), equipping the group with at least a 'dual habitus'. 'Dual habitus' is not necessarily split 50/50, but habitus which is "re-orientated to more than one locality" (Vertovec 2009: 68), enabling agents to act appropriately within different fields but still able to exercise agency in their choice of how they use their language resource across multi-lingual environments. Bourdieu discusses the possibility of having a reorientated, dual habitus, or a "cleft habitus" (2004: 111) when drawing on his own experience of mobility between social classes. Having more than one habitus is also discussed in relation to the languages and social practices of those of Turkish descent in Germany: Schneider & Lang (2014) address the question

of whether the formation of more than one habitus is the development of an additional habitus or the cleaving of a former habitus to support a revised one. Referencing Bourdieu's own 'habitus discomfort' when transitioning from a lower class, rural background to becoming one of France's academic elite, Schneider & Lang suggest that in order to understand the development of social practices, i.e. the development of more than one habitus, it is necessary to take account of the diversification of an individual's repertoire of such practices. They note the importance of such diversification in understanding the experiences of social reality, and that habitus diversification recognises "the possibility of 'switching' between social practices within a dynamic set of 'multiple habitus', according to the given social context." (ibid: 103). The possibility of discomfort during habitus change is also taken up by Willey (2016), describing liminal periods in an agent's social practices to explain actions that might be considered outside of their usual practices. These liminal periods of change include the possibility of an agent taking on a transitional "liminal habitus" (2016: 113) before exiting into their new habitus.

When explaining an individual's dispositions and their day-to-day practice, these examples demonstrate how one's own perception of 'self' are just as important as the perceptions of others and other structuring structures in a particular field. What research has yet to show, however, is whether dual habitus is in evidence in EMI contexts and, if it is, what the structures are that contribute to its formation and whether there is any evidence of liminal periods as part of that formation. In addition to this, whether there are any commonalities which create a shared and/pr overlapping group habitus. With evidence of language change and discourse also affecting habitus, it becomes important to identify the effects of a transition to an EMI field on an individual's tendencies, propensities and inclinations.

Misrecognition
When identifying the effects of the transition to an EMI context on a lecturer's habitus, it is helpful in the explanation of this if we are able to have an understanding of the influences that cause such transitions. The revealing of the causes of effect on social realities is considered by some (Grenfell & James 1998a: 22) to be Bourdieu's "whole mission… making available the possibility at least of democratizing the product and processes of the field." As explained above, researching the structuring structures in a field will help us identify who or what are involved in the recursive relationship for an individual in any social space. A central point for Bourdieu, and one related to this research, is that there are wider influences that may not usually be considered, either because they are so deeply embedded into the fabric of the social space that they are not noticed, or because they are recognised as being 'legitimate' and not relevant as an influential factor (Bourdieu 1990b). By recognising something as legitimate

and not relevant to processes of social change and/or reproduction, it is being 'misrecognised'. Bourdieu describes how such misrecognition is linked to capital and therefore an implicit element of the social space:

> It must be asserted… that capital (or power) becomes symbolic capital, that is capital endowed with a specific efficacy, only when it is *misrecognised* in its arbitrary truth as capital and *recognised* as legitimate and, on the other hand, that this act of (false) knowledge and recognition is an act of *practical* knowledge which in no way implies that the object known and recognised be posited as an object.
>
> Bourdieu 1990a: 112, original emphasis

Bourdieu's use of 'misrecognition' is different from the usage of other theorists (James 2015) in that it is not about recognition per se, or when people or their practices are rendered invisible (Fraser 2014), but about its misattribution. This misattribution of the reasons for change *away* from power structures that appear to be disinterested, or of no relevance to this change, serves to strengthen those power structures by not recognising their actual effect. This enables these power structures to continue in their influence and reproduction of social systems, undisturbed by those seeking to make change. As Bourdieu notes, "misrecognition of the reality of class relations is an integral part of the reality of those relations" (Bourdieu 1990b). It is for this reason that it is important to identify a researcher's positionality and their reasons for research, or in Bourdieu's words, to be "taken into the backrooms, the kitchens of science" (1993: 158) to uncover their true *modus operandi, modus operandi* they may not even be aware of themselves because of the nature of misrecognition.

With reference to misrecognition in education, Tupas (2008) describes how current language and educational policy in the Philippines is influenced by the Filipino-American war and the mechanics of its resultant colonialism. Tupas explains the process of a 'historical forgetting' (2008: 47) of the symbolic violence and actual violence of war crimes committed during and after the war which has led to an acceptance of an ideological and political matrix that has been heavily influenced by American colonialism. The historical forgetting is described as a form of misrecognition and enables the dominant powers to continue to influence educational policy, an influence which includes the requirements to use English at different levels of the educational system. By focusing on English as a global requirement, it is possible to forget how the English language first became a requirement in Filipino education.

Writing about the accepted global 'standard' of English, O'Regan (2021) explains how that, despite the abundance of data on world Englishes and non-standardness, there is still reproduction of the standard form despite many scholars having rejected the notion of such a form. It is a standard form given legitimacy by authors who simultaneously write about the importance of world Englishes but who also "act as exemplars of the misrecognised model" (2021: 188). It is a situation where those who have English as an additional language aim to create a version of English that is indistinguishable from that produced by those who have English as a first language, continuing the legitimisation of the standard, which ensnares users in its continued cycle of reproduction. When authors have tried to expose the 'kitchens of science' and the *modus operandi* of decision makers, there are examples of censorship and exclusion (Phillipson 2012), demonstrating the embedded nature of the misrecognition.

These two examples show us that misrecognition is a feature of both English language policy and English language use. What has not been theorised, however, is how misrecognition is manifested in the EMI environments and the effects of EMI on lecturers and their habitus.

2.2.2 A diagrammatic representation of field influences on habitus

In addition to written explanations, Bourdieu produced different diagrams and representations to illustrate his thinking tools in use and also to show the relationship between them. In *Homo Academicus* (1988), Bourdieu uses intersecting axes of economic and cultural capital to demonstrate how agents' positions of power can be plotted for a particular field. In this way, it is possible to conduct an analysis of the agents within a field, identifying levels of dominance. And in relation to the combined effects of life experience, Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) make use of an elaborate diagram (Appendix 2) to show how these varied influences ultimately affect one's position in the social hierarchy, and with it the characteristics of capital and habitus at such a level.

Building on Bourdieu and Passeron's longitudinal diagram leading to an identification of social class and habitus, it is helpful to create a heuristic 'snapshot' of field networks, showing the structuring structures (agents and objective structures) that influence one's habitus in a particular field. There is no shortage of diagrammatic representations of the recursive nature of the relationship between field, capital and habitus, for example, from those theorising in general sociology (Zougris 2018) to specific applications in medical practice (Spinnewijn, Aarts, Verschuur, Braat, Gerrits & Scheele 2020) (Appendix 3). However, such diagrams tend to focus on these

central concepts, without representation of where different influences are coming from. And so, in creating a neutral snapshot, with unnamed structuring structures, it is possible to illustrate the suggested recursive relationship between key agents, helping conceptualise Bourdieu's thinking tools in practice. This kind of snapshot can also indicate the relative positions of the different structuring structures, extending the conceptualisation of the thinking tools. Figure 1 builds on previous diagrammatic representations and presents my snapshot model of the co-constitutive relationship between habitus of a particular field and that field's different structuring structures. This model is applicable to all field sites. The figure has no explicitly defined boundaries, recognising the fuzzy limits of field, and the variable effect it has on the structuring structures within it. The bidirectional influence of oneself on habitus is shown as being internal and central to habitus formation; other agents are also shown to have a bidirectional relationship with habitus. These agents (e.g. intellectuals, artists, construction companies) will vary depending on field, unlike the influence of oneself which is central to all habitus formation, which is why it is the only identified element in this neutral model. The dual-headed arrows represent the bidirectional capital and influence of agents on an individual's habitus. The 'objective structures' are also shown as having a bidirectional influence on habitus, as well as the field's other structuring structures. The wavy-lined, dual-headed arrows represent the *restructured* influence of the external determinations - wavy rather than straight because they are *re*-structured on account of their interaction within a specific field. As indicated in the literature referenced above, these objective structures are the contextual factors that enable actions to take place and a 'feel for the game' to be developed (e.g. physical location, infrastructure, language). As with Bourdieu's thinking tools, this diagram is not designed to be a fixed representation of field and the structures within it; it is designed as a heuristic diagram for conceptualising the various influences on an individual's habitus in a field site.
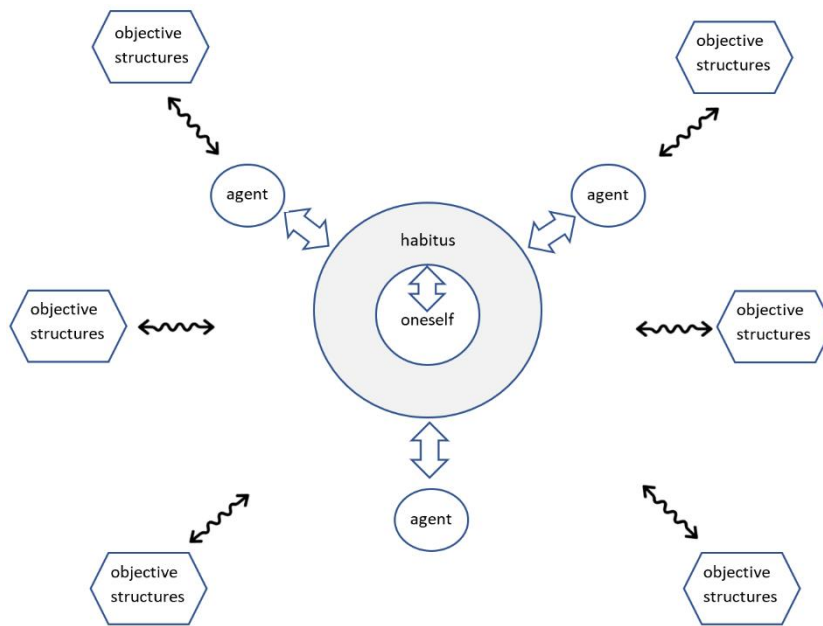
Figure 1: A snapshot representation of a field site of habitus-forming influences

In reviewing Bourdieu's thinking tools of field, capital and habitus, and the associated concepts of symbolic violence and misrecognition, we have seen how they can be applied to give insight across different sociological contexts. This includes contexts where there is language change, or where one language is given greater value than another. Bourdieu's theoretical framework and the evidence of the studies referenced above demonstrate how the development of habitus is something that happens over time; we have also seen that there are various structuring structures that influence habitus at any given moment. Using the figure above in the analysis and discussion chapters to illustrate my own research into EMI contexts, I will go on to identify the agents affecting a lecturer's habitus and also the objective structures that have a restructuring and recursive influence on the other structuring structures in that field.

3. Research aims and questions

3.1 Research aims

Recognising that there are both linguistic and sociological areas for consideration with a change in MOI, this research is situated to consider both areas in relation to EMI. In this research, this is made possible by the use of the Bourdieusian thinking tools of habitus, field and capital, alongside the recursive nature of structuring structures that exist within a field. These concepts enable research into existing language practices through the lens of social influences as well as vocational expectations and personal perceptions. It also provides a theoretical basis that is able to consider both the language and the sociological elements that lecturers experience when they use English as an MOI rather than their first language.

From a practical perspective, the aim of this research is to help explain the personal, professional and linguistic issues lecturers encounter when using English as a Medium of Instruction, when English is an additional language. Having identified these personal, professional and linguistic issues from a Bourdieusian perspective, this research will suggest ways stakeholders can mitigate any negative effects of EMI use and encourage any positive ones.

To achieve these aims, this research first asked lecturers to reflect on their role and influences upon their role in contexts of teaching in a first language and their general perceptions of lecturing, and then specifically through English. Follow-up interviews with participants then explored the relationship between perceived differences in ability, expectations and social influences in their first language and English and also the effects of a change of MOI on the more general social structures and systems immanent in an HEI environment.

3.2 Research questions

To meet these research aims, this research will answer these research questions:

1. In a general higher educational context, what influences the development of a lecturer's habitus?
2. How does the use of English as MOI affect lecturers' habitus?

4. Theoretical framework and method

This chapter introduces the study's theoretical framework, contextualises the research and method of analysis within that framework and describes the process of data collection and analysis.

4.1 Theoretical framework

This section describes the research paradigm and demonstrates how a Bourdieusian approach to research manifests itself throughout the research process. This section will explain how this research sits within a constructivist paradigm, linking it to Bourdieusian theoretical perspectives; explain the Bourdieusian approach to the research and the constructivist features immanent with it; detail the need for a reflexive approach to my positionality; and summarise the potential personal influences identified as part of my reflexive analysis.

4.1.1 A constructivist paradigm

Immanent in a constructivist research paradigm is the awareness that there is no absolute truth, but subjective knowledge that is negotiated through social and historical 'norms' (Creswell 2003: 8). And a central aim is to identify the effect of such norms on a research subject and consider the effect of these when constructing knowledge, as perceived by the researcher and the research subject. And so a constructivist paradigm enables a researcher to engage with the individual, helping make sense of both them and their world (Crotty 1998), using their experiences to construct a reality that has meaning to them and which explains this meaning to another. The highly contextual nature of Bourdieusian research therefore aligns well with this paradigm as it provides us with the qualitative data necessary to build knowledge and meaning relative to a research subject, a meaning that is both shaped by that researched subject and which, in turn, also recursively shapes themselves.

However, because of this subjectivity, it is also necessary for me to recognise my part in the construction of meaning by openly positioning myself in the research, enabling others to judge the effect of me as a researcher on the research area. These features of constructivist approach can be seen throughout in Bourdieu's own approach to research: the use of the Bourdieusian thinking tools of habitus, field and capital are designed to help one understand how a social landscape influences the individual (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990) and understanding the requirement for a

researcher to shine the light of research on themselves (Bourdieu 1993) allows for reflexive positioning in relation to the research subject.

4.1.2 Habitus and a Bourdieusian approach to constructivism

Habitus is a central concept in Bourdieusian research and one he described as an "acquired set of generative schemes objectively adjusted to the particular conditions in which it is constituted" (Bourdieu 1977a: 95), those particular conditions being the 'field' in which it exists. To have a better understanding of habitus and its dynamic nature in relation to field and this study's research aims, it is necessary to place them in the wider methodology and method of a Bourdieusian research framework. Despite the meaning implied semantically, a Bourdieusian 'framework' is not so much a prescriptive method to follow, as an epistemological set of beliefs with examples of how one *can* conduct research, within the parameters of these beliefs (Grenfell & James 1998a). Bourdieusian research exists not in a separated divide between objective and subjective knowledge, but employs changing, re-shaping structures that bridge the two in a contingent and dynamic manner. It is this dynamism which is a key characteristic of Bourdieusian research and one which enables the researcher to operate between positivist fact and hermeneutic interpretation. By moving beyond a binary belief of knowledge, a Bourdieusian researcher is able to incorporate context into the research and recognise the effect of structures on a subject's actions and also acknowledge the agency of the individual and the effect they have on the structures impacting on them. This creates a space of dialectical relations between structuring structures (Bourdieu 1977a), a '*constructivist structuralism*' or '*structural constructivism*' (Bourdieu 1989: 14 original emphasis) which is bidirectional in its influence as well as dynamic. Habitus is formed at the site where these conceptions of structure meet. In order to conduct Bourdieusian research around a subject's habitus therefore, it is first necessary to identify what these structuring structures are.

As seen in Chapter 2, the structures that affect a lecturer's sense of their professional habitus in an EMI environment are sociological as well as purely linguistic, meaning that it is necessary to consider more than language accuracy, the wider areas of language policy and planning, communicative competence and their sociolinguistic effects. Although a common first point of concern in EMI is the language itself, to focus on language alone is to ignore the role that language plays in the everyday acts of professional practice and communication in general: to effectively theorise about EMI, there is a need to embrace sociology as well as linguistics. As previously noted, our understanding of what language is and its impact on communication, self and other has evolved, with linguistic competence being only one element of many

that make up language as a whole. And a Bourdieusian approach to this research area helps one appreciate that a lecturer and their students are not separate from the linguistic act of language production, but central to its transmission and reception of it as structuring structures, feeding back into the context of that interaction and affecting the structures and habitus contingent on this.

Such structuring structures incorporate the social structures and objective structures of a particular field. Examples of 'social structures' include the institutions and people that exert influence in a field, i.e. the agents of that field; objective structures are the background influences that make interaction in a field possible and might include institutional infrastructure, CPD support, working conditions, codes of practice and professional expectations. By first identifying these structuring structures and then the ways in which they affect the research subject, we will be able to learn more about their intimate two-way relationship, adding necessary context to the research subject. This will help locate the research subject more broadly, as well as enabling an investigation into the science of dialectal relations between the different structures in a specific field. Because of the different structuring structures immanent in an EMI environment and a first language working environment, we can suggest that an EMI lecture develops a dual/cleft or altered professional habitus, reflecting the ability to operate in a particular field site, a habitus that reacts to the changes of capital within that field site. Using the Bourdieusian thinking tools of habitus, field and capital to create a framework of research and conceptualise the research site, we are able to create a detailed sociological analysis of the research subject and the influences that operate upon them.

4.1.3 Researcher's positionality
As seen above, a central part of Bourdieusian research is recognising that the objective-subjective divide is an unrealistic conception of knowledge and understanding. This tenet impacts upon considerations on the positionality of the researcher and their own levels of objectivity, because the role of researcher is a fundamental element to consider when constructing the knowledge of the research area. And while it is common for research to detail the method of the research, it is what Bourdieu believes if often not described that is of interest (1993: 158):

> The finished product, the *opus operatum*, conceals the *opus operandi*…
> You are never taken into the backrooms, the kitchens of science.

The analogy of 'kitchens' helps us see that while 'method' may be akin to a recipe, how a chef follows a recipe deserves some consideration: application in one context

may be subtly different to that in another and may affect the outcomes of the research itself.

Considering my own application of method, as both data collector and analyser of data, I was interacting with the research participants and helping shape the 'social ground' on which consciousness in relation to this research was shaped (ibid) and then theorising on that same social ground. The language I chose was also layered with meaning, not just on initial denotational and connotational levels, but at a level of personal interpretation as well. Bourdieu notes that language and communication occur in a context and that the act of communication itself is a bi-directional event which requires both speaker and listener to apply meaning, meaning taken from the social ground of interaction, which itself has been shaped by the participants' habitus and perceptions of field (Bourdieu 1991). Rather than ignore or try to remove these influences, it was more appropriate to attempt to understand the contexts and influences that are brought to bear on meaning and understanding by me as the researcher, and also research subject. This helped ensure that the data collected and analysed was appropriately placed in a sociological context, aligned with Bourdieusian principles and with key influences on the research known.

In relation to his suggested research framework, Bourdieu (1993: 49) notes:

> … one should make it a rule never to embark upon sociology, and especially the sociology of sociology, without first, or simultaneously, undertaking a self socio-analysis.

It was therefore necessary for me as researcher and interviewer to go beyond the research precautions of reviewing and trialling the data collection tools or ensuring distance between researcher and research participant, as only doing so, I would be unable to achieve complete research subjectivity, as described by Bourdieu. It was necessary for me to turn the research lens upon myself and ask myself questions relating to the formation of my own professional habitus.

As part of this, it is necessary to recognise the subjective element of my professional position as a professional in ELT, an area with vested interests in the development of EMI, and as an authorised doctoral researcher from an institute of education. Considering these points, rather than consider myself as an 'insider' or 'outsider' researcher, it is more appropriate to place myself on a continuum of objectivity and subjectivity, recognising the influences I bring to the research while, at the same time, trying to minimise the effect on both data collection, analysis and interpretation.

To help identify the structuring structures that influence my work and affect the social ground where the data is collected, a Bourdieusian research framework suggests that it is necessary to know oneself through reflexive analysis in relation to the research area and make this explicit as part of the research process (Grenfell & James 1998a). This can be done by turning the research tools onto the researcher and identifying the structuring structures and historical influences that have made the researcher who they are. A detailed account of such a reflexive analysis (see Appendix 1) reveals that my own journey to this research area appears to have been influenced as much through youthful experiences of having been placed into a new linguistic field site myself as by my current professional interest in English language and teacher education. An overview of the factors which might give rise to personal bias are:

1. my personal experiences of being placed in new field sites where previous capital had little bearing;
2. my experiences of changing habitus because of multiple moves in childhood and professional life;
3. my work as a white, male English language teacher who speaks English as a first language, which has given me increased [and often unwarranted] capital: linguistic as a UK-born English first language speaker; social as a tertiary-level educated, white, male, English first language speaker;
4. my experience working in teacher education departments, giving me a belief that teachers need to be both trained, and generally qualified to a higher education level, in order to be effective in their roles; and
5. my belief in the need for lecturers in HEIs to receive some training in pedagogical support, as well as in research, to be effective educators.

With these research precautions taken and the subjective influences made explicit, as well as through my reflexive analysis (Appendix 1), one should be better able to approach the data, analysis and findings of this research with a greater degree of insight and relational understanding about my role as a researcher in this particular area.

4.1.4 Research design

A Bourdieusian approach to research recognises the continuum between positivist and interpretivist approaches to methods of data collection and seeks to identify those appropriate for a given research area. And rather than prescribing a particular set of methods to carry out research, Bourdieusian research suggests a broad

conceptual framework, a framework that requires a sensitivity to local contexts and critical interaction with the intellectual influences surrounding a researcher and their research area. This builds a reflexive and personal awareness of the social space being researched and is therefore an important element of any Bourdieusian research.

Bourdieu's own research achieved this through mixed methods approaches to data collection and reflexive positioning. An example of how he used both qualitative and quantitative methods is detailed in his 1969 study of linguistic variation in Orléans (Grenfell 2011b), which involved three stages of data collection:

1. An introductory interview which established participants' social space and general interests.
2. A follow-up interview with focused sociolinguistic questions that explored participants' perceptions of language and identity.
3. A written questionnaire that collected participants' general data, e.g. age family background, level of education, etc.

In applying both qualitative (interview) and quantitative (questionnaire) tools, Bourdieu demonstrated his desire to operate between the poles of contrasting epistemological paradigms, bridging the two "without betraying the existential authenticity of the phenomena." (ibid: 199). The research tools for my study adopted the same considerations, operating within Bourdieu's conceptualisation of a research framework and engaging relevant theory alongside the contextual features immanent in the researcher and the research topic.

Not dissimilar to Bourdieu's Orléans study, this research first used a written questionnaire to identify participants' contextual information and learn about their social space and perceived fields of influence, checking my hypothesis stated in Chapter 2 about the agents of influence on habitus. This was followed by a semi-structured interview to obtain detailed information about their professional experiences as a lecturer working in EMI contexts and other areas that impacted upon their habitus. By starting with a questionnaire, I was able to ensure that the participants who had self-selected for the study met the selection requirements before moving onto the time-intensive interview. As well as confirming my hypothesis about agents of influence, it also gave me essential information for discussion in the follow-up, semi-structured interviews.

As semi-structured interviews are acknowledged as being tools that enable participants to express their realities (Robson 2012), creating a world view based on

an interpretation of their lived experiences (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2007) and also resulting in co-constructed data, precautions were taken to ensure my influence as an interviewer was minimised. These included having the interview schedule checked by supervisors and trialling the different iterations of the schedule. A further precaution was my own reflexive analysis, helping raise my and others' awareness of my bias when preparing and using the interview schedule, helping identify possible influences on the data collected.

The semi-structured approach to the schedule enabled a degree of standardisation over the topics covered in the interviews and also gave me the space to react to participants' responses, following threads of discourse as necessary to help construct a narrative for their realities. The resultant data therefore provides an exploration of participants' beliefs in relation to their professional world and how EMI is impacting on it, while addressing key themes necessary for the achievement of this study's research aims. This also meant that the interview data does not have an even coverage of the emergent themes across the different lecturers, with some lecturers giving more data relevant for analysis than others, according to their views of their professional environment. The lack of even coverage in participant responses is consistent with this approach to data collection, where a research participant's experiences are offered up and given value by their own perceptions of relevance and importance.

As noted, there is no fixed Bourdieusian approach to collecting data, and the same is true with the analysis of the data: it is only necessary that a researcher chooses a form of analysis that keeps within the spirit of the dialectal relationship immanent in a constructivist structuralism. How one operationalises such Bourdieusian principles has been subject to criticism, with it being considered 'vague' (Sullivan 2001) or contradictory (King 2000). However, if one views this approach through a wider lens of analysis, we see that it is less about working within a strict framework and specified processes and more about working to axiomatic principles that support a relativist view of research, a relativism which will necessarily need to have varying approaches to take account of the constituents and contexts involved. Recognising this and considering the highly thematic nature of the data generated from the semi-structured interviews, this research, therefore, uses a form of thematic qualitative textual analysis to review the data. Details of the approach to analysis and a description of the development of the questionnaire and interview schedule are given in Section 4.2.

4.2 Method

This section describes the process and development of the research project, from the initial approval procedure to the method of analysis. Key stages are summarised in Table 4.1, with specific details given throughout this section.

Stage	Activity
1	Thesis review meeting
2	Ethical approval granted
3	Contacting 3rd party links to share with prospective research participants
4	Prospective research participants contacted me, whereupon I gave details about the research, collected the research participation form and gave questionnaire link
5	Questionnaires were reviewed and participants were selected for interview based on eligibility criteria
6	I conducted interviews with participants
7	I transcribed interviews and invited revisions or corrections
8	Final confirmation of questionnaires and transcriptions for analysis
9	Analysis of data

Table 4.1 Stages of research activity

4.2.1 Research approval process
The research approval process at UCL's IoE consisted of the following stages:

1. Agreement of research aims and research questions with supervisors.
2. Completion of thesis proposal
3. Supervisor approval
4. Research Proposal Review meeting
5. Submission of research method for approval by the UCL Research Ethics Review Panel
6. Approval granted from the Research Proposal Review.

4.2.2 Ethical considerations and approval
This research followed the ethical guidelines suggested by BERA (2011) and University College London's Institute of Education (UCL's IoE). Following submission of the UCL IoE Doctoral Student Ethics Application Form, which detailed the points listed below, approval to research was given by UCL's IoE Research Ethics Review Panel:

- recruitment of participants who were not professionally linked to the researcher (see 4.2.5 below for full details of participant recruitment);
- selection of participants by pre-identified criteria;
- explanation of research through a participant information leaflet (see Appendix 4) and video explaining the research and data collection process (video available at: https://tinyurl.com/EMI-research2018-info);
- signed consent for research participation and audio recording of interviews (see participant information leaflet);
- permission of line managers, where appropriate;
- password protected storage of questionnaire and interview audio;
- the option for participants to review [and correct] the interview transcript before analysis;
- confirmation that data collection notes would be destroyed after use;
- confirmation of anonymity; and
- the option for participants to withdraw from the research process at any time.

4.2.3 Development of the research tools

The first iteration of the questionnaire was informed by reading on pedagogical skills and pluralistic and intercultural competencies necessary for educators in primary and secondary sectors (Candelier, Daryai-Hansen & Schröder-Sura 2012; Kelly, Grenfell, Allan, Kriza & McEvoy 2005; Lázár 2007). This was supplemented with reading on linguistic capital relating to field, capital and habitus (Bourdieu 1977a, Flynn 2016). The result was a questionnaire that focused on the language functions necessary to conduct various pedagogical activities.

This first questionnaire comprised three sections: 'preparing sessions', 'conducting sessions' and 'assessing and giving feedback', with 65 questions on language, 10 questions relating to areas of professionalism and one general question that allowed participants to comment on areas not raised in the questionnaire. The semi-structured interview schedule had three open questions that asked about particular responses from the questionnaire. After review, it was clear that while the questionnaire would give interesting data for a larger quantitative study about language functions in teaching, it was too long for practical use and had too great a focus on language to give the right kind of data to meet my research aims.

Informed by the work on pedagogical competencies described above and literature on skills lecturers need to deliver subject content, the questionnaire was revised to include 20 questions about perceived importance of general pedagogical tasks, 20 questions about language ability in the same pedagogical tasks, 11 questions relating to areas of professionalism that participants valued and three 'other' questions, allowing participants to comment on areas not raised in other sections of the questionnaire. The wider range of areas increased the scope of the questionnaire to cover areas of lecturers' field relationships as well as the activities that were part of their day-to-day professional practices.

The questionnaire and interview schedule were then piloted with one Spanish L1 lecturer, with a feedback session after the semi-structured interview. The questionnaire was sent over email and the interview conducted online and audio recorded.

Based on feedback, collected in an audio-recorded post-interview discussion with the lecturer, and personal reflection on the first pilot interview, the following modifications where made:

1. The addition of seven questions to provide a participant's background information.
2. Slight rewording of questions to make them clearer, e.g. reducing double questions and awkward phrasing.
3. The addition of three questions in the final section of the questionnaire relating to areas of professionalism that participants valued, helping identify areas of professional capital.
4. The addition of two interview questions relating to the relationships with students, peers and university management to enable a more focused exploration of participants' field relationships.
5. The addition of explicit questioning to guide participants into discussing areas relating to their notion of habitus.
6. The addition of examples and eliciting strategies in the interview to help guide the discussion.

This third iteration was trialled with a German first language lecturer, with an audio-recorded feedback session following the interview. The questionnaire was sent by email and the interview was conducted face-to-face and audio recorded.

Feedback and reflection suggested that some minor rewording of questions was necessary, e.g. changing 'Being a model of good language use' to 'Using accurate

language (in your first language or another language)'. There was also some minor rewording of the questions in the semi-structured interview schedule to add clarity. The number of questions and their focus remained the same, however. Once these amendments were made, the questionnaire was provided for participants to complete online. The final questionnaire and interview schedule can be found in Appendices 5 and 6 respectively.

4.2.4 Participant access, recruitment and selection

As this study focused on the general effect of a change in MOI into English rather than focusing on a specific L1 group or subject area, it was necessary to find participants from a range of subject specialisms and first language backgrounds. This requirement removed the possibility of institutional, language or subject specialism bias and allowed for commonalities relating to a change of MOI and its effect on habitus to be found.

To ensure suitable distance between the research participants and me, all participants were recruited through professional relationships and were unknown to me prior to the research. The aim was to select 10-15 participants with a range of first language and subject specialisms using the following criteria:

1. Participants used English as an additional language to deliver subject content.
2. Participants had a minimum experience of one semester lecturing in English (with a minimum of 25% of the participant's lecturing time being in EMI).
3. Participants had a minimum English level of CEFR B2.
4. Participants were unknown to me.

Other than these stated criteria, it was a convenience sample, with no specific first language or subject areas being targeted for research, albeit with an aim to balance the number of participants with the same L1.

Nineteen prospective participants either self-selected from the research information given to them through the third-party professional relationships or self-selected after I had presented as an invited guest to an in-service training course. All nineteen completed an initial online questionnaire (Appendix 5) which checked my initial hypothesis about the four agents of influence (see Chapter 2), collected information that could be explored in the interview stage and which also checked participant suitability. After reviewing the questionnaire data, four lecturers were not carried forward as they did not meet the research participant criteria. The questionnaire data

from these four lecturers were discarded. This gave me 11 participants from third-party professional relationships and four from the in-service training course.

The 15 participants came from five different L1 groups, working in 11 different HEIs across 14 different subject areas. All 15 completed both questionnaire and interview. This sample gave an equal split across the five language groups, comprising three lecturers in each (see Table 4.2). The three French lecturers all worked in the same institution as each other, as did the three Chinese lecturers, while the Spanish, Italian and Ukrainian participants each worked in different institutions.

First language	Ref.	Subject specialism	No. of years lecturing	No. of years lecturing in English	Perceiv-ed level of English	Level of English believed necessary to lecture in an EMI context
Spanish first language speakers	S1	Computer programming	14	4	C1	C2
	S2	Materials Technology	24	8	B2	B2
	S3	Accounting	23	1	C1	C1
Italian first language speakers	I1	Law	6	3	C1	C1
	I2	Probability and statistics	10	11	C1	B2
	I3	Probability and statistics	7	3	B2	C1
Chinese first language speakers	C1	Intercultural communicat-ions	11	11	B2	B2
	C2	Philosophy	20	3	B1	B1
	C3	Engineering	25	3	B2	B1
Ukrainian first language speakers	U1	Physiology	5	4	C1	B2
	U2	Medicine	11	7	B2	B2
	U3	Public relations	4	2	B2	B2
French first language speakers	F1	Bio-informatics	13	2	B2	B2
	F2	Plant pathology	15	3	C1	C1

	F3	Evolution and ecology	15	2	B2	B2

Table 4.2: Participant information

4.2.5 Data collection

The first stage of data collection was with an online questionnaire (Section 4.2.4), with the online link emailed directly to participants. The second stage of data collection was the interview, conducted online or face-to-face, as best suited the participant and circumstance. Because most participants were in different countries to me, 10 were Skype interviews, three were conducted over the WhatsApp phone application, with two being face-to-face, with interviews lasting between 29 and 41 minutes, depending on the length of participants' responses. Although there was a change in dynamic between the online and face-to-face interviews, I believe that the use of a semi-structured interview schedule helped remove any influence this dynamic had on the content of the participants' responses.

All interviews were audio recorded on a portable digital audio recorder and stored in a password protected folder. I transcribed these verbatim and checked them a second time for accuracy. To preserve anonymity, names, places and any other identifying elements were redacted. There are different interpretations of what a 'verbatim' transcription is (Poland 1995), with my choice being to transcribe the interviews as closely as possible to the spoken word, while 'tidying up' some of the language to help understanding and analysis, e.g. removing small hesitations and pauses and correcting the language errors that did not impede understanding when seen *in* context but which might cause misunderstanding if taken *out of* context as an extract for analysis. Gibbs (2007: 13) notes that the tidying-up of interview records is acceptable when the data being collected concerns the factual content of participants' responses, as it is in this study, rather than the way they responded or the language used. Although these elements of authentic interaction have been lost in the transition from spoken to written record, arguably making transcriptions "impoverished decontextualized renderings of interview conversations" (Kvale 2007: 93), the transcriptions are as close to verbatim as is practical for the purposes of this type of constructivist study, one which focusses on content of participants' responses rather than particular discourse features of their response. This means that non-impeding grammatical and lexical errors remain in the transcripts, e.g. when a participant said 'pronounciation' [sic] rather than 'pronunciation', it is 'pronounciation' that has been transcribed. All participants had the option to review their transcripts before analysis, an option no-one took advantage of. Recordings were then deleted. A copy of all transcriptions can be found in Appendix 8.

To help ensure credibility of the interview data, Robson (2011) suggests creating an 'audit trail' of records. For this study, this included keeping hard and electronic copies of the transcripts, keeping research notes in my research journal, keeping paper-coded transcripts from the first coding process and also of the second stage computer-based coding process, and finally writing up the full method of this process, i.e. Section 4.2 in this study.

4.2.6 Approach to data analysis

This research uses thematic qualitative text analysis (Kuckartz 2014) to identify, group and analyse emergent themes from the 15 sets of interview data. A qualitative thematic approach is appropriate in this research for two main reasons: firstly, that semi-structured interviews generate data that naturally lends itself to some form of thematic qualitative analysis (Saldaña 2021), as these interviews did; and secondly, the use of thematic qualitative text analysis is axiomatic with the Bourdieusian approach to this research. Such qualitative analysis ensures that participant comments are not removed from their context or replaced by numerical references (Grenfell 2011b) which helps enable a contextual analysis of data. Arguably complementary to, or part of, an interpretive approach to data analysis which "*looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world*" (Crotty 1998: 67 original emphasis), using thematic qualitative text analysis also ensures the alignment with the constructivist approach taken within this research as it values data linked to the experiences and social discourse of the participants individually and also those as a group, as part of a collectively experienced habitus with shared commonalities. These links to participants' wider discourse makes any subjectivity in its interpretation clearer, as such interpretation is done so in relation to its context. It also allows a reviewer to see potential nuances in participants' verbal responses, and where appropriate, gives the interviewers comments or questions.

Although thematic *quantitative* text analysis is a common form of textual analysis (Kuckartz 2014) and could be used with this data, it would incorporate a second-level transposition of participants' verbal data into numbers, with the verbal data being discarded in the analysis and interpretation stages, resulting in a final set of statistical findings. Such an analysis, however, would not be consistent with this study's Bourdieusian research methodology, one which values explicit use of language through each stage of coding, analysis and interpretation, and which aims to ensure that the findings are placed in the context from which they were drawn.

Staging for qualitative text analysis

The qualitative text analysis follows a seven-stage process as described by Kuckartz and represented in Figure 4.1:
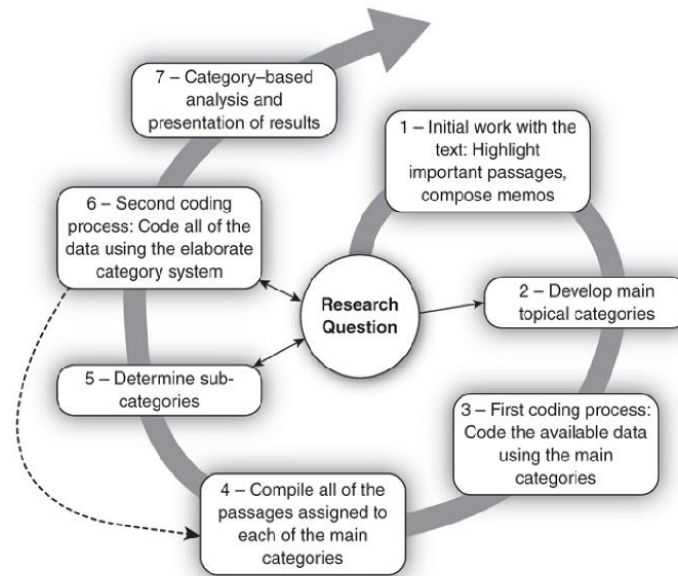
Figure 4.1. Seven-stage process for qualitative analysis. Reprinted from
"*Qualitative Text Analysis: A Guide to Methods, Practice and Using Software*"
(p.70), by U. Kuckartz, 2014, London: Sage. Copyright 2014 by Sage.

Phase 1: Initial work with the text

This stage involved a close reading of the text and identification of key passages that might inductively inform the categories for thematic analysis and identification of the different kinds of influence on habitus. Transcribing the interviews myself gave the first, post-interview opportunity to engage with the verbal data (the first actual opportunity was when I conducted the interviews), with the proof-reading of the transcripts being another opportunity to familiarise myself with the data. It also enabled me to review the data from the initial questionnaire about agents of influence again, helping populate the relevant elements of my heuristic diagram.

Phase 2: Developing categories

This phase itself had several stages to identify categories for the first coding process. The first stage in Phase 2 was to choose categories for initial coding. This was initially done deductively and inductively: deductively from the literature, with relevance to the research questions and with links to questions from the interview schedule; inductively from the close reading of the text which was part of Phase 1. These categories represent the initial first thoughts about the influences on habitus. This resulted in 18 initial categories appropriate for analysing the verbal data (Table 4.3). With the initial categories, I define 'benefits' and 'problems' as being anything positive or negative, respectively, that was described in the interview about conducting lectures through the medium of English.

1	Route into EMI lecturing	7	Feelings about lecturing in English	13	Areas important in teaching in general
2	Pre-lecturing training	8	Changes of other people's perception because of EMI role	14	Areas important for professionalism
3	Pre-EMI training	9	Confidence in spoken English	15	Relative importance of teaching, research and presenting
4	EMI class sizes relative to non-EMI class size	10	Reasons for a desired accent	16	Relative importance of respect given by students, peers and management
5	Preparation for EMI classes (in comparison to non-EMI classes)	11	Benefits of lecturing in an EMI context	17	Influences other than students, peers and management on professional feeling
6	Different activities used in EMI classes	12	Problems with lecturing in an EMI context	18	Areas of work that give job satisfaction?

Table 4.3: Initial categories for coding

This first coding process was conducted on paper with relevant sections highlighted for a thematic summary of data for inputting into a thematic matrix. This next stage was completed on paper using the 18 categories listed above. Because the categories were not mutually exclusive, it was possible for sections of data to be coded to more than one category. For the purpose of understanding a participant's reality, this did not pose a problem: it was important to construct their reality and recognise that comments could cover different areas rather than to affect participants' perceptions of their reality through an artificial restriction of 'one comment: one code'. I limited issues of being the sole coder by having clearly defined categories, allowing for revision after trialling codes and linking categories for coding to the interview schedule, so that responses to different questions could be coded with little need for interpretation. In addition, the following guidelines were used for the initial coding process:

1. Coded units were not defined by size or by being grammatically complete sentences but by identification of thematic or semantic 'chunks'. These ranged in size from individual grammatical clauses to units of several sentences.
2. Where it was necessary for contextual understanding, units included my interview questions or clarifications.
3. The coded unit was of a size that was understandable when taken out of context.

The categories chosen from this first coding process had significant overlap and did not provide a coherent structure with which to analyse the data. The first attempt at coding showed that I had attempted to be too granular too quickly, and that it was better to code according to the general areas of structuring structures that initial work with the data suggested was an influence on habitus. The social structures were the agents that affected lecturers in their non-EMI or EMI working environment; the objective structures were different background elements that enabled actions within an EMI field. As noted in the Section 2.2.1, these background structures can include physical elements, e.g. the resources that are available for one's work or a lecture room that allows one to interact in different ways, and non-physical elements, e.g. regulations or particular challenges common to a specific working environment.

Phases 3 & 4: First coding process and assigning passages to categories
Using the revised Bourdieusian elements for categorisation (Group 1 for the agents; Group 2 for the objective structures), I was then able to use the thematic matrix from Phase 2 to re-code the interview data.

Phase 5: Creation of sub-categories
The revised thematic matrix was analysed inductively to identify sub-categories within the two groupings, the sub-categories revealing the specific influences on an EMI lecturer's habitus. This resulted in four named agents (Group 1) and five named objective structures (Group 2). These categories were trialled by coding two transcripts, resulting in minor changes in the descriptions of the categories. These were trialled a second time and were a better fit with the data than the initial 18 categories initially identified in Phase 2. Table 4.4 shows the final grouping of social structures and Table 4.5, the final grouping of objective structures. The tables are supplemented with short definitions and examples from the data.

Group 1: Agents influencing the development of habitus in an EMI field		
Agents	**Definition**	**Example data from participants**
1 Oneself	Interactions that involve sites of intersection with lecturers' beliefs and perceptions of themselves.	"I feel to teach properly and to teach as well as I could teach in Spanish I would need to be, in my opinion, fully just say at the level of a native speaker." (S1/10)
2 Students	Interactions that involve sites of intersection with lecturers' beliefs and perceptions of their students.	"… for me teaching at the university should be the first priority and here in Spain, I think we worry more about the research than teaching and for me it is really a big mistake because the students are the best assets we have." (S3/58)
3 Peers	Interactions that involve sites of intersection with lecturers' beliefs and perceptions of their peers.	"For my peers well if you teach in English everyone considers that you are very good, because you can teach in English and it is a positive point and the same for the university management." (S1/34)
4 The Academy	Interactions that involve sites of intersection with people or beliefs associated with the wider Academy	"Our university asks for people to lecture and teach in English so, for me it is an advantage." (S2/42)

Table 4.4: Agents influencing habitus

Group 2: Objective structures influencing the development of habitus in an EMI field		
Objective structures	**Definition**	**Example from text**
1 Language	Influences that are related to language need or language use within the field site. These can be positive, neutral or negative interactions.	"Not students understand me, that is why sometimes I must explain some things in Ukrainian. Not every student have been teaching English on the way of their life." (U3/64)
2 Working conditions	Influences that pertain to the general terms and conditions of working in the field. This can relate to contractual terms of and conditions or the reality of working at a particular site.	"I chose those groups in English because I feel the students are more motivated and they are better students and that is the reason why I decided to select those groups. I could take the others if I wanted to, but nowadays I feel nicer to teach these students." (S1/4)
3 Professional development	People, experiences or training that develop the skills necessary to operate effectively at a site of interaction.	"I discovered this way of teaching, which was more, you can say, was better, even for the students than for me because it was a real discussion, a real exchange with the students. And a value added to normal lectures instead of you just speak and they repeat what you say." (I1/38)
4 Professional resource	Influences of resource requirements in order to operate effectively at a site. These can be inanimate resources or the use of such resources, or the people that help a lecturer operate effectively at a particular site.	"I give them PowerPoints and they studied in advance and they ask questions and I answer questions maybe, and so I don't need to speak more just answer questions." (C2/4)
5 Expectations	The influence of expectations, indirectly from agents or directly the literature or other non-agents related to the field site.	"I think [the visiting EMI students] pay much in this course, so they are sometimes absent, they didn't finish their homework. I think they are not serious." (C3/24)

Table 4.5: Objective structures influencing habitus

Group 1 (agents influencing the development of habitus) gives information about the formation of a lecturer's general professional habitus, identifying elements that are common across both non-EMI and EMI, and therefore responds to the first research question. The coding from responses identified four agents that influence habitus: oneself (1), students (2), peers (3) and the Academy (4).

Group 2 (objective structures influencing the development of habitus) responds to the second research question and identifies five objective structures that influence a lecturer's EMI habitus: language (1), working conditions (2), professional development (3), professional resource (4) and expectations (5).

Phase 6: Second coding process

The second coding process was completed using the electronic analysis programme *f4analyse* and followed the same coding conventions used in Phase 2, but with the sub-categories (the named social and objective influences) described in Phase 5. It was the data from this coding process that was analysed to identify the themes in the data analysis section (Phase 7). An example of this coded data can be found in Appendix 7. As with the initial coding process, extracts could be assigned to more than one subcategory, reflecting the reality that responses can cover more than one area. This also helps prevent a restriction of participants' comments into a single reality of my choosing and recognises their reality as identified though co-constructed, semi-structured interviews.

Phase 7: Analysis of results

The emergent themes from the second coding process are presented by social structures (agents) and objective structures in Chapters 5 and 6 respectively. The analysis of these structuring structures enables a response to both research questions: the identification of social structures show the general influences that are present in both non-EMI and EMI contexts, with emergent themes giving more granular detail on how these social structures affect habitus; the identification of objective structures shows their influence in an EMI field site, with the emergent themes giving more detail about the different effects of EMI on their habitus. These are not the only objective structures that influence habitus development, but the ones that emerge from the data from lecturer interviews, and the ones that are therefore most likely to cause lecturers habitus disruption. The other objective structures are likely those of the larger HEI field site and which are not noticeable in the ebb and flow of constant habitus development, potentially explaining their absence from the data. This research, however, focuses on the objective structures relevant to EMI that do cause significant impact on lecturers' habitus.

5. Findings 1: The agents/social structures influencing a lecturer's habitus

In Chapter 2, I suggested that we could represent our understanding of the dialectal relationship between structuring structures and habitus in Figure 1.
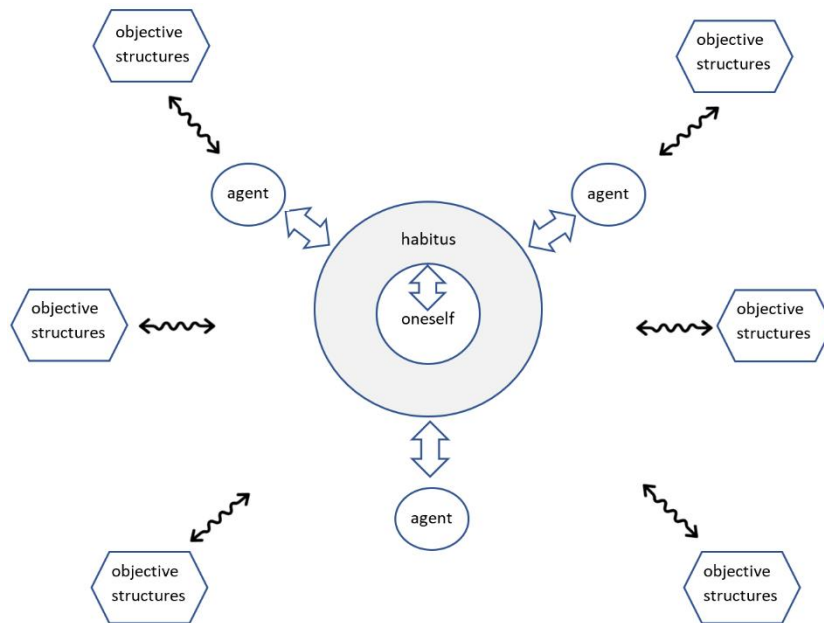
Figure 1: A snapshot representation of a field site of habitus-forming influences

The data collected in this research enables us to revisit Figure 1 to identify the different social structures that affect an individual's habitus in both EMI and non-EMI environments. This chapter will focus on the different *social* structures by naming the agents in the field that influence a lecturer's habitus and identifying how they influence that habitus. Chapter 6 will then focus on the *objective* structures relevant to a lecturer's habitus, both at an individual level and also in terms of commonalities in relation to a shared habitus within the social phenomenon that is EMI.

The data revealed that there were four different social structures that influence the development of a lecturer's habitus. As identified in Chapter 2, the first is oneself: one's immanent beliefs and perceptions, recursively affecting habitus. The other social structures are the agents with whom a lecturer interacts in their professional role and who help shape the dispositions of an EMI lecturer: students, peers and the Academy. 'The Academy' is represented by managers, HE administration or those representing the Academy. This allows an amendment to the general model illustrating the effects on habitus so that Figure 2 shows the agents that influence a lecturer's habitus in an HE environment.
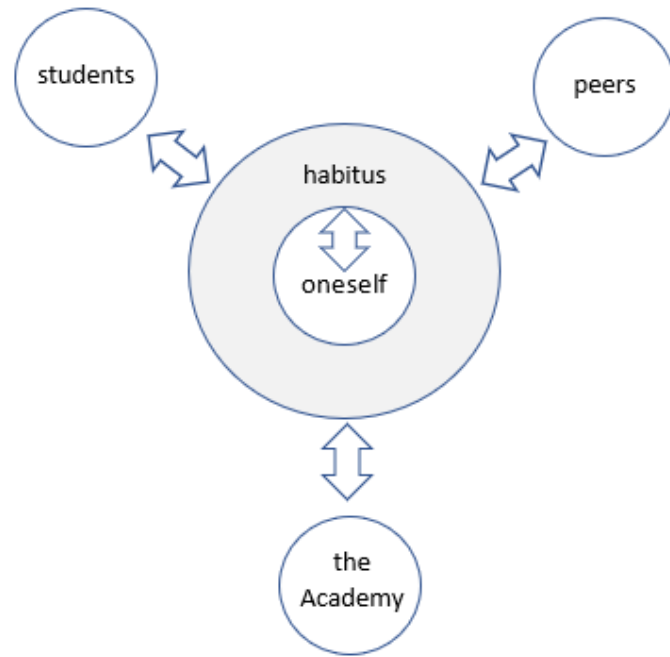
Figure 2: The four agents influencing development of a lecturer's habitus

By reviewing the emergent themes in the data relating to each of the four agents, we will be able to build an understanding of commonalities relating to *how* these agents affect habitus. Data was categorised as a theme when it was raised by three or more lecturers; points raised by only one or two lecturers have not been included for thematic analysis, as doing so would provide a low level of consistency that would not allow meaningful analysis.

5.1 Agent 1: Oneself

Lecturers' responses relating to their own beliefs about their sense of professional habitus were overwhelmingly linked to enabling student learning and achievement, with a professional pride in their teaching role. Although in some cases others may be included in the lecturer's comments, the extracts within this subcategory all pinpoint the lecturer as the primary agent. The emergent themes are detailed below:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
1.1	The importance of lecturing clearly to enable student learning	11	S1, S2, S3, I2, I3, C3, U1, U2, F1, F2, F3.

1.2	Being able to engage and involve students in the learning process	8	S1, S3, I1, I2, U2, U3, F1, F3.
1.3	Creation of a positive learning environment for students	4	S1, U3, F2, F3.
1.4	Being well prepared for sessions	4	S1, S2, S3, C3.
1.5	The need to better oneself	4	C1, U3, F2, F3.

The importance of clarity in lecturers' work (1.1) was a common point across all language groups, with full coverage across the Spanish and French lecturers. 11 lecturers raised this point and comments ranged from an awareness of a pedagogy necessary for learning to the relative importance of different elements of teaching:

> But in fact I think you have to be a teacher so that the students have to understand what you are talking about and they have an idea about the subject you are teaching. (S2/18)

> I*: So in terms of teaching, what is one of the most important things you think a lecturer should do?
> S3*: You have to explain things in a way that the students can understand. (S3/59 - 60)

> I would say clarity of exposition comes first, and second, I would put the ability to really involve the students' attentions. (I2/16)
>
>   * I = interviewer / S3 = participant reference

Being able to engage and involve students (1.2) was the second most common point raised. Eight lecturers raised this as a key element in their work and therefore central to the development of habitus:

> For me it is being able to engage the students in the class otherwise it is just me speaking for two hours and it is useless. (I1/29 - 30)

> The most important things to do? Mainly to speak with them in auditoria. To be with them in auditoria. Not standing outside, but to be with them because it is more easier to interact with students when you are in society, not out of society. (U2/44)

> I think the most important thing is taking the student into consideration and trying to do your best so that they understand you. (F1/50)

Connected with the learning itself are comments about the importance of creating a positive learning environment for learners (1.3), a point made by four lecturers. Lecturers' comments included:

> I want to give my students the best. The universities should be the place where we can give the students the best not only theoretical material, but in the practice. (U3/34)

> I believe that active learning is very important and in my opinion, you can't really do active learning with your students if you are not able to interact with them. (F3/28)

The recognition that teaching was a central role was demonstrated by comments relating to lecturers' professionalism in the lecture room and being well prepared to facilitate learning (1.4). All three Spanish lecturers and one Chinese lecturer identified this as an area of importance:

> I think that when I prepare my slides and my classes, I think that I have to do it in a good way. (S2/18)

> Maybe in some lecture, yes, I did not explain a concept exactly or made a little mistake, or something like that. I feel sorry or I feel regret that I didn't do it well. (C3/58)

In addition to the belief that one needs to be well prepared for lectures, four separate lecturers described the need to be better at what they did (1.5), either for the job security or for the benefit of learning:

> …the situation is that the competition at our university in China is really fierce nowadays, so they hire more and more graduates from abroad and I think that it makes me feel like that I need to improve, yes, yes. (C1/24)

> I think any pedagogic should work on himself to get better. (U3/38)

5.2 Agent 2: Students

Lecturers' responses relating to the role their students have in influencing their habitus through perceived notions of cultural capital mirror the importance they placed on ensuring their students have a positive learning experience in *Subcategory 1*. This subcategory places an overt focus on students rather than the lecturer themselves, although the site of interaction involves both agents. Themes emerging from this subcategory follow:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
2.1	A positive learning experience for students	10	S1, S2, I2, C1, C2, C3, U3, F1, F2, F3.
2.2	Good relations, respect and recognition by students	7	S1, I1, I2, C1, U2, F1, F2.
2.3	An awareness that students are an integral factor in their professional work	4	S3, C1, U1, F3.
2.4	Ensuring clarity of learning for students	3	I2, F1, F3.
2.5	Doing the best for students	3	I3, C2, U3.

The desire for students to have a positive experience (2.1) is reflected in 10 lecturers' comments:

> …students understand me. I teach, they pass the exams. They are happy, they come back. (S1/10)

> I discovered this way of teaching, which was more, you can say, was better, even for the students than for me because it was a real discussion, a real exchange with the students. And a value added to normal lectures instead of you just speak and they repeat what you say. (I1/38)

> Sometimes students say, 'Oh, it was great', but it may not have been exactly what I wanted to do. And maybe I was not clear of what I wanted to do, but I know it wasn't exactly what I wanted, but I will have some satisfaction because the students are happy. (F2/58)

Good relations, respect and recognition by students (2.2) mirrors the second point in *Subcategory 1*, with five lecturers identifying this as an important element in their social interactions:

I think being recognised by students gives me more confidence since belonging to the institution I work in. (C1/104)

The greatest prize for me is after my lecture I hear, 'Thank you, Ma'am'. This is just something, something very important and something very pleasure. I think they are thinking about me like about lecture. (U2/60)
If there is no respect during the course, then everything will go wrong. (F1/76)

Four lecturers identify students as being an integral professional relationship to their role (2.3), one of these being the same who thought that demonstrating a good relationship was important in the development of their habitus (2.2):

…you go to the place and your most interaction would be what you are having with your students, so not with your co-workers. So that I think, it can make a difference. (C1/76)

So in my opinion, the most important thing is to find what your position as a teacher is, between the knowledge and the abilities you want to relate and transfer and the students. And to find where you should be in this kind of triangle between the knowledge, of you, and the students. (F3/40)

Clarity of lecture input from students' perspectives (2.4), rather than directly from a lecturer's point of view, is considered by three lecturers. Comments include:

I would say clarity of exposition comes first, and second, I would put the ability to really involve the students' attentions. (I2/16)

I think it is important that I am able to understand the student and the student is able to understand me. (F1/28)

The final theme to emerge in this subcategory relates to lecturers doing their best for students (2.5). Three lecturers emphasised the importance of students receiving good quality input, with comments including:

I say that I don't care if the students don't respect me, but I will try my best. If I didn't try my best, I would feel shame of me, but I try, so I don't have. So, responsibility makes people to undertake their tasks. (C2/34)

I want to give my students the best. The universities should be the place where we can give the students the best not only theoretical material, but in the practice. So that is why I try to read articles and speaking to my colleagues who now work in this field or near this field. (U3/34)

5.3 Agent 3: Peers

Participant responses relating to their peers in general professional interactions were limited, with only one emergent theme. A number of other comments pertaining to lecturers' peers were given, but these were not repeated enough to warrant their inclusion as a theme:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
3.1	Relationship with colleagues	4	C1, C3, U2, F2.

Four lectures noted that there were not close collegial relationships in place with peers (3.1), confirming the information from Subcategories 1 and 2 that the focus of their work was with students, with little interaction taking place with peers:

As I mentioned, we didn't have that much strong relationship with each other. (C1/97 - 98)

From my colleagues and from my management, we seldom discuss this question [of respect]. (C3/ 62)

My colleagues' respect for me is not very important. They are only humans too, and it is only their point of view. I shouldn't care about their opinion because five years ago, nobody could and nobody would help me with this, you know. (U2/56)

I need to see my colleagues; I don't know if I need the satisfaction of my colleagues. I need a bit, but I am someone who can go in a different direction, so I don't really need absolutely. If I have some colleagues that are telling me, it was a good idea, I don't need to have all my colleagues satisfied. (F2/58)

The fact that colleagues do not feel a connection with each other may be one reason why collegial influences did not feature in more participant responses. Is it because

collegial interaction is not part of their daily work, and therefore not considered relevant, or is it that there is a choice of need and requirement, as suggested in the F2 quote above? Considering the issues in implementation of EMI and possible solutions to help both lecturers and students, this theme may also point to colleagues being an underused resource. Is there a role that peers can play to support each other when faced with a change in circumstances?

5.4 Agent 4: The Academy

There were four themes that emerged in the subcategory relating to sites of interaction with management and the Academy. The overall feeling was not positive and gave the impression that lecturers felt disconnected with their HEIs and that they were not respected for their teaching, only being valued when their research served to further their university's reputation. The emergent themes in this category are detailed below:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Which lecturers
4.1	Support from the Academy	7	I3, C1, C2, C3, U2, U3, F1.
4.2	HE institutions are only satisfied by lecturers' research and publication rather than teaching	4	S2, S3, C1, U3.
4.3	No/little sense of belonging within the HE institution	3	S1, I1, C1.
4.4	Recognition of the need to respect one's HE environment	3	S1, I2, F1.

The most common comment related to a disconnect between lecturers and HEIs, with a feeling from lecturers that their institutions did not care for them as employees (4.1). Comments from seven lecturers included the following:

> If I should be promoted, they know that they can give me more teaching and more teaching in English is a good point, but from the managers' point of view they don't care at all. (I3/112)

> I surely want more respect from my management but if you are not in a high position, you didn't get. (C2/62)

> So I am only part of a big system, and it is good that I am present in it,
> but if I was absent, probably they would change me for somebody else.
> They don't think about me as a person, but I am just part of a big system.
> (U2/ 64)

There was a perception from four lecturers, however, that their value was measured by their research profile rather than any other element of their professional work (4.2):

> Here in Spain teaching is not the most important thing because they
> don't value you because they don't say you are good or bad because of
> your lecturing but because of your research. (S3/84)

> I didn't consider this research as a priority at the beginning of my
> teaching career, but right now, since I mentioned the fierce competition,
> I have to. (C1/50)

There was also a feeling from three lecturers that they had little to no sense of belonging to their institution (4.3), even though they had been employed there for several years. Conversely, only one lecturer stated that they did have a strong sense of belonging, suggesting that for many this was not a strong influence on habitus development but, where it was mentioned, it was a considered a negative influence. The comments relating to a lack of belonging include the following:

> I do not have a feeling of belonging to this community because of this,
> so no, I don't have this feeling. You just work and I like to research and
> write and teaching. (I1/72)

> From time to time you feel lost and maybe you feel you don't belong
> here, even though I work there for ten years, I still have that feeling.
> (C1/102)

Despite the apparent lack of cohesion within departments and their HEIs overall, there was a recognition that an element of respect was necessary with one or more parts of their institution for lecturers to fulfil the requirements of their role (4.4):

> …respect from the administrative staff is important because they are
> supposed to help and if they don't respect the faculty they provide less
> help and so our work becomes more difficult, more burdensome etc.
> (I2/66)

> Some of the administration staff are important because we are in interaction with them and they are helping to organise things, but still they are less important than students and colleagues. (F1/100)

5.5 Chapter summary

This chapter shows the emergent themes from the four social structures influencing a lecturer's professional habitus. Perhaps unsurprisingly for something intrinsically linked to oneself, the data shows that the most powerful actor with an effect on habitus is oneself. This is manifested in a lecturer's sense of role, self-perception about being effective educators and a desire to support learners. Students are the next biggest influence on a lecturer's habitus, with lecturers keen to ensure a positive learning experience for them being the most influential factor on their habitus. There is then only marginal influence from peers, with data suggesting that this is because of a lack of collegial relationships. The small influence of the Academy, despite providing the overall context for their work, is considered as broadly negative, with lecturers feeling that they are being used as a 'means to an end' for broader institutional objectives.

The 15 emergent themes identified in this chapter show us how these agents can affect the development of a lecturer's individual habitus and also the shared habitus of the EMI field. These effects and their force will vary according to the individual, but this chapter has shown commonalities across the 15 research participants, suggesting that these themes are something that other EMI lecturers working in other subject areas, institutions or countries will likely experience, giving credence to the notion of shared experiences in physically separate yet experientially overlapping EMI fields.

Chapter 6 will now develop our understanding of how a lecturer's habitus is influenced by objective structures by identifying the key themes of influence when working in an EMI context. In conjunction with the literature reviewed in Chapter 2, this will help us build a fuller picture of the effects of EMI on a lecturer's habitus.

6. Findings 2: Objective structures

Chapter 5 enabled us to identify the social structures influencing a lecturer's habitus and also showed commonalities relating to *how* these agents influence lecturers' habitus. This enables a development of Figure 1 (Section 2.2.2) to Figure 3, showing the agents in an EMI field but with unknown objective structures for an EMI field.
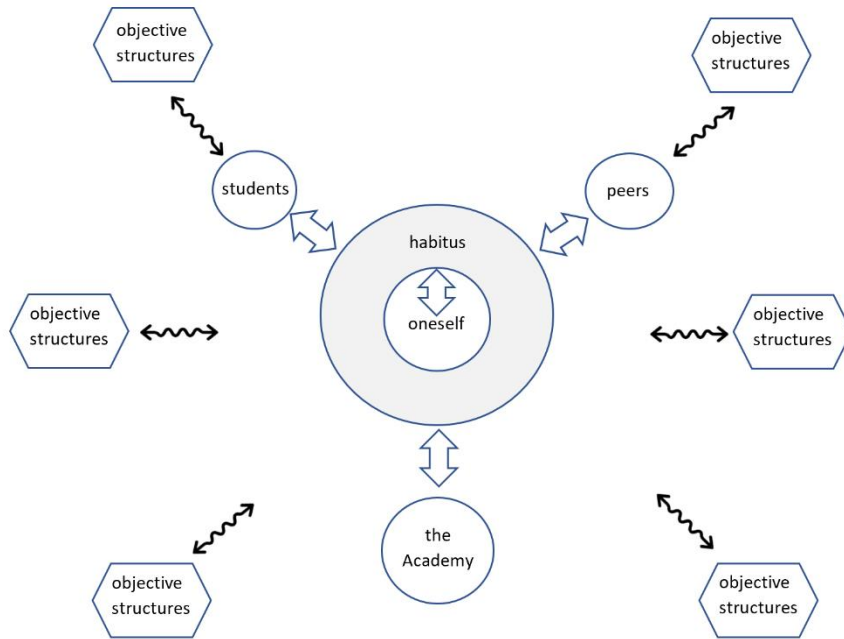
Figure 3: A snapshot representation of habitus-forming influences for lecturers in an EMI environment, with identified social structures but unidentified objective structures

This chapter will build on that analysis and give us the complementary information relating to the objective structures that influence an EMI field and also lecturers' habitus. This chapter does not seek to identify all themes from all objectifying structures that affect an EMI field, only those that lecturers discuss, suggesting that these are the noticeable areas that cause discord with habitus. Others may exist but do not create enough discord to be mentioned by lecturers.

The data revealed that there were five different objective structures that influence the development of a lecturer's habitus. This allows a further amendment to the general model illustrating the effects on habitus so that Figure 4 illustrates both social structures and objective structures that influence a lecturer's habitus in an EMI environment.
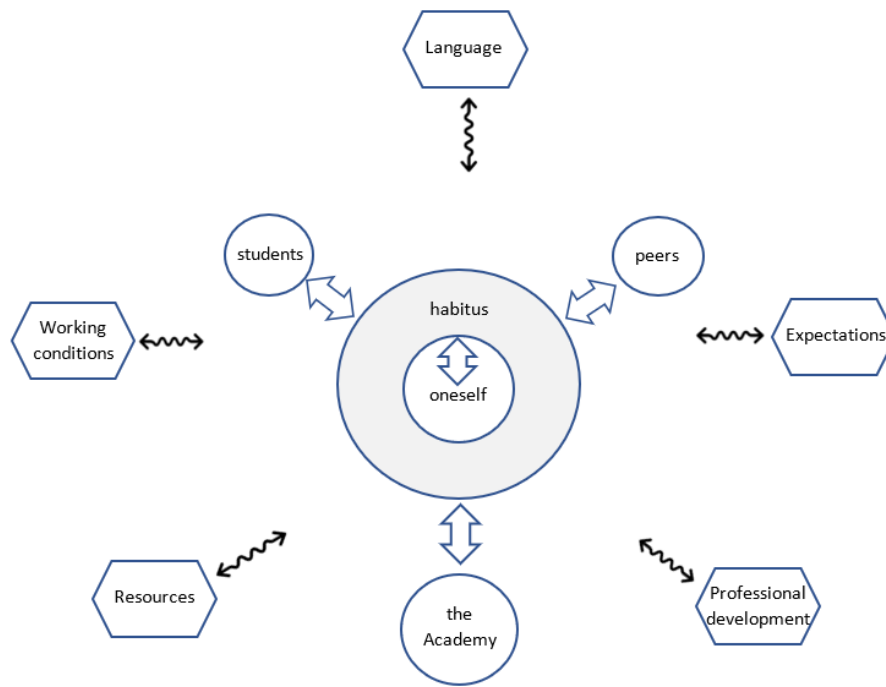
Figure 4: A snapshot representation of habitus-forming influences for lecturers in an EMI environment, with identified social structures and identified objective structures

As with Chapter 5, by reviewing the emergent themes in the data relating to each of the five objective structures, we will be able to build an understanding of commonalities relating to *how* these structures affect habitus. As with the data in Chapter 5, data relating to the objective structures was categorised as a theme when it was raised by three or more lecturers. To facilitate analysis, the chapter has been separated into sections, one section for each objective structure. These are ordered according to number of emergent themes for each structure, with the objective structure with the most themes first, the least is last. Sub-categories are numbered consecutively, continuing from those identified in Chapter 5. Sub-categories 1-4 related to the social structures affecting habitus; Sub-categories 5 – 9 the objective structures.

6.1 Objective structure 1: Language

There are eight emergent themes relating to language use. These emergent themes have been clustered into three different groups for more focused analysis.

6.1.1 Challenges with language interaction in EMI contexts

Challenges with interaction owing to language ability of either the lecturer or students was raised by all 15 lecturers a total of 54 times. 14 distinct points were raised with four of these being raised by three or more lecturers, suggesting that this was the objective structure with the greatest influence on habitus:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
5.1	Problems with explaining content detail and content clarification through interaction because of English language level	13	S1, S3, I1, I2, I3, C1, C3, U1, U2, U3 F1, F2, F3.
5.2	Problems with specified student L1s	7	S2, I1, C2, U1, F1, F2, F3.
5.3	Problems with formative assessment	5	S3, I1, C1, F1, F2
5.4	Jokes being ineffective because of students' language levels	3	S1, U3, F2

The problem of explaining subject content in English (5.1) was identified by 13 lecturers across the five language groups, with issues ranging from problems understanding the students to the limitations of the lecturer's own language depth:

> Sometimes I don't really know what [the student] is saying because these specific words for Accounting are difficult. They don't know, but they try and they invent like they do in Spanish but in Spanish I of course know that they have no idea! But I am not sure if she says something similar or not or she has just invented. (S3/42)

> I think in Italian the feedback is that I am able to simplify more and I don't have the same feeling in English. (I3/70)

> …some students don't have classical pronunciation, and mostly it was hard to understand. (U1/44)

> Not students understand me, that is why sometimes I must explain some things in Ukrainian. Not every student have been teaching English on the way of their life. (U3/64)

If we consider the high importance lecturers place on their perceptions of effective teaching, i.e. being able to lecture clearly to enable learning (Theme 1.1), creation of a positive learning environment (Theme 1.2) and being well-prepared for sessions

in order to effectively help students (Theme 1.3), the inability to communicate with students will negatively affect habitus. This also negatively impacts on the sites of interactions with students themselves and will affect the experience they can create for students (Theme 2.1), their relations with students (Theme 2.2) and clarity of learning for students (Theme 2.4). Raised by 13 out of 15 lecturers, the issue of language forming a barrier to learning may not be surprising, but it is one that is clearly a common issue faced by EMI lecturers.

Seven lecturers specified particular L1s that they had difficulty in understanding (5.2), including both those who speak English as first language and as an additional language:

> In general, [with reference to language use,] I think that people from the States and people from the UK are most complicated. (S2/52)

> We all can read, but Central Asian students, not so good at English. (C2/6)

> …to teach some foreign students are different, and they are hard to understand. These are Indian students or some African students. (U1/42)

Similarly with Themes 1.1-1.4, if lecturers are unable to understand students, they will be unable to do their job of educating students effectively, leading to frustration and perhaps a sense of disillusionment with the system that brought the students to their lecture room, perhaps influencing their relationship with their HEI (habitus forming Themes 4.1 and 4.2). Interestingly, language level is not necessarily the problem, as English first language speakers are also identified as being problematic, due to their over-complication of language rather than their inability to use it. Singling out of specific language groups will likely create a problematic dynamic in the lecture room and influence the habitus-forming influences of creating good relations with students (Theme 2.2) and also affect a lecturer's perception of how they can create a positive learning environment (Theme 1.3).

Problems with formative assessment (5.3) relate to issues lecturers have in monitoring student learning during sessions. These include a general difficulty in understanding students, having to scaffold formative assessment questions through extra preparation and problems in understanding why a student does not understand something. Where these were explicitly linked to language, they were also coded under issues with language (Theme 5.1):

Sometimes I find it difficult to understand the answers of the students or the questions. (I1/46)

I assume they would have less struggling with the language I mean focusing on the content rather than the language. So, I would also give them questions to think about, saying these are a list of questions we are going to discuss within group, so they have this time to read and to look out for new words. (C1/88)

In French, when you are not sure of what they couldn't understand, like there are notions that are not a problem for me, and it is difficult to know why they don't understand. When it is in English, I don't know why they don't understand the notions, and I think maybe it is because of the English, and that is one of my difficulties. (F2/46)

We can see here that the use of EMI is affecting lecturers' ability to react to students' needs: if lecturers are unable to help students learn through engaging with them and reacting to their needs through formal or informal formative assessment because of language breakdown, they lose their ability to engage students (Theme 1.2) and create a positive learning environment (Theme 1.3). This can result in doubts about where a lecturer's strengths and weaknesses lie in their work (affecting Theme 1.5) and can also negatively impact the students' learning experience (Themes 2.1 and 2.4).

Because of the linguistic complexities and the need to simplify language, three lecturers noted that they felt they had problems using jokes and that they were ineffective (5.4):

I like to joke with them, but in English they can't understand so many jokes and different hard complicated sentences… (U3/4)

Because when I teaching [in] French, the type of pedagogy is something that I care and I need to have some courses that are very interactive, and I can make some joke… and I lose all these aspects when I speak English. (F2/14)

The purpose of a joke is to create a sense of happiness for the hearer (Pfordresher 1981) and, indirectly, something that can help develop relationships between two parties. If a lecturer feels that they are unable to use jokes to create a sense of

happiness for their student cohort, there may be a negative impact on dynamics within the lecture room (Themes 1.3 and 2.1). A joke also requires engagement by two parties, when the 'receiver' is unable to respond with the intended reaction, the speaker necessarily fails. Depending on lecturers' perceptions of why they use jokes and whether or not they are successful in using a joke, can affect their belief about how successful they are being as an educator. Raised by only 20% of respondents, this appears to be an area which has less overall effect on habitus-forming influences than others in the Group 3 subcategories, but one that is still common enough to be considered as part of this research. Two lecturers made linked points about having to restrict the use of jokes and culturally linked explanations because of a lack of knowledge about the host culture.

6.1.2 Personal challenges with English language use

This subcategory is different from subcategory 9 in that it focusses on a lecturer's personal challenges or feelings about English language use rather than challenges with its *use* with students. Such personal challenges were raised by 14 lecturers 51 times in total:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
5.5	A perceived difficulty in using English compared to the L1	12	S1, S2, S3, I1, I3, C2, C3, U1, U2, F1, F2, F3.
5.6	A feeling of a lack of ability when lecturing in English	8	S1, S3, I1, I3, C2, U1, F1, F2.
5.7	Fear or a lack of confidence when lecturing in English	7	S2, S3, I1, C1, U2, U3, F2.

Having a perceived difficulty in using English (5.1) was identified as a problem by 12 lecturers, with comments including the following:

> I struggle because sometimes I cannot find an easy sentence that I would like to say about a complex topic notion. (I3/26)

> At first, I think it is very difficult for me, yes, since to know the language is a problem for me but I am familiar with this subject, so I think it is ok. (C3/14)

> Finding the vocabulary, especially if it is not technical or conceptual vocabulary that I am used to use everyday in the ongoing work or

discussions with colleagues. When it goes outside this scope of scientific ideas, sometimes it is difficult to find the vocabulary. (F3/22)

Here we see that the issue with language use is not about technical vocabulary, but the co-text that enables the technical vocabulary to be understood in context. Although personal challenges with using English was raised by all but one of the participants (I2), in the initial questionnaire (Appendix 5) only two lecturers thought that they had a level of English lower than was necessary for lecturing in English (S1 and I3). This perhaps means that the interview made the lecturers dwell more deeply on the topic of language challenges, making them change their minds. With the majority of lecturers perceiving some level of difficulty with their use of English, it is clearly a point of concern, and one that can impact across all five meta influences in the first agent of influence (oneself) as it impacts upon a belief about how effective one is in fulfilling a professional role. It also impacts across most of the 'influence of students' areas (2.1, 2.2, 2.4 and 2.5) as it directly affects how a lecturer feels about their effectiveness with students and potentially creates a form of psychological barrier.

The feeling of lacking ability when lecturing in English compared to lecturing in an L1 (5.6) was raised by 8 lecturers:

> I feel to teach properly and to teach as well as I could teach in Spanish I would need to be, in my opinion, fully just say at the level of a native speaker. (S1/10)

> I know that I cannot go in the same depth that I go in Spanish. (S3/48)

> I think in Italian the feedback is that I am able to simplify more and I don't have the same feeling in English. Really, I would like to improve. (I3/70)

It is natural for lecturers to compare their skill in one language with their skill in another, and suggesting a different level of 'depth' and not being able to 'teach properly' gives us a clear indication that lecturers feel deficient in English when compared to using their L1. This feeling of deficiency will affect all areas in the first agent of influence and as with 5.5, most of the 'influence of students' areas (2.1, 2.2, 2.4 and 2.5).

This feeling of deficiency when using English could also have an impact on the fourth agent of influence: that of the Academy. Lecturers believed that their HEIs were interested in research over an ability to support students (Theme 4.2), and lecturers

may feel that they are being put into a teaching role for which they don't have the necessary skills or are under resourced for (Theme 4.1), thereby compounding the negative influence of their HEI on their habitus.

Fear or a lack of confidence when lecturing in English (5.7) was mentioned by 7 lecturers:

> I'm afraid of trying to say something I don't know the word to say. (S3/26)

> … it was a little bit scary for me but now it's normal. (U3/46)

> I am not confident enough or fluent enough to be able to do the same in English than in French. (F2/14)

This meta influence is significant because it specifically focusses on fear and lack of confidence, rather than a feeling of ability (Theme 5.6). Although the two can be linked, I have separated 5.7 as a separate theme as 47% of respondents described a negative emotional response in relation to being effective in their EMI work, relating to the need to be better (Theme 1.5) and potentially to other areas within the first agent of influence.

6.1.3 English language use and development

The use and/or development of English was explicitly mentioned as a benefit of working in EMI contexts 16 times by eight different lecturers:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
5.8	English language use and/or development	8	S1, S2, S3, I1, U2, U3 F1, F3.

> I love speaking English and I wanted to improve my English and this is the only aim. (S3/12)

> First benefit is to know English better. (U3/62)

> The fact that it was in English, it was also kind of an opportunity to challenge myself and take the risk to do it in English. (F1/10)

Whether as a challenge or a general benefit for one's professionalism, the benefit of having to use English [and possibly have to improve it] aligns with the beliefs of bettering oneself (Theme 1.5). This was raised by 8 out of 15 lecturers.

6.2 Objective structure 2: Working conditions

There are five emergent themes relating to working conditions. These emergent themes have been clustered into three different groups for more focused analysis.

6.2.1 Vocational benefits
This section on vocational benefit relates to the positive conditions of a lecturers' work, including job security, working with motivated students and for the potential of smaller classes. There are 19 instances of coding made by 11 different lecturers:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
6.1	Better students/classes in EMI contexts	9	S1, S2, S3, I1, C1, C3, U1, F2, F3.
6.2	Smaller classes	6	S2, S3, I1, I2, C3, U2
6.3	Job security if using EMI	4	S1, S2, U3, F1

Theme 6.1 relates to the perceived 'quality' and motivation of learners attending EMI programmes, the benefit of having smaller classes, resulting in more attention being given to learners or having a reduced marking load, or the variety of learners' backgrounds that can be a feature of EMI classes, enabling more varied classroom discussions than may be possible in mono-cultural cohorts:

> I chose those groups in English because I feel the students are more motivated and they are better students and that is the reason why I decided to select those groups. I could take the others if I wanted to, but nowadays I feel nicer to teach these students. (S1/4)

> When I teach about biodiversity for example, people from the south countries, from Africa in particular, have very different views of biodiversity than students from Northern European countries, for example. So, it makes for a good discussion and debate going on because of the difference of these cultures. (F3/18)

This suggests that lecturers prefer to work with motivated students, which often are the ones that self-select for EMI courses. In such courses with a reduced number of

learners, engaging and involving students in the learning process (Theme 1.2) becomes easier, as does the ability to respond to individual student's needs, creating a more positive learning environment (Theme 1.3) and creating a positive experience for students (Themes 2.1, 2.4 and 2.5). This theme emerged from comments made by nine respondents, just under half, suggesting that better classes (from a lecturer's perspective), are not comprehensive features of an EMI environment, but ones that are still common enough to be considered as important in the overall EMI landscape.

The benefit of having smaller classes (6.2) was mentioned by six lecturers with comments including a lower marking load, being able to maintain a better rapport with students and ease of teaching:

> I feel more comfortable in a class with 20 students. In the end I am going
> to correct 20 exams instead of 60. (S2/38)

> It is more difficult to teach when they are eighty rather than fifteen, but
> for me it is more different because of the English. (S3/22)

> I like the class which had a few students, yes. I can talk much to them.
> I can learn them well. Yes, I can discuss more with one or two students,
> yes. I know them well, so I think that this is better. (C3/48)

> Let me say that in English I teach one class of roughly 10 to 15.
> Another class which is 20 to 30 on average. And in Italian I teach a
> class of 400. (I2/20)

Fewer students was also identified as a general vocational benefit, as it often meant less work and the ability to create better connections with students, linking to the habitus-forming themes in subcategories 1 and 2, specifically Themes 1.2, 1.3, 2.1, 2.4 and 2.5. Six out of 15 respondents raised this point, suggesting that while lower class sizes for EMI groups is common, it is not a universal feature.

Job security (6.3) was expressed implicitly in comments suggesting that they wanted management to be 'happy' and that by teaching in English, their value to their department increased:

> …for people like me who have been working here for ten or twenty
> years, if we can do it in English for the same price, they are keeping very
> happy. (S1/36)

I think for them I have more value because I can do it in English, because the school want to add a lot English course to improve the attractivity of schools. (F1/84)

This extrinsic benefit explained by four respondents reinforces the habitus-forming influence of an institution on a lecturer, specifically one where lecturers feel that they are valued only for what they can do, rather than being valued as individuals (theme 4.1, raised by seven out of 15 respondents). However, this does counter the comments made by four lecturers that HEIs only value lecturers for their research record (Theme 4.2), one of these being the same (S2), suggesting a mixed picture at their institution. As increased job security was only mentioned by four out of 15 respondents, we can infer that this is a relatively common feature of working in an EMI context, but not one which is comprehensive.

6.2.2 Vocational issues

This section considers problems relating to a lecturer's vocational situation, described as a problem relating to terms and conditions of employment or the general conditions of work. In this section there were 31 instances of coding by 13 different lecturers:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
6.4	Extra time necessary to prepare sessions	11	S1, S3, I1, C1, C2, U1, U2, U3, F1, F2, F3.
6.5	Problems if lecturers don't speak English	4	S2, I3, F2, F3.

11 lecturers noted that lecturing in English required more effort than that which was required when lecturing in their L1 (6.4), presenting them with additional workload:

I spend not double, but about four times more than when I do it in Spanish. (S3/72)

Teaching in your own language is much easier and there is not so preparing the lecture if you speak in your own languages and it is always easier to talk for one and a half hour. (I1/18)

I: And when you prepare your classes in English does it take longer than when you prepare in Chinese?
C2: Sure. (C2/49 - 50)

The extra time to prepare sessions has a direct link to the theme of being better prepared (Theme 1.4) and potentially links to the need to lecture clearly (1.1), creating a positive learning experience for students (2.1), enabling clarity of learning (2.4) and doing the best for students (2.5). There may also be a negative effect on their relationship with their HEI if lecturers feel that they are not being compensated for the extra time necessary to prepare their teaching (Themes 4.1 and 4.2).

Four lecturers commented on vocational issues and expectations when they were not able to use English for lecturing (6.5). Although these comments relate to the objective structures of 'Language' or 'Expectations', they relate more closely to working environment and have been grouped under 'Working conditions'. Comments included:

> People who do not speak English nowadays, it is more difficult in fact. In fact, to be honest, I think all young people in my department now speak good English. (S2/40)

> It did when I was less experienced when I was looking for a job you know because when you are looking for a job you want to be best so you think that your skill cannot be well evaluated because of your English ability. (I3/38)

> And they are expecting that we are giving our lectures in English because it is what is written on the documents that we have available publicly. When it is not in English, even if it is only for a couple of hours, they are very disappointed, and they are not very happy with that. (F3/82)

These comments suggest a shift in expectations of a lecturer's skill set: it appears to be increasingly common that an ability in English is not considered an extra skill to a lecturer's academic knowledge, but one that is part of being an international academic. This influence may affect lecturers' perceptions about an institution's relationship with them (Theme 4.1) and may be a positive or negative influence depending on how supportive HEIs are with the requirement to use English.

6.3 Objective structure 3: Professional development

There were 55 instances of coding relating to professional skills from all 15 lecturers, resulting in the following four themes:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
7.1	Professional development (general or pedagogical)	10	S1, S2, S3, I1, C2, C3, U2, U3, F1, F3.
7.2	Drawing on personal experience to develop EMI skills	6	I2, C3, U1, U3, F1, F3.
7.3	Teaching oneself English to develop as an EMI practitioner	4	I3, U1, U2, U3.
7.4	Pedagogical help from an EMI training course	6	S1, I1, I3, C3, F2, F3.

Ten lecturers noted that a move to an EMI context facilitated their professional development, describing this in either general terms or specifically mentioning pedagogical development or a new cultural awareness:

> It's solely for me and it is something new. When I started I wanted to do something new and something different… (S1/38)

> I discovered this way of teaching, which was more, you can say, was better, even for the students than for me because it was a real discussion, a real exchange with the students. And a value added to normal lectures instead of you just speak and they repeat what you say. (I1/38)

The positive influence on a lecturer's ability to teach connects to the habitus-forming themes of being better as an educator (Theme 1.5), either for their own benefit or their students, and in the desire to do the best for their students (Theme 2.5). With two thirds of respondents believing that EMI lecturing was a catalyst for positive change, this suggests that lecturers are interested in their own pedagogical development and that EMI provides a vehicle for this.

Lecturers also referred to the development of their English language skills. As English language use is a defining characteristic of EMI and not necessarily defined

as a professional growth area, this was coded under the 'Language' objective structure rather than 'Professional development'.

Six lecturers specifically cited their own experience in helping develop their EMI skills (7.2), demonstrating the role reflection can have in the development of oneself:

> I learn some from others in EMI, but mostly from my experience. (C3/50)

> It is my experience as a student, as a teacher, as a daughter. Maybe I create some ideal way of teaching in my mind and I'm trying to go by this, my own way. But of course, I use some methodological instructions for teaching, some general information for teaching, but also I am trying to use my own version of this process. (U1/38)

> I find the teacher, one of the best teachers in that thing, and I was studying this by myself because I knew that I will be a teacher and I can't be a shy person or a person who can't act with people, who can't speak publicly. (U3/36)

When lecturers are forced to rely on their experience, as with Participant U1 in the quotation above, there is the potential for their actions to affect all of the agents of influence: oneself through personal beliefs about what is important in a learning environment and students through lecturers' experiences of being students themselves and reflecting on what was necessary for them. It may affect peers through shared experiences and also the Academy through providing the organisational structure in which these experiences take place. Lecturers' comments for this theme have an honesty which reveal a high degree of self-reliance as well as their lack of reliance on peers, a rich source of support in other educational and professional settings, but not in these EMI examples.

Four lecturers noted that they taught themselves English in order to operate in an EMI context (7.3):

> I just learned English for myself. I'm auto-didact. (I3/20)

> It was my own time, my own training. I was trying to use all possible sources of English, such as Twitter, any kind of news information, some movies, music…(U1/14)

> I was training in a class without students, working on all my presentation in global. And every slide I was working maybe two or three times, you know to remember everything that I doing when I was preparing this programme in English and special this presentation. (U3/48)

This further illustrates lecturers' personal agency in managing their professional situation, using their spare time to develop the skills necessary for their teaching role, and affects themes within the first agent of influence of being appropriately prepared (1.4) and the need to better oneself (1.5).

Six lecturers referenced external support in helping them build EMI-specific pedagogical skills with many suggesting that this was the first teacher education they had received in their careers ('external' refers to an EMI training or specialist support from someone outside their normal course of work):

> I took a course with him, a one-week, full-time course, and there I realised that making mistakes is not important, and so I think I changed my mind there. (S1/30)

> This was the first time somebody told me how I could teach, which method and tools I could use for teaching. (I1/40)

> I am teaching for fifteen years now, but it is only this year that I took the time to do a training as teacher, and it was very helpful, I think. (F3/42)

Although limited, all lecturers who referred to external EMI training were positive about its influence on their professional practice, either in giving techniques for teachers to use or in giving lecturers confidence about their teaching. In all cases, this was training put in place by HEIs, and may positively impact lecturers' perceptions about the support they get from their HEI (4.1) and about the HEIs priorities of research and teaching (4.2). As noted in Chapter 2 and in participant responses, it is relatively unusual for lecturers to receive pedagogical training for the teaching element of their role, with support for an EMI role sometimes being the only pedagogical training lectures receive. The universally positive comments about pedagogical support suggest that this is an area that would benefit from expansion to help reduce the problems detailed above.

6.4 Objective structure 4: Professional resource

This subcategory identifies comments where lecturers have stated that they have relied upon their own initiative and experience to develop as EMI practitioners. Nine lecturers made a total of 23 comments:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
8.1	Using one's own initiative to prepare extra EMI material	6	S3, C2, U1, U2, U3, F2.
8.2	Using peers to check language accuracy	3	S1, F1, C3.

Using one's own initiative to prepare extra EMI material (8.1) was identified by 6 lecturers, with techniques including use of the internet to access resources and contacting colleagues in other countries to get material in other languages:

> I say let's see if we can support with some materials that I have, but I don't need this in Spanish. (S3/50)

> I give them PowerPoints and they studied in advance and they ask questions and I answer questions maybe, and so I don't need to speak more just answer questions. (C2/4)

> And I asked for them to send me a course in Chinese, and I explained that I needed to explain this, this and this notion, and I asked if they could send me something in Chinese because I can't give the notion to the students. And so I did it in Chinese. I gave it to them in Chinese. (F2/54)

These comments relate directly to the first agent of influence and demonstrate lecturers' agency in respect to creating a positive learning environment for students (Theme 1.2) and being well prepared (Theme 1.4). There may be indirect influences on other themes, depending on the reason for creating extra resources.

Three lecturers stated that they use peer support to check their English for slide presentations (8.2), exam questions or for general corrections (peer resource only refers to support that lecturers have from each other within their own institution or day-to-day working environment):

> I: In English you check your exam papers with peers. Is that to check the English of the exam papers or to check the results?
> S1: Yes, to check the English. (S1/55 - 56)

So, I have all my slides in English that have been proof-read by an English teacher… (F1/92)

We are always running to find more time to do better courses, and here we have English teachers and they are available to help us look through the course and to correct our English. We can spend time and do the course in English for them, and they will correct this course. (F2/50)

These comments suggest a limited reliance on peers (Theme 3.1), indicating a lack of a collegial, professional support network. It is also interesting to note that lecturers only referred to linguistic accuracy, rather than linguistic range or any pedagogical points that might support them, suggesting the area that lecturers perceive they have trouble with. This contrasts with the comments in subcategory 11, where 11 lecturers said that they had difficulty with using English, suggesting that many lecturers are struggling by themselves and without help in the preparation and delivery of their lectures.

It is worth noting that students are a notable omission in lecturers' comments about resourcing. Only two lecturers (U3 and F2) referred to the students as a resource in four separate comments. The fact that students were not considered a resource by more than two lecturers suggests that lecturers perceive students as passive recipients in a lecture, with the traditional flow of information moving from a lecturer to students. This might suggest that students are another, under-utilised resource that could support lecturers, not just in skills development (Themes 7.1-7.4), but more generally at the site of learning and language interaction. Further research, involving both lecturers and students would provide a better understanding of the role students could, and do play in fostering a positive learning environment.

6.5 Objective structure 5: Expectations

Points relating to challenges with interaction owing to cultural gaps between lecturers and students were raised by 6 lecturers eleven times. However, only one point was made by a minimum of five lecturers, with the transcripts showing no further challenge to interaction based on cultural difficulties:

	Theme	No. of lecturers	Lecturers
9.1	Differences in academic expectations and behaviours	5	S2, I2, C3, U2, F2.

Differences in academic expectations and behaviours between the lecturer and the students was raised by three lecturers. The points below could be considered independent of culture but, as the lecturers believed them to be cultural issues, I have included them here as such:

> …these people complain when they have, let's say, an Indian professor who speaks English in a manner that they are not used to. (S2/26)

> I think [the visiting EMI students] pay much in this course, so they are sometimes absent, they didn't finish their homework. I think they are not serious. (C3/24)

> They may be aggressive; they may be lazy. They are different and that is why it is a problem for me. Because I am a woman and when you are looking at an aggressive man because he previously had bad marks, and it was very, very unpleasant and very uncomfortable… well they can comment and be very hard or very aggressive. (U2/70)

The problems with the difference between expected experience for students and lecturers and their actual experience account for a relatively small number of negative meta influences. Arguably, this is something that one would expect in any course and may be why many lecturers did not raise it; but where it has been raised, is due to different cultural expectations from students from other countries. In the first example above, it is about students being unhappy when a faculty member adopts a manner which they think is inappropriate; the second example relates to expectations about work and what students are paying for; the third gender expectations. These could all, however, be linked to a difference in cultural approach. Because of this, it becomes a negative influence on being able to engage students (Theme 1.2), creating a positive environment for learning (1.3), creation of a positive learning experience (2.1), the relations between a lecturer and their students (2.2) and potentially clarity of learning (2.4).

6.6 Chapter summary

This chapter demonstrates the range of objective structures influencing a lecturer's habitus in an EMI field and the mixed feelings that agents have about them. The data reveals a complex picture of an educational situation where lecturers in different countries with different first languages and teaching across different subject areas are experiencing similar issues and advantages when working in EMI contexts. Benefits may include smaller class sizes, more motivated students, job security and opportunities for professional and language development. Whereas the issues lecturers report are significant and mainly associated with a lecturer's language ability. This can be demonstrated in problems of communicating meaning when different actors in the field have differing levels of language ability, a lecturer's fear when using English and the potential vocational problems a lecturer might experience when one is unable to use English to the level perceived to be necessary.

In addition, this chapter has shown how lecturers rely upon themselves more than anyone to support themselves when moving into and working in EMI contexts and that the second most helpful form of support comes through EMI-focused professional development courses, courses which may be a lecturer's first opportunity to engage in pedagogical training. The importance of self to shape one's professional environment, and therefore one's habitus, reproduces the findings from Chapter 5 and demonstrates the isolation that many lecturers operate in when it comes to pedagogical development, even when other avenues for support are available. The commonalities also suggest where there is a potential lack of support from the different actors in this field.

The data shown in this chapter adds to that of Chapter 5 in giving us a fuller appreciation of how different structuring structures influence lecturers' habitus. This data will be discussed in relation to the literature in Chapters 7 and 8, building on our knowledge of lecturers' habitus in general and also how lecturers' habitus changes in an EMI environment.

7. Discussion 1: The effects of EMI as MOI

Drawing on Bourdieusian theory and relevant areas of policy making, as discussed in Chapter 2, this chapter discusses the most salient findings from the data, exploring the effects of EMI on habitus, the habitus of the individual and also the commonalities experienced across the group, suggesting elements of a shared habitus in EMI. This chapter first identifies the influence of EMI on habitus development and then moves on to explore the effect of EMI on the agents within an EMI field site and the effect on the cultural capital of pedagogy and language. This chapter then concludes by considering EMI as a misrecognised feature of the HE landscape and a structuring structure that has the potential to cause symbolic violence in institutions and countries that adopt EMI.

7.1 Disruption in habitus development

The recursive nature of structuring structures in any field means that change in one area will necessarily affect another, creating dynamic relationships which are affected according to the type of change. This section looks at the scale of the change in habitus that a move to EMI potentially causes and serves as a foundation for the rest of this chapter, which gives specific examples of the disruption a change of MOI can cause.

Habitus continues to develop as long as one is interacting with surrounding structuring structures. While much of this dynamic is the unnoticeable ebb and flow of reacting to day-to-day life, the transition of working in an EMI environment marks a notable shift in professional requirement, potentially resulting in significant discord between the new legitimate language and a habitus that was formerly aligned to working with a different MOI. The process of changing one's dispositions to align to new or altered structuring structures can take time, and may involve the kind of liminal period, or liminal habitus, described in Section 2.2.1. The research data suggests that a change of MOI to English results in significant disruption to these lecturers' professional lives. Three repeated examples of this disruption that emerged from the data include increased amount of time required to prepare lectures, reductions in confidence and limited pedagogical practice in EMI compared to practice in a lecturer's first language, as seen in these comments:

> I needed some additional time. But I used almost all my free time,
> and that is why it was very, very difficult for me. But I did it and
> this is good for me now. (U2/12)

> I have that feeling of inconfidence all the time… (C1/56)

> I think the first year, it was mostly relief. 'Ok, I've done it! I've survived the first course in English.'… And then I was afterwards able to take the pedagogy and the students into account, but not the first course. (F1/68)

Fortunately, disruption was limited to the time it took to adapt to the new medium of instruction. This varied according to lecturer, but did not appear to be less than one whole cycle of lecturing. Some lecturers described evidence of disruption up to two years after transitioning to an EMI context: Participant U3 noted, "… it is my second year of teaching in English and now I have less such moments as previous year." (U3/46) and Participant S2 commenting, "After the first two years I am comfortable." (S2/26). The amount of time that lecturers experience disruption for may depend on the degree of discord they experience between habitus and field. As noted in Section 2.2.1, Bourdieu described habitus as something that is constantly changing as a result of the interactions with the structuring structures of any specific field (Bourdieu 2000). When the changes experienced are minimal, the change is not noticed; if more marked, then they are noticed. In this way, one might draw a comparison to the apologue of the boiling frog: when the water changes slowly, the frog does not notice the change in temperature; when there is a sudden change, the frog *will* notice and jump from the water. In this case, the frog would be the lecturer, the water would be the field and the change in temperature the discord between habitus and field. In the examples of Blackledge (2011) Bourdieu (2004), Vertovec (2009) and Willey (2016) cited in Section 2.2.1, the disruption noticed took different amounts of time to adjust to. The time to adjust to an altered or new field appears to vary and seems to depend on how reactive one's habitus is to, and the size of, the discord experienced. If the change was more gradual, then perhaps there would be less discord, perhaps even a change that was unnoticeable; 'the frog might not jump from the heated water', so to speak.

Following the period of disruption, lecturers described their new reality using English, often in direct contrast to their experiences during the period of disruption or in comparison with their pre-EMI habitus:

> I am much more confident now. The very first lecture I must read all the lecture and prepare a very detailed writing of the paper of my lecture, and now I just have some notes but I speak without reading. (I1/86)

Now I'm not divided between our Ukrainian, English, or Russian language students. I see only students and it doesn't matter which language. (U2/24)

These comments suggest a return to a less disruptive state and one in which lecturers can pursue their pedagogic objectives without being overly concerned with issues around language, whether this be their own or the students' language ability. However, the change to this less disruptive stage, a disruption caused by a change in legitimate language, seems to take time for these lecturers. This could be one term, semester or even a whole year. The comments above show that after one year, some participants still experience discord with EMI requirements, although this discord reduces over time as lecturers get more used to using English in their professional work. For the children of Bengali heritage in Blackledge's case study (2011), the discord is reduced with rules from the elders of a particular field site, be these family members, school teachers or religious leaders. Lecturers do not have this guidance and often have to work within ambiguous policy and discord which has greater influence. When professional academics use words like 'impossible', 'hard', and 'fear' to describe their personal experiences in the liminal period of transition, it is clear that we must not underestimate the effect of such a transition.

As well as the psychological affect that underlies the use of such words, this liminal period of disruption can include reduced productivity, e.g. the extra time required to prepare for a lecture, and a reduction in the use of pedagogical techniques to support learning. The range of negative effects suggests that it is in stakeholders' interests to offer support across all these areas to enable a smooth transition to EMI. As shown, the research data points towards there being a liminal period of disruptive habitus development. What is less clear is whether a period of disruption results in a dual habitus, cleft habitus or simply a realigned habitus that is able to react to the different language requirements of different field spaces, and this is something that could be the focus of further research. However, these differences are arguably theoretical, as Bourdieu used habitus as a heuristic thinking tool to conceptualise a person's sociological reality, rather than as a concept with fixed boundaries of application. In this respect, when viewed through the lens of Bourdieusian thinking tools, the data indicates that a move to EMI can cause significant disruption to one's professional space. However, after a period of adjustment, the disruption EMI can cause will be reduced. The following sections explore the different ways EMI disrupts a field site, and therefore agents' habitus.

7.2 EMI's effect on agents

The four discrete agents that affect habitus which were identifiable in the data were oneself, peers, students and the Academy. With agents having a recursive relationship with one's habitus, changes in actions of the agents will have a reciprocal effect on habitus. This section considers the effect on habitus that EMI appears to cause these four agents to have on the research participants, first looking at the effect of oneself and then of students. The effect of peers and the Academy will be reviewed together, reflecting the apparently limited influence these agents have.

7.2.1 Oneself

The data indicates that the agent with by far the greatest influence on one's habitus was oneself. This is perhaps unsurprising, but still deserves discussion. One of the main factors which appeared to influence the habitus was the extent to which a lecturer could create an environment conducive to learning (Themes 1.1, 1.2 and 1.3). This was described as being able to lecture clearly and provide suitable assistance to students. When limits in a lecturer's language ability prevent the lecturer from doing this, habitus would appear to be negatively affected. Participant I2 noted, "…when I don't feel I own the specific topic of the class, I feel on edge…and of course everybody is afraid that somebody will spot a mistake or something like that." (I2/42). As well as the pressure to not make mistakes that a lecturer may put on themselves, there may be a the concern about being appropriately prepared at the site of learning. On this point, Participant C2 notes, "I always feel that I have not prepared enough for the students." (C2/56).

When learning is restricted because of limits in a student's language ability, a lecturer may then feel responsible for not being able to scaffold that learning enough to help them. This may cause a lecturer to feel professionally deficient, potentially negatively affecting habitus. Taking on the responsibility to pedagogically scaffold learning, as a technique to meet gaps in students' language proficiency, was a common concern (Themes 5.1 and 5.6), as suggested above by Participant F1 (F1/68).

Negative feelings that affect habitus are also possible when a lecturer feels that they have a lower level of English than their students or both lecturer and student start using the local language rather than English. Theme 5.5 revealed that 12 out of 15 lecturers negatively compared their use of English with their L1 when lecturing. Lecturers' comments suggested that they expected their own English skills to be as proficient as their first language skills, or at least better than their students' skills, even though the lecturers were there to teach their subject and not English.

Participant U1 notes their concerns about the effect of having a lower level of English than the students, stating "I can imagine that if the teacher knows English not so good as students, it is not good for study of course." (U1/24).

Interestingly, most EMI policy does not go into the detail of how *much* English should be used, only that it *should* be used. The ambiguity in policy led some lecturers to question their own professionalism, with Participant S1 commenting, "I feel I am cheating because we are supposed to be doing things in English." (S1/64). The effects of the objective structure of language in an EMI field appear to cause significant concerns for the lecturers in this study, and may influence self-perception and lecturers' habitus. These are concerns lecturers appear to take responsibility for, even if the issues are as a result of EMI in general. Theme 6.5 (Section 6.2.2) gives further examples about the vocational issues lecturers face when they are unable to meet expectations, their own or others', for their pedagogic work. Conversely, when a lecture in English does go well, it can have a positive effect on habitus. Participant C2 noted that, "I feel good and it is OK and it's more value." (C2/84). Participant C2's choice of 'value' is interesting when considering the overall linguistic market. At the site of interaction, when Participant C2 is able to do their job in English, there is the satisfaction of not only value regained, but increased value, indicating a transition of habitus and a flexibility to operate across an EMI and non-EMI field.

The data suggests that EMI lecturing also means lecturers need to change their practice on more personal levels. In addition to changes in language, they need to change features of their practice they may think are integral to their own personality. The example three lecturers gave was of telling jokes (Theme 5.4, Participants S1, U3 and F2) and how they felt that these did not work as well in an EMI environment. Participant S1 notes, "I try to set the things that would be equivalent to the jokes, but they are not as useful." (S1/16). Some lecturers may feel that they are presenting a limited version of themselves, or even an inauthentic version, and are unable to make use of their habitus as they would in a non-EMI environment. There seems to be an implied dissatisfaction for lecturers, while they experiment with ways to get the response from learners, a response that they can get in a non-EMI environment but have yet to achieve in an EMI one. These are all self-perceptions which appear to influence a lecturer's habitus.

7.2.2 Students

Lecturers demonstrated a strong affinity with students with responses relating to student interactions coming second in frequency in the data. The data in Section 5.2 indicated the importance these lecturers placed on enabling a good learning

experience for students, as well as the importance of maintaining respect and good relations with the students. The likelihood here is that issues with these areas might ensue when the influences of the structuring structures in an EMI field are taken into account. Participant F2 notes how the objective structure of expectation can influence the relationship between lecturer and student, saying, "Some students were saying we are paying a lot for this course… and we are expecting to have teachers with good English… It is a bit difficult." (F2/40). Participant I2 further suggests the influence on the relationship between lecturers when student expectations are not met, stating "…the lack of respect from the students shows up immediately and it's painful!" (I2/56). This suggests that the influence of the objective structure of language is not only felt through the ability to communicate but is recursively demonstrated through other structuring structures.

In contrast, there appear to be situations when lecturer and student share a first language and use that language to communicate. The relief of students that Participant S1 describes suggests that actively avoiding English creates a bond between lecturer and student:

> [Students] are always happy when I switch to Spanish. And it never goes
> in the other direction that I speak to them in Spanish and they answer in
> English, that never happens. (S1/66)

The situation is clearly context specific, and the use of English, or lack of it, adds a further dimension to the relationship a lecturer builds with their students, perhaps as a result of both parties knowingly subverting the assumed rules, or 'cheating', as Participant S1 states elsewhere (S1/64). The overall data from Themes 2.1-2.5 suggest that the lecturers in this study have a relationship with students that is built on mutual respect, with lecturers keen to to do their best for students. However, the data also indicates that the recursive influences of the objective structures of language and expectations affect this relationship, often negatively, with the likelihood of influence on habitus development.

7.2.3 Peers and the Academy

The data in Sections 5.3 and 5.4 suggest that peers and the Academy have a relatively small impact on lecturers' habitus. Four lecturers reference their peers in one emergent theme and there are a total of five themes relating to the Academy. For the lecturers in this study, there appears to be a general ambivalence about their colleagues' perceptions about what they do (Theme 3.1), although some lecturers did express views of their peers who can speak English but choose not to use it, with Participant S2 stating, "I really don't understand people who say that they are not

going to do it in English" (S2/56). Participant F3 suggests that there are general expectations around work in EMI being considered much as any other work. On this point, Participant F3 notes, "So, if I was not able to teach in English, it would be considered as laziness because if I can't do it, who should?" (F3/76).

The lack of professional connection that these lecturers appear to show for each other indicates that the influence of peers on habitus is not strong, and perhaps one that is underutilised as a resource to help in a period of habitus transformation. While there appears to be a general feeling of ambivalence towards peers in a lecturer's professional practice, suggesting limited influence on habitus, the effect of the Academy tends towards being negative for the lecturers in this study. Participant I3 stated that, "from the managers' point of view they don't care at all [about an ability to use English]." (I3/112) and another commented on the lack of importance HEIs gave to teaching, commenting, "they don't value you because they don't say you are good or bad because of your lecturing but because of your research." (S3/84). Themes 4.1-4.3 suggest that, for the lecturers in this study, there is little support from HEIs, and that meso-level support, as described by Aizawa & Rose (2019), would be beneficial in helping lecturers adapt to the EMI environment.

7.2.4 Summary of agents

The data from these four agents indicates that it is the effect of what lecturers themselves believe they should be doing and the perceptions of their students, not those of peers or their institutions, which is what has the greatest effect on habitus development. The structuring structures in an EMI field appear to be keenly felt by the agents of the field through language and associated professional expectations. With reference to language in particular, when there are perceived deficiencies in using the legitimate language, many of the lecturers in this study have feelings of deficiency, reduced self-confidence and perceptions of a lack of respect from those they value most at the site of interaction: the students.

7.3 Changes in cultural capital: Pedagogy

As noted in Chapter 2, when a dominant arbitrary changes the values of capital, those that interact with that capital change their social practices to adapt to the change. Bourdieu (1991) suggests that this can result in people's actions aligning with the values of a dominant societal force, or a dominant arbitrary. There are two key areas where changes in cultural capital in an EMI environment affect the social practices of others: pedagogic ability and linguistic capital. Viewed from a Bourdieusian perspective, pedagogical ability is an embodied part of cultural capital.

As suggested by participant responses (Section 6.1.1), clarification and exemplification are key pedagogic skills for lecturers to have, and not being able to draw upon a language resource that enables a lecturer to do this may potentially leave lecturers feeling deficient in their practice:

> …In Spanish I have to speak to the students what an 'asset' is and the asset has to have the characteristic of benefit or profits for the future and I can give them thousands of examples. In English I can give them two, and of course I prepare in advance and I have to call a machine, in general, a machine, and I'm not speaking about a machine who made pants because I don't know the name of this particular machine in English. (S3/26)

This kind of report from lecturers is not unusual. Professor Emilio Matricciani (quoted in Dearden 2014: 18) made this helpful analogy:

> Speaking Italian to our countrymen is like watching a movie in colour, high definition, very clear pictures. Speaking English to them, even with our best effort, is like watching a movie in black and white with very poor definition, with blurred pictures.

Considering these experiences, it would seem that pedagogic ability is impacted by language ability and that pedagogically focused language support is necessary to help lecturers teach in English. This is not the general language of day-to-day communication, but the specific forms of language necessary to support learning in a lecture, language which will include the functional language of classroom interaction as well as subject specific language necessary to demonstrate ability in the target subject. At the site of interaction there appears to be a change in the needs of agents, a change in what students value as important in a lecture. If only viewed linguistically, the change only relates to language competence of the MOI. However, making the assumption that the change is only linguistic would be to ignore the other needs of agents, e.g. pedagogical, sociological and physical needs. The literature in Chapter 2 described how, when taking a Bourdieusian perspective, structuring structures can affect agents and objective structures in a field site: The actual interaction between agents at the site of learning may be considered policy minutiae at a macro level, the micro level of implementation brings issues of pedagogy into sharp relief.

In comparing comments from the data about EMI and non-EMI classes, there are recurring points: one being that EMI class sizes are smaller than corresponding non-

EMI ones. Participant I2 notes, "…in English I teach one class of roughly 10 to15. Another class which is 20 to 30 on average. And in Italian I teach a class of 400." (I2/20). A change in the size of class immediately has pedagogical implications, e.g. the kinds of activity one can use in a session, as well as practical implications linked to pedagogy, e.g. the type of room a lecturer can use (itself something that can affect task type used). Changes in class size have conceptual implications in terms of how a lecturer structures their lecture to maximise opportunities for learning and how easy it is for them to coordinate the learning:

> The classes are smaller when I lecture in English and the relationship is different, the atmosphere is more friendly because the number is smaller and it is easier to have more friendly relationships with the students because I know them by name. (I1/54)

In addition to the suggestion that smaller classes are friendly, Participant S3 adds a reduction in difficulty to the benefits, "It is more difficult to teach when they are eighty rather than fifteen." (S3/22). A common perception amongst participants was that smaller classes were preferable to larger classes, in part because of the organisation, but also because this involved less work for assessment – marking 20 exam scripts will require less work than marking 400. Theme 6.2 from the data suggests that the overall effect of smaller classes is a positive one, as it enables greater interaction between lecturers and students, and more opportunities to support them, a theme that emerged from eight lecturers' comments. A desire to increase opportunities to support and interact with students suggests of a more interactional approach to learning than those who follow a traditional approach to HEI lecturing might be used to. If we assume that a more interactional approach to learning involves greater use of language to facilitate such interaction, lecturers [and students] who are not confident in using the language of the classroom may be less comfortable with this approach. Considering the site of interaction in EMI, lecturers who have an English language level lower than that of the students may be concerned about students' perceptions of their professionalism in general (see transcript U1/24 and F2/40). If a lecturer is used to taking an interactional approach to their lectures, it is likely that this effect of EMI on pedagogy will cause less habitus discord than for a lecturer who takes a more transmission-based approach to lecturing: the difference is one of changing only language or changing language and pedagogy approach.

As well as change in class size leading to a change in pedagogical approach, there is also the question of whether the MOI itself requires a change of pedagogical

techniques. Recognising that students will be at different levels of English language ability means that a lecturer would need to pitch their content in a way that makes sense to learners, getting formative feedback from them to ensure that input was at a suitable level:

> Maybe I ask more questions when I teach in English because I want to check if students understand whereas in Italian they understand because it is in their own language. (I1/24)

Asking questions to check understanding is not a technique unique to EMI and is arguably something that is considered best practice in lectures (Bligh 2000), but the quote from Participant I1 suggests that lecturing in English creates the potential for lecturers to think more about a student's ability to understand session content. The objective structure of expectation being that learning needs to be checked in English, whereas this appears to be less of an expectation in a student's first language. Other techniques to manage the expectation of issues with language use include providing lesson resources to students before sessions, allowing for session time with the lecturer to focus on questions and answers. Providing session resources in advance has the advantage of enabling differentiated tasks according to student need: whether relating to language level or academic input, giving resources to students before a session is a practical way to allow students to spend the time each one needs in order to take an active part in sessions:

> I give them PowerPoints and they studied in advance and they ask questions and I answer questions maybe, and so I don't need to speak more, just answer questions. (C2/4)

With literature on pedagogical expertise in HE content delivery that has grown considerably since Shulman's academic case studies (Hattie & Zierer 2018; Stewart 2013; Race & Pickford 2007, Shulman & Wilson 2004), something which is beyond the scope of this study, expectations from the agents in a field about how they should teach and how they could be taught are likely to increase. One French participant summed up the change this way:

> I think I need more pedagogical skills than for a regular class, yes. You have to explain everything very explicitly, because you can be afraid that some aspects of your explanations and some aspects of what you are talking about won't be clear, and they may not give you the feedback that you are expecting. (F3/52)

Despite the opportunities for development that pedagogic training in EMI might bring, not least in a lecturer's EMI teaching but also in the non-EMI teaching roles, training courses like those described by Borg (2019) and reported on by Beaumont (2019) still appear to be unusual:

> My first training in teaching has been this year with xxx. I was thinking about this Italian university. When you are hired, the first time, they throw you in the class and so you teach. Do it. It is incredible and I don't know how they can do it. Now if I think my first class was about ten years ago time, in Italian right, and I was 34, and they told me 'go' and it was 100-student class. (I3/50)

Alongside the increasing expectations amongst agents about the need for a more interactive pedagogy in EMI, there is also the understanding that lecturing and assessing in English takes significantly longer to prepare for than the equivalent workload in one's first language (Section 6.2.2). As seen in Chapter 6 (Themes 5.1-5.7), change of language is perhaps the most problematic change caused by the implementation of EMI, and this is discussed in the next section.

7.4 Changes in cultural capital: Language

The second key change in cultural capital is that of linguistic capital. Describing the implementation of EMI as linguistic crisis, as Bourdieu does when discussing a sudden shift in linguistic capital (1977b), may seem like hyperbole. However, if the resulting disruption caused by the adoption of English as the legitimate language of the lecture room sows confusion and creates misunderstanding, it may feel like a crisis at the site of interaction. The level of disruption will depend on the knowledge and experiences of the agents in the field and will be heavily influenced by the value assigned to the different skills of those in that field.

The research data provides several examples where lecturers noted that younger lecturers were often at an advantage over older lecturers because their education was more likely to include communicative training in English. In roles where there is a need to express subject-specialist knowledge in English, there is a shifting of value from those who may be more experienced and have more subject-specific knowledge to those who have less subject-specific knowledge but a greater ability in English. English is already a prerequisite for roles in many transnational organisations such as the UN and NATO; now it is becoming a deciding factor in employment in HEIs:

Nowadays more. In fact, there are not a lot of opportunities of permanent positions in my university. And the last person who got one is because she decided ten years ago to lecture in English… (S2/40)

With reference to the heuristic diagram I introduced in Chapter 2 (Figure 1) and developed in Chapters 5 and 6 (Figures 2 and 4 respectively), we can see that language requirement is one of the objective structures which influences the agents within the field, which in turn has a recursive effect on an individual's habitus. A lecturer's language ability is taken for granted in their first language, as it has been tested and reproduced through the attainment of their subject-specialist qualifications; when considered in the field of EMI, previous institutionalised states of cultural capital are no longer considered enough and evidence of a further ability is required: the demonstration of a CEFR B2-C1 level of English. On this point, Participant S1 states that, "Now they are starting the new people they recruit, they are starting to ask them for a certificate in English. (S1/36)"

Even where this is not explicitly required by an HEI, the literature around EMI suggests that a CEFR B2 or C1 level is informally required (Banks 2018; Mancho-Barés & Aguilar-Pérez 2020; Belyaeva & Kuznetsova 2019; Sahan et al., 2021). This was also the general consensus of research participants for this study (Section 4.2.4). Lecturer U2 was not prompted to talk about B2 as being a necessary level, but volunteered this as an apparently appropriate level:

I was the first one, and now we have three English language teachers with B2 level of English certification, but for about five years was only me. (U2/6)

The EMI requirement to either have a qualification at or demonstrate an ability in English to a B2 level is an objective structure which creates discord between capital, agents and a lecturer's habitus – this is a new change to the objective structures relating to language requirement and one to which lecturers must align themselves. In an EMI environment, it seems that lecturers' choices to reduce or stop this discord may become binary: either to leave the field space or to demonstrate the level of English required by their HEI. The problematic nature of leaving a field space may mean that, in reality, there is effectively no choice. Participant I2 notes, "My early class in English it was a requirement... All courses are taught in English, so it was a requirement and I didn't have a choice." (I2/30). And in many cases, it is up to the lecturer to get themselves to the expected level for lecturing in English:

It was my own time, my own training. I was trying to use all
possible sources of English, such as Twitter, any kind of news
information, some movies, music and also maybe bigger than all
was this course with the testing. (U1/14)

While evidenced linguistic ability is an institutionalised form of cultural capital in EMI, the actual use and ability of English is an embodied form of cultural capital. There is also the difference of time: a qualification reflects the assessed level of someone at the time of taking the qualification; the embodied form is the person's current ability, the two not necessarily being the same. Where HEIs do not require a language certificate, but another form of institutionalised cultural capital, e.g. an HE-level qualification awarded in an English-first-language country, it is possible that the language skills necessary to complete a qualification are not the same communicative skills needed for a lecturer to be able to deliver HE-level content to students. Raised by Participant I3, the use of English in an EMI setting is not purely a matter of linguistic competence:

I struggle because sometimes I cannot find an easy sentence that
I would like to say about a complex topic notion - simplification is
super important in teaching and to simplify a concept you need a
very advanced language skill. (I3/26)

This creates further discord with habitus, with the agents in the field expecting a certain level of language ability from a supposed 'knowing other', the lecturer. When a lecturer has an ability below that necessary to deliver content as they would like, data suggests that they can limit language interaction (Sections 6.1.1), e.g. lecture from a prepared script and not encourage interaction with students, or collaborate with students and share the site of language interaction (Sections 5.1 and 5.2). Each of these actions suggests a different approach to a lecturer's role. The first suggests a retrenchment of collaborative learning, reinforcing a traditional lecture-style approach which is not consistent with an open and interactive approach to learning. The second suggests a more confident lecturer who does not need to be a central point of all knowledge (subject-specific and language), but a source of content knowledge. It is a role that appears to recognise language as a facilitating medium and one that can be co-constructed at the site of interaction:

I have transparency with [students] and at our first classes, I always say
I have level B2, 'Who got this level or higher?' I ask them to help me. I
really need their help, not because I don't have, you know, professional
skills, but I need their help to engage them in the process and maybe

other students who are on this process got engaged too. So, we kill two
rabbits with one shot. (U3/56)

The point at which a lecturer feels confident enough to take a co-constructive approach to language use, and lets students see that they are not necessarily proficient in communicating in English, might indicate a change in their conceptualisation of professionalism. The possibility that there is a stage at which a lecturer accepts the role of EMI as a required method of communication rather than as an indication of their subject-matter knowledge is an area that would benefit from further research. This might also suggest that the lecturer recognises that they do not have to take full responsibility for learning and teaching, and that the site of interaction in a lecture does not necessarily have to be mono-directional. Interaction is a multi-directional process and the students are a resource that can be used to support the development of students' subject matter knowledge. In such a case, changes in linguistic capital, e.g. the use of EMI, seem to have a lesser effect on a lecturer's habitus: a co-constructive approach to language use and a view of the lecture room as a collaborative space to achieve the common purpose of learning has the potential to reduce the discord which results from a change in linguistic capital. This also has the potential to increase interaction at the site of learning. The acceptance of the collaborative nature of language construction in an EMI environment is one that needs to be shared by the agents within the field, as without this common approach, there will continue to be discord and misconceptions about agents' academic ability:

I have the feeling that people seem to be more clever because they
master the language and the others seem to be a little bit stupid, I don't
know how to put it correctly, because they struggle with the language.
(F1/38)

This is also a point for students to consider as well:

I see that with colleagues who are not able to teach in English fully,
which means they are giving their lectures in French and use their
support in English. And they are not happy with that. (F3/80)

A further change in the conceptualisation of a lecturer's role at the site of interaction is related to what they, as educational professionals, need to demonstrate. Participants in this study often talked about speaking in the same way as 'native speakers', and while not acknowledging that first language users' language regularly contains 'errors' (or utterances which, if written, would not be considered suitable

written English), many did talk about a more relaxed approach to their own language output:

> So, I used to worry about that a lot. I'm not sure you will remember my contact with you whilst I was with this teacher xxx. I took a course with him, a one-week full time course, and there I realised that making mistakes is not important, and so I think I changed my mind there. (S1/30)

> I know it is not very important if I make a mistake, if my sentences are not super correct, if I make a mistake between the singular and plural and the students do not care. They care but they care more about other things. They care more about the condition of the classes, the materials, the textbook. They care more about other aspects. (I3/46)

This was also one of the results of the tutor input and peer collaboration that was part of the Ukrainian 'English for Universities' project (Bolitho & West 2017; Borg 2019) and other studies cited in Chapter 2. There appears to be a point where lecturers realise that it is not necessary to speak in grammatically perfect sentences and that pedagogic strategies can be used in place of language to facilitate learning and mitigate student comprehension issues.

7.5 EMI and Misrecognition

Bourdieu (1990b) states that where an influencing factor is not recognised as being influencing because it is so embedded into the fabric of society, it is recognised as being legitimate. It is at this stage that the capital it asserts becomes symbolic capital, a capital that is misrecognised as an arbitrary truth and one which has the potential to exert symbolic violence while disguised as truth. Where there is an unquestioned acceptance of EMI (it being misrecognised as a legitimate approach to HE learning), there is this potential for elements of EMI to be viewed as symbolic capital, with a possible effect of producing symbolic violence. As detailed in Section 1.1, what EMI is and how EMI is implemented varies. The one commonality, however, is that English is present. Considering three different forms of misrecognition, this section will explore the concept of misrecognition in relation to English as MOI and suggest how, from a Bourdieusian perspective, this can be perceived as symbolic violence.

7.5.1 Misrecognition and historical forgetting

The two examples of the misrecognition involving English provided in Section 2.2.1 demonstrate how symbolic violence can manifest itself across different elements of society. These examples can also be extended into an EMI context. The first example is Tupas's account of historical forgetting leading to past and present symbolic violence in Filipino education (Tupas & Tupas 2008), which has comparable features to changes in education in other countries. The history of colonial expansion has led to many other invasion forces committing similar war crimes to those committed in the Filipino-American war. As described in Section 2.1.2, language has been used as a tool of colonial expansion to consolidate the power of a dominant force and to subjugate a local population. When considering colonial aggression committed by a dominant arbitrary, and one with relevance to EMI, the United Kingdom has invaded all five territories represented by participants in this study (Laycock 2012), and as such, can be considered an aggressor that uses English. What is noteworthy in the research data is that none of the participants raised related concerns about the use and acceptance of English, the language of a colonial aggressor, as an MOI. In fact, many participants noted that speaking English was simply part of their day-to-day work and did not question its use:

> And they are expecting that we are giving our lectures in English because it is what is written on the documents that we have available publicly. (F3/82)

The extent to which English has been accepted is such that a lecturer may think negatively of themselves, and perhaps of others, if they choose not to try and use it, with Participant F3 commenting, "So, if I was not able to teach in English, it would be considered as laziness because if I can't do it, who should?" (F3/76).

Colonial language legacy is something that the UK appears to have been particularly effective in establishing. Section 2.1.1 described how British English was favoured in the explicit language policies or practices of different supranational organisations, and a preference for British English over the English of other English-speaking countries was also stated by lecturers in this study:

> I think my teacher told me that I had been studying Canadian English, because Canadian they speak by the rules of the English and it's like Canadian and British people, they have old rules of right speaking in English. But American is not the way, as they don't have such skills. (U3/88)

> I think that I would pick the British [accent] because, as a thing it is the one that is a little bit classier and is easier to understand international student. (F1/114)

These examples all show how the use of English is not being questioned and how one variety is even given favoured status over another, indicating that the use of English in EMI contexts as linguistic capital has become legitimised and is now symbolic capital.

7.5.2 Misrecognition of a 'standard English'

The de facto acceptance of an international 'standard English' is the second example of misrecognition that emerges from the data. Section 2.2.1 refers to the reproduction of a standard form of English by those who themselves question the use of such a standard form. The result of such reproduction, in spite of remonstrations of its use (O'Regan 2021), is an English aligned to that which is produced by those who have it as a first language, and one which those who have English as an additional language also need to adhere to. As noted in Chapter 1, having a standardised English aligned to 'native-speaker' norms is already a common requirement in academic publishing (McKinley & Rose 2018), but appears to be becoming one of the unquestioned influences in global academic practice. With the written language reproduced and codified in academic journals and seemingly desirable forms of the spoken language being based on those who have English as a first language, the continued reproduction of these forms seems certain. The use of a standardised English in academic texts will likely further embed its use and future reproduction:

> It is really important because the latest discovery in research is firstly published in English, but if you want to get the new thing you must know English to read it. (C2/30)

Not only does it seem important to be able to read it, but for academics intent on publishing, being able to use a standardised English becomes of great importance as well. With continued reproduction of a legitimate language, it will likely become increasingly difficult for lecturers moving into EMI, or those who have developed their academic career in EMI environments, to question the use of a standardised norm that is the accepted legitimate language. The symbolic violence immanent here is towards local varieties of English and the need to align these to a 'native-speaker' norm.

7.5.3 Misrecognition of agents

The third example of misrecognition relates to the role the research participants have within the educational system: that of reproducing agents. Many of the participants acknowledged the need for themselves, peers and students to use English, suggesting that this was important for further research or international employment. Participant F3 notes, "…maybe half of our students they will find jobs at the international levels… So, I believe that our students should master English." (F3/38). The importance of English as linguistic capital appears to be such that EMI is perceived by some as being important for unspecified reasons:

> I wish more teachers in my home university and other universities in the Ukraine do [EMI courses] in the nearly future, because it is very important. It is 100% more important than other things… (U3/6)

Lecturers also ascribed their participation in EMI programmes to different reasons, such as it being a university requirement (e.g. Participants I2 and C3), to support their university's development or modernisation (e.g. Participants F1 and U3) or because of personal interest in developing their own English (e.g. Participants S1 and S3). These points would suggest that all participants had a strong engagement with EMI and were very much part of the system of EMI at their respective HEIs. However, none of the lecturers interviewed voiced concern about their own participation as agents promoting the growth of EMI. Each respondent identified issues with EMI, especially the period of transition at the start of EMI practice, but the issues were described as if unavoidable elements of EMI, just as it appears that their own role in EMI was unavoidable or inevitable. Participants appeared to see their role as a learning facilitator, and if that learning was in English, this was not necessarily a problem in spite of the difficulties they had raised.

These examples would suggest that a further form of misrecognition involves lecturers themselves as active agents propagating EMI and the English used in EMI as part of their role. This can be perceived as a misrecognition because the lecturers recognise themselves as agents supporting students' learning, which they are. Yet this appears to be only part of their role: the learning that lecturers enable is a dual learning of subject knowledge and a belief in the primacy of English as a dominant global language. It may not necessarily be the *learning* of English which is being promoted, although this is perhaps one feature of EMI, but the *elevation* of English to the symbolic capital of the dominant arbitrary. This is the capital that Bourdieu describes as being "the most cruel" (2000: 241) and the capital that brings symbolic violence and the "form of domination which… is only exerted through the communication in which it is disguised" (Bourdieu 1977a: 237). While the data

suggests that there is symbolic violence and domination because of the promotion of English through EMI contexts, it is not clear from the data the scale of this symbolic violence and domination. Section 2.1 described how English has gained primacy in various supranational organisations; now it is gaining primacy as symbolic capital in HEIs across the globe, potentially creating a new social and academic stratum of the elite, the entrance to which requires an ability in English.

Viewed from a Bourdieusian perspective, this section suggests how the adoption of English as a legitimate language gives it symbolic capital and the potential to render historical fact as unimportant and enforce a dominant culture on unknowing agents. As noted, what is less clear in the data is the extent of symbolic violence caused by the acceptance of English as a legitimate language. I have provided examples from the data where there is possible evidence of such violence, from lecturers questioning their own professionalism to their acceptance of the primacy of English. To help agents be more informed about the effects of a growth in EMI and how we can support those engaged in it, potentially helping to limit its unquestioned acceptance and resultant symbolic violence, it would be beneficial to engage in further research in this area.

8. Discussion 2: Opportunities with habitus development in EMI contexts

The use of English appears sufficiently embedded in the research participants' HE environments that it is likely to remain a feature of their professional work for some time. Adopting a pragmatic approach to engage with EMI (the manifestation of English dominance that is relevant to this study) may yield benefits that actively working against it might not. Having discussed the main research findings in Chapter 7, this chapter moves beyond the immediate academic focus of the study and reflects on the broader points of EMI implementation, using the data to speculate on potential points of practical benefit. In doing this, the chapter draws on reflections influenced by my professional practice as an EMI trainer and teacher educator and my personal study and interests. This chapter first considers the opportunity of restructuring habitus to develop lecturers' pedagogic ability, and then suggests opportunities for global interaction that a shared language can enable. The chapter ends with a note of caution about how opportunity is perceived and conceptualised in relation to the wider EMI environment.

8.1 Developing lecturers' pedagogic ability

A recurring topic in the data was that of training, of which two central elements emerged: firstly, the general lack of training to deliver lecturers in a non-EMI context; and secondly, the training needed to facilitate EMI at the site of interaction. As noted in Section 7.4, there is an increasing amount of literature on the expertise needed for lecture delivery, but it seems that many lecturers receive little to no training support before delivering their first lecture, either in their first language or for EMI contexts. As noted in Section 7.3, but also relevant here, Participant I3 states:

> When you are hired, the first time, they throw you in the class and so you teach. Do it. It is incredible and I don't know how they can do it. Now if I think my first class was about ten years ago time, in Italian right, and I was 34, and they told me 'go' and it was 100-student class. (I3/50)

The data from the research participants suggests that non-EMI lecturer training was uncommon when they started their professional roles and that training in relation to EMI delivery was not consistent for those already working in an EMI context or for those moving into it. Participant I3 went on to state that their first pedagogic training had been on an EMI course (transcript I3/50), something other participants also commented on:

No this was the first [training course] and we don't have any kind of this training, even not in Italian. This was the first time somebody told me how I could teach, which method and tools I could use for teaching. (I1/40)

I am teaching for fifteen years now, but it is only this year that I took the time to do a training as teacher, and it was very helpful, I think… I asked myself, 'Why are you doing this training this year and not doing it these last fifteen years?' (F3/42)

Participant F3's question about their training is one that would benefit from further investigation. The assumption in many HEIs would appear to be that while specific research training is needed to become an academic, in the countries represented in this study, an academic needs no specific pedagogic training to be a lecturer. However, research participants' comments suggest that training received as a result of their work in EMI contexts has been beneficial to both themselves and students:

"I discovered this way of teaching which was more, you can say, was better, even for the students than for me because it was a real discussion, a real exchange with the students. And a value added to normal lectures instead of you just speak and they repeat what you say." (I1/38)

So, there are some people who are trying to give some courses to do some workshop in pedagogy. So, I went to this workshop and for me it is great because they are absolutely not in my domain. They are not in agriculture. They are in medicine and law and things like that. But it is great because there were lots of ideas. (F2/72)

Structured, EMI-focused CPD organised by participants' organisations was not always available, however. Realising that language or pedagogic training was necessary for their practice, the three Ukrainian lecturers in the study used their own agency to pursue their development objectives. This took a variety of forms as they felt most appropriate and used the language input that was readily available to them:

It was my own time, my own training. I was trying to use all possible sources of English, such as Twitter, any kind of news information, some movies, music… (U1/14)

…it was tons of work, actually. Because I should prepare all these additional materials by myself. (U2/8)

I was training in a class without students, working on all my presentation in global. And every slide I was working maybe two or three times, you know to remember everything that I doing when I was preparing this programme in English and special this presentation... now I am more free with communicating with them. (U3/48)

All the lecturers in this study showed a willingness to engage in training, but the Ukrainian lecturers appear to stand apart in the level of their agency to create their own training, something that may be feature of Ukrainian HEI's approach to EMI. The reports cited in Chapter 2 suggest that while there is a willingness for the Ukrainian HE sector to have a better understanding of EMI, practical measures of support have eluded the sector in general. Further research investigating the relationship between lecturers' agency and the support offered at macro level and meso-levels could enable a better understanding of how lecturers and institutions can maximise both agency and resourcing.

The overall data suggests that the lecturers in this study appreciated the need for some kind of training when moving into an EMI environment, and if lecturers didn't realise it before they had such training, such training made them realise how beneficial this kind of CPD could be. There is also the suggestion from lecturers' comments that pedagogical training in EMI may have a positive washback to the lecturing they do in their first language. While the data reviewed in Section 7.4 suggests that EMI contexts require an interactive, EMI-focused pedagogy, there is the possibility that the interactive techniques shared in an EMI training course may be helpful for learning in general, not just learning in English. Lecturers may be assumed to have expert knowledge in their subject areas because of their research training; their training in lecture delivery appears to be a less certain assumption. As a catalyst, it may be that EMI provides the opportunity for HEIs to provide pedagogic training for their lecturers, potentially providing training that lecturers do not yet realise is missing and laying the foundation for the kind of epiphany on the benefit of pedagogic training described by Participant F3 (F3/42). Where structured, institutionalised support is not available, lecturers might be able to maximise their own agency to meet the problems they face. although the resources available and techniques chosen may not be as effective as those chosen by those trained to offer pedagogical support. This suggests that institutions would benefit from having both policy and plan for supporting lecturers with the discord they will experience when moving into an EMI field, as it will enable lecturers to target their development and

potentially reduce the time spent in the problematic liminal period of habitus transition.

8.2 Opportunities to interact with others globally

As referenced in Section 2.1.1, the flexibility afforded by the Bologna Process (Council of Europe 2014) has enabled students to travel more freely within Europe and the language targets of the Process have made it easier for students to study in shared languages. The ability for students to travel can bring opportunities for domestic students, bringing the world to them, but also bringing opportunities for the lecturer to increase their opportunities to mix with people from other cultures:

> [an EMI course]allows me to connect with students from many different countries and not only with French speaking countries. So, it enlarges the number of students and original students that I can mix with. (F3/12)

> …our university is globalising and tends to be more internationalised and we start to recruit more and more international students. In the past five years, the number of the population of our international students have been triple… (C1/2)

The opportunities that come from having a diverse student cohort appear to include those of questioning accepted norms, raising awareness of viewpoints held by others:

> For example, after the students from Eygpt or Greece, I ask them, 'Do you believe in Darwin's evolution?', and one said, 'No absolutely not.' and I feel so amazed…, And this is the first time I think that in this world there are students and many people that do not believe what I believe. So English teaching is very good for communication. (C2/22)

The questioning of accepted norms is something that can take place without English, but while English is increasing in its dominance as a language of communication, the data from this small study gives isolated examples of it appearing to be a catalyst that enables agents to share different viewpoints. EMI may cause the disruption of a lecturer's habitus, but as part of that disruption and likely reforming into a different

state, one might speculate whether a revised habitus is able to incorporate elements from the agents and objective structures around them.

8.3 Issues with EMI as opportunity

What is opportunity for one, can be disadvantage to another. As detailed in Chapter 7, the problems are many and varied and it is necessary to remind ourselves of these in a chapter that discusses the opportunities EMI can bring. Unlike with universal education, EMI targets a small section of society, often a section that is well resourced and already imbued with the cultural capital of a dominant arbitrary. Privileging a small section of society with the resources necessary to complete an EMI course of study or focussing pedagogic training on a select group of lecturers will likely have negative resource implications on the non-privileged members of that society. Even where EMI may appear to be an opportunity for someone already embedded in their role of pedagogic authority or reproduction within a dominant culture, adopting EMI as a legitimate way to pursue knowledge gain in higher education may make them an unwitting collaborator in symbolic violence towards their own culture. The key point being that it is important to be aware of the ripples of effect that come from increasing EMI usage, and through knowing what they are, agents will be in a better position to judge whether this is opportunity or not.

9. Conclusion

This study provides insight into 15 EMI lecturers' experiences at the site of EMI interaction across five different language groups, 11 different HEIs and 14 different subject areas. In doing so, this study has been able to identify areas of common influence on these lecturers' habitus as well as suggesting a liminal period of discord during a transition to an EMI context. This chapter will give an overview of the research findings, viewing these at first from the perspective of the study's main aim, and then through the lens of the two research questions. I will then describe three key limitations of the study, consider the implications of the findings and finally suggest areas for future research.

9.1 Summary of findings

The main aim of this study was to explore the personal, professional and linguistic issues lecturers encounter when using English as a Medium of Instruction. Through the lens of established Bourdieusian theory, the data suggests that the problems the lecturers in this study face are not purely linguistic but reach deeper into broader sociological factors. These are factors which appear to operate across personal, professional and linguistic areas of lecturers' lives and which suggest a shared experience, or shared habitus, in the field of EMI, affected by common structuring structures that operate across the individual lecturer's fields of practice. Using a Bourdieusian framework has enabled me to suggest how agents and objective structures at a field site recursively influence a lecturer's habitus and how, when there is significant discord between habitus and field, there can be a liminal period which will likely cause lecturers to have negative feelings towards themselves. The literature and data suggest that the personal, professional and linguistic issues can be perpetuated by lecturers, most likely unknowingly, in their role as reproductive elements of a wider educational paradigm. The second aim was to suggest ways stakeholders can mitigate any negative effects of EMI use and encourage any positive ones, and these suggestions are detailed in Section 9.3.

The two research questions (Section 3.2) required this study to identify the influences on a lecturer's habitus and to learn about the effect of EMI on that habitus. From a Bourdieusian perspective, the data suggests that both agents and objective structures influence habitus, each with varying levels of effect, depending on a lecturer's existing habitus. The use of EMI appears to create a new sub-field for agents to operate in, one with a different linguistic capital to fields where English is not the medium of instruction and with different or altered objective structures. The change in linguistic capital is an indicative feature of the imposition of a new

legitimate language, and appears to influence the agents as they adjust to the new 'rules of the game' of the EMI field. This new field, with different or altered objective structures and different values of capital, has the potential to create both tension and opportunity for agents within it. Whether it is a tension or opportunity depends on perspective, but for either there is opportunity to mitigate resultant issues at macro, meso and micro levels of implementation, reducing the discord experienced during the liminal period of habitus transformation.

9.2 Limitations in this study

As part of a Doctorate in Education, it was necessary for this research to operate within constraints of scale. Beyond the limitations imposed as a result of the thesis being part of the Doctorate in Education assessment, there were three key limitations associated with this research.

As noted in Chapters 1 & 2, there is currently very little Bourdieusian research into EMI, which led to limitations in the data collection tools, in particular the initial questionnaire, the aim of which was mainly as a heuristic to enable more targeted questions in the interview. Using the literature to enable the development of sections within the questionnaire, I included sections on language, pedagogy and professional influences and opinions. This was helpful in enabling an understanding of the agents of the field, but less helpful in learning about the different objective structures that influence a lecturer's habitus in an EMI field. Data relating to objective structures was drawn out in the semi-structured interview, but a specific section targeting this in the questionnaire would have enabled a more focused approach in the interview.

The second limitation relates to participant recruitment. I was fortunate to recruit a balance of three lecturers from each of the five countries represented in the study, but this was a sample of convenience. Ideally for the aims of this study, the participants would come from different universities, each have different subject specialisms and each have a high CEFR B2 or C1 level of English. As it was, the three French lecturers came from the same university and all worked in a similar research area, albeit with different subject specialisms; two of the Italian lecturers shared the same subject specialism; and one lecturer self-identified as having a CEFR B1 level of English.

The third limitation concerns data collection. To cause the least disruption to research participants, interviews were conducted in a way most convenient to them. This led to two face-to-face interviews, three conducted over the WhatsApp phone

application and 10 were over the online Skype web service. The length of interviews ranged from 29 to 41 minutes, with a face-to-face interview being the longest interview, and the WhatsApp interview being the shortest, suggesting that the face-to-face interviews may have enabled participants to speak more extensively than the participants whose interviews were conducted over WhatsApp or Skype. Ideally, the interviews would be conducted in the same way, helping create more equal conditions for data collection.

In relation to limitations with the findings, the evidence for a liminal period was clear; what was less clear was how long this liminal period lasted and what any commonalities in the liminal period were. Further data on these points would enable a better understanding of the transition period that lecturers go through when embarking on their EMI journey. A further limitation with the findings relates to how lecturers perceive their role as a central part of the pedagogic authority of a dominant arbitrary reinforcing misrecognised forms of education. It was notable that lecturers appeared to feel that they were on the receiving end of the changes caused by an increase in EMI practice rather than being part of the reason for its growth. Further exploration of lecturers' beliefs relating to their possible role as agents of a dominant arbitrary would give helpful insight into how widespread the misrecognition is and its effects on lecturers. With reference to what may be considered a positive of EMI practice, there was evidence of increased training and increased pedagogical awareness because of the need to learn to lecture in an EMI environment. The data suggested that there may be some pedagogical development of lecturers' skills which may result in developed pedagogical practice in their first language, but this was not a clear finding. Identification of changes in practice caused by EMI may go some way to help focus lecturer professional development, either for an EM context or in their first language professional contexts.

9.3 Implications for practice

The suggested implications for practice derived from this study are focussed on points relating to the implementation and day-to-day practice of EMI lecturers at the site of interaction, mirroring the research focus on changes to lecturers' habitus when moving into an EMI environment. This section presents these points on implementation and day-to-day practice and then changes focus to a policy-level perspective, raising potential points for consideration by decision makers involved in the adoption of EMI at different levels.

The disruption that a change of MOI appears to cause across language and pedagogic elements of a lecturer's practice is a key area to consider. Stakeholders in EMI contexts would likely benefit from a raised awareness of how long it can take for lecturers to adjust to EMI implementation. This is not an adjustment akin to the use of a new course reading list or the employment of a new member of staff; this is an adjustment that changes the language used to enable learning, and the amount of time necessary for transitioning to an EMI context will likely depend local circumstances. This has associated implications in terms of the localised professional support needed during the period of transition and the expectations of what can be realistically expected of those using a new MOI.

This research suggests that managing agents' expectations with language and teaching may be beneficial for students and lecturers. In terms of the level of English language used by the lecturer, it would be helpful to understand what expectations stakeholders may have. There may be an assumption that lecturers demonstrate a level of English at the site of interaction which is comparable to that of their first language, and one which may be higher than is necessary for EMI purposes. The findings from this research that lecturers may also benefit from a raised awareness about probable changes in pedagogy that are needed to help facilitate learning in English, when English is not the first language of a majority of the students and where students' ability in language may vary considerably.

The findings from the data collected from the lecturers in this study suggest that lecturers rely heavily on themselves to develop their language and professional competence, with little support being sought from peers and their HEIs. The lecturers described different amounts of personal agency in their pursuit of EMI CPD, and this appeared to result in forms of development activity that might not be considered targeted or relevant to the specific needs of those lecturing in English. Lecturers' agency to engage in CPD may provide an opportunity for them to collaborate and learn from each other in order to benefit from a previously unaccessed synergy.

In relation to EMI support training and more specifically, mitigating issues of symbolic violence, it may be helpful if lecturers have access to discursive material on the Bourdieusian concept of legitimate language and language capital. For those that design EMI training courses, having an awareness of the symbolic violence which is potentially caused by EMI may help avoid unintended incidences of symbolic violence in course material and delivery. The main point is to make the sociological issues of EMI explicit so that stakeholders are more informed about areas beyond linguistic deficit. This can make them better able to make decisions about their

professional practice or, as a minimum, have an awareness of their role as reproducing agents in the pedagogic system.

This research being focussed on the individual experiences of lecturers, the key findings relate to lecturers' professional EMI practice at the site of interaction. If one views this research from a policy level, it may also be possible to extract some context-specific suggestions that may mitigate some of the issues identified in this study. These suggestions may be arrived at by decision makers at levels of policy and implementation discussing a series of points linked to the implications above, e.g. the definition of EMI being used and the role of local language at the site of EMI interaction; the amount of planned support with language, pedagogy and time for students, lecturers and other stakeholders in EMI contexts.

9.4 Further research

The lack of Bourdieusian-structured research into EMI coupled with the findings of this study suggest that there are a number of areas that would benefit from sociological and pedagogical investigation.

Habitus disruption

Many of this study's findings relate to the issues lecturers faced when moving into an EMI field, and these can be linked to a liminal period of habitus disruption. The analysis of data suggests that we have an understanding of what causes the liminal period, but the data does not give detail about the length of time of the liminal period or how one might mitigate the effects of this period, effects which were reported by many of the lecturers in this study to create negative emotional responses. However, both literature and data are ambiguous about the length of time of the liminal period and also what kind of habitus (cleft, dual, multi, revised) the liminal period will end with. By learning more about this time of transition in an EMI context, we may be able to mitigate some of the negative emotional responses and practical difficulties that lecturers face when making the transition.

Misrecognition in EMI

The continued growth of English use in vocational and academic spheres has been referred to in this thesis and written about extensively in the literature. Growth has been attributed to various factors but the role of individuals in perpetuating that growth may be unknown to them, as the data from this research seems to suggest. The misrecognition, or misattribution, of the reasons for the growth in English use is something that will continue because of the acceptance of English as a legitimate

language. Research into this area may help prevent English moving from a general linguistic capital to symbolic capital and also raise awareness of the choices that agents might be able to access. The relatively sudden change to EMI in many HEIs is a chance to notice the legitimisation of English, using the awareness of discord to ask questions about why such discord exists.

Pedagogical enquiry

Sections 7.4 and 8.1 have shown how EMI can result in pedagogic training that increases lecturers' skills, not just in EMI, but when lecturing in their first language as well. The data suggested that this was a result of either focused training by professional EMI trainers or by training led by their personal agency, as in the case with the Ukrainian lectures. The lecturers who undertook their own training were using a range of resources and were trying a variety of development techniques; the professional trainers are reported as sharing techniques on interactive teaching and resource sharing. The apparent need for training to support lecturers in EMI may create an opportunity to research an EMI-specific pedagogy, something which might integrate differentiation to meet the needs of varying levels of English and different cultural expectations in addition to differentiation relating to a student's ability in the target subject. As a positive spin-off, if there are areas of washback into a lecturer's first language work, researching an EMI-specific pedagogy might also provide further insight into HE pedagogy in general.

9.5 Final comments

The purpose of this research has been to shine a sociological light onto an area which is, by its nature, dominated by language, but which has wider effects on those involved with it. Using habitus as the guiding Bourdieusian thinking tool, in conjunction with associated concepts of field and capital, a Bourdieusian approach to analysing EMI has provided an opportunity to do this, and with it, has shown how gaps at a policy level can cause problems at the site of EMI interaction. These problems are manifest through the discord between the field of EMI and a lecturer's habitus, with data suggesting a transition period to a new or split habitus to enable lecturers to cope with the changes in field and capital. The analysis of literature and data also suggest the need to consider how micro-level support at the site of interaction can mitigate the impact of policy decisions on lecturers' everyday lives. At the level of policy adoption, EMI may be an 'unstoppable train', but to extend Macaro's analogy (2018: 12) referenced in Chapter 1, the train does not necessarily have to stop at every station. It is not a requirement for HEIs to adopt EMI and where it is implemented, it should be implemented judiciously, taking account of agents'

needs and working with agents to minimise disruption. This study does not suggest that EMI has a positive or negative long-term effect on lecturers and their habitus, but that EMI can cause significant disruption in linguistic and sociological areas, and the more informed agents are of such disruption, the more likely they will be better able to understand and overcome any difficulties associated with that disruption.

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Appendix 1: Reflexive statement: a Bourdieusian sense of positioning

At the heart of all Bourdieusian research and analysis is the understanding that all action is relational to other actions; there is no action that has not been influenced by another at some point in the past, whether directly or indirectly related. Within the parameters of research, this leads to the understanding that an individual will therefore affect their own research by simply being involved in their analysis of it or in the transmission of any findings that come from that research. The influence of previous actions and events relational to an individual mean that the researcher is likely to reproduce elements of a 'system' or a 'cultural arbitrary' exerting influence on their own actions and, therefore, their research activity. Bourdieu suggests that as researchers, even when having an awareness of a system on ourselves, we will still reproduce elements of that system when analysing and interpreting the object of our research because of its influence on us; attempts to analyse an object objectively will still result in some reproduction of knowledge and thought that is aligned to the values of the cultural arbitrary from which we have been influenced and whence we have come. Simply being aware of this influence, however, is not enough to prevent it from influencing an individual and their research, as it is so deeply engrained as to be 'hidden from sight':

> Pedagogic Work tends, the more it is accomplished, to conceal more and more completely the objective truth of the habitus as the internalization of the principles of the cultural arbitrary which is more accomplished the more the work of inculcation is accomplished.
>
> (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990: 39)

This depth of inculcation is suggested as being so deep that a detailed analysis of the researcher, or inculcated object, is needed in order to appreciate the influence of a system on that object. Soulié (1995) demonstrated this when noting how research topics in master's and doctoral work were linked to a researcher's social origin, gender and educational background, showing how our academic and research orientation can be directly influenced by our background. This is further evidenced below in the review of my own background and choice of research topic. It is to this end that Bourdieu recommends a position of reflexivity to develop a self-awareness that makes one's influences as clear as possible. This is not only to identify bias, but also to make one's habitus, relationships and resultant influences explicit, so that they are open to review, by both the researcher and those interacting with the research matter.

Taken at a basic level, reflexivity is a cyclical, bi-directional reflection on one's practice. Its very nature means that it is an iterative and continual process, reflecting

and impacted by cause and effect. However, a Bourdieusian approach to reflexivity goes beyond a critical reflection that enables a judgement of research quality (Henwood and Pidgeon 1993) or enabling an awareness of the value of different research paradigms (Jupp & Norris 1993). For Bourdieu, reflexivity involved participant objectivation, that is, "the *objectivation of the subject of objectivation*, of the analysing subject – in short, of the researcher herself" (Bourdieu 2003: 282 original emphasis). This is achieved by analysing the researcher's social origin and the influence of previous 'pedagogical action' and 'pedagogic work', areas which influence a person's habitus and their notions of capital in different social fields (Bourdieu & Passeron 1990). This can be achieved by asking the same questions of the researcher as asked to the research participant, or by asking questions that uncover the underlying influences upon the researcher's epistemological beliefs, knowledge surrounding their research area, choice of method and other possible areas of research and sociological bias (Bourdieu 1993).

Such a reflexive approach is central to the relational understanding of the world that surrounds Bourdieu's work and one that needs to be included in any form of Bourdieusian research:

> The important thing is to be able to objectify one's relation to the object so that discourse on the object is not the simple projection of an unconscious relation to the object.
>
> ibid: 53

This process of objectifying the *subject of objectivation*, the turning of the lens of enquiry back on the one conducting the enquiry using the same tools of the original enquiry, can take many forms and be focused on many areas. The form and area will depend on the level of reflexivity and the type of research being undertaken. To appreciate the influence of a cultural arbitrary on a researcher, a reflexive analysis will necessarily follow the winding road of individual experience in order to gain an awareness of how one has been inculcated through years of pedagogic action carried out under the 'pedagogic authority' of that cultural arbitrary. Using an elaborate diagram (Appendix 2) Bourdieu & Passeron (1990: 255-258) demonstrated how this can be accomplished by analysing the influence of schooling (primary, secondary and tertiary) to reach membership of a particular class, showing how an individual's habitus is developed through associated fields of power. Other researchers (Grenfell & James 1998b) have undertaken reflexive analysis through prose, writing on reflexivity under the themes of *self socio-analysis*, *objectifying relationships with the researched* and other key areas relevant to the researcher undertaking their reflexive journey.

In the process of this research, my own reflexive journey has identified key areas in the 'Work of Schooling' that appear to have had a considerable influence on the content and approach to this research, influences that need to be made explicit if I am to follow a Bourdieusian approach to this study. The reflexive process has also shown me how an awareness of Bourdieusian theory has impacted on my professional life and the sense which I make from it. I will therefore briefly consider the different social spaces in my life, including areas of schooling, my professional influences and my own dispositions as an educator and administrator in relation to Bourdieu's work and the research subject. The different areas of my social spaces are represented in the diagram below and then discussed in more detail.

A: Formative stages	
A1	Primary education
A2	Secondary education
A3	Higher education
A4	Family
A5	Friends

B: Professional influences	
B1	Doxa
B2	Professional experience
B3	Colleagues

C: Current space	
C1	Ben as EMI researcher
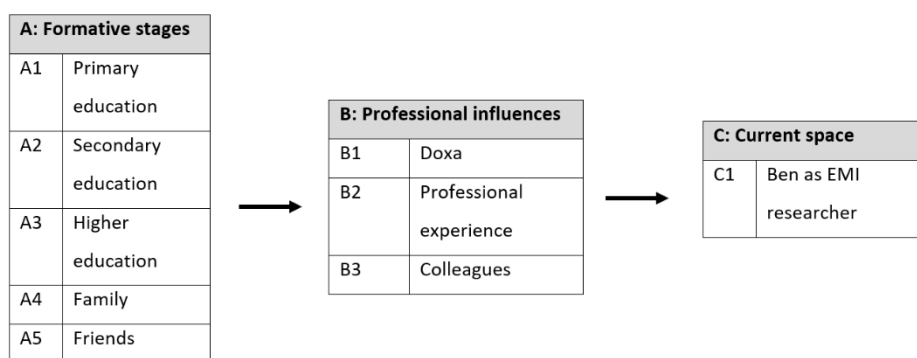
A: Formative stages

I first became conscious of language and education as points of interest and reflection in my primary schooling when a move from the south-east of England to the south-west of Scotland led to a complete change of personal and educational environment. The biggest difference for a child of 9 was with language: in Norwich I was a typical child of seemingly average intelligence who did not stand out culturally. In spelling tests, a common first language assessment metric, I was slightly above average in Norwich, scoring 7 or 8 out of ten in weekly tests; in Scotland my score dropped to 3 or 4 out of ten. The reason for the drop was because I could not understand my teacher: she would read out ten words individual and uncontextualized, and the class had to write them down. Not being used to a strong Scottish accent, I vividly remember that I couldn't understand what was being said and was left without an understanding of what was happening in the classroom. Previously the classroom had been a safe and rewarding space for me, this changed to a place, or field site, of academic difficulty and under achievement. My low scores and lack of the 'feel for of the game' (Bourdieu 1990a: 9) in my new social space led me to feel the dissatisfaction with learning that low achievement and disorientation in a new field site can bring.

After some time, I became used to my teachers' and peers' accents and the period of low achievement was replaced with one of high achievement, but not before I had come to question the problematic approach of reading words out of context, issues with comprehensibility of accent and a lack of clear instruction in formative assessment - something I was able to conceptualise through my lived experiences as a nine-year-old. Aside from my difficulty with the local accent, my own southern English accent became part of who I was and how I was identified by my peers. In Norwich I was identified by my name; in Scotland I was identified by a nationality that was linked to issues around a growing local independence movement. So, rather than do my best to assimilate a local accent, I took a pragmatically different approach and embraced my different accent and lexicon and turned my nationality into part of who I was. This bullish approach to language and local dialect remained throughout my secondary schooling, where there was only one other English person. Interestingly, this person was also having problems with using a different form of English. I think it was not until I entered the internationally diverse cohort of a Scottish university did my accent began to 'normalise'. However, my experience had planted the seed for an interest in language, with a particular interest in phonetics and phonology: I went to one of only two universities in the UK at the time where I could study phonetics and phonology as named modules [or 'papers' as they were then called] at an undergraduate level. This interest in phonology over other elements of language, such as lexis and grammar, also led to me taking an initial teacher education programme where use of phonology was an explicit part of the course content, rather than taking a course which had a higher 'brand value', but which had no explicitly stated phonological content. Move forward 20 years I am now head of department for English language teaching qualifications for the exam board that awards the same initial teacher education course that I took in my nascent professional life. And I now have a direct influence on the course content of such courses, courses which include phonetics and phonology as part of the assessment objectives, objectives which I feel should remain.

As well as with the usual changes one associates with a change of school, my move to the countryside of Scotland led to changes in my 'field relationships' with family (I moved from a life with a single mother to one with my father, who held a senior professional role). While my mother was always keen for me to study at university (only one person in my extended family had been to university), the move to Scotland occurred at an age where I began to see how an undergraduate degree could increase the social and actual mobility of an individual. Rightly or wrongly, I saw a degree as a way to legitimise my linguistic differences and as a way to leave a country where, through re-enforcement by my own actions, I was labelled as different. As can be seen, changes in education and language were deeply

engrained in my thinking, resulting in actions that were a form of reproduction of the cultural arbitrary, something which I have only really come to appreciate through applying Bourdieusian concepts of reflexivity.

Having sub-consciously decided to legitimise the differences through my education, I then entered an area of work where I would be accorded more legitimacy as a professional, simply by virtue of being a white, degree-educated male who spoke English as a first language: English language teaching. This continued the inculcation that gradually led me to my current research area.

B: Professional influences

In my career as a language teacher, I was first trained in Japan, working as an assistant language teacher on a national education programme. The aim of the programme was to help Japanese high school teachers develop communicative language teaching strategies to supplement the grammar and academic focus it was said that Japanese high schools tended to focus on. This stated objective furthered the inculcation of my beliefs about communication and the importance of phonology to enable it. This found fertile ground in later years when, as a developing teacher, I was keen to embrace a non-grammatical approach to learning language. This was in part because I did not have a thorough understanding of grammar when starting as a teacher, itself as a result of what I deemed important in learning, teaching and communication.

With changes in ELT doxa relating to what is perceived to be an effective teaching method or technique, I found that my long-held interest in phonology over grammar was welcomed by learners and peers and aligned well with a change from prescriptive to descriptive approaches to language in teaching. In the classes I later taught in the UK, my students continued to ask for grammar, but what it seemed they meant, or at least what I interpreted, was that they wanted to communicate: grammar was a tool to help them do this but not the final goal. I believed that successful communication could be achieved through the learning of lexis and the ability to decode the sounds made by others, decoding facilitated by language in context. While not realising it at the time, I can see how this was an echo of the earlier struggles I had in my learning at primary school, influencing the development of me as an educator. Not structuralist *replication* of the actions of others, but a use of these experiences as a recursive process to enable my own agency, *reproducing* systems that I had been influenced by.

My interest in interactional language development, rather than grammar-based knowledge, also supported a better understanding of how language is used

internationally between those whose first language is not English. This sits alongside the unease in ELT about the different elements of 'native-speaker' hegemony in international education, e.g. why are those with English as a first language accorded more cultural and educational capital than those who have it as a second language but may be more proficient in both teaching and language awareness? Why was I accorded a high status in a high school in Japan when I had no teaching experience and only a degree in English language?

After living in Japan, the majority of my professional experiences took place in London. New to London, I naturally made friends with colleagues, teachers who were also in the early stages of their teaching careers, and many of whom had worked overseas and were also attempting to build a career in teaching in the UK. We were reading the same teaching books, going to similar conferences and studying for similar professional exams. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that we had very similar views about language, which we then reinforced upon each other, ensuring a reproduction in our professional lives. These were the views of ELT doxa and ones codified in the assessment criteria of awarding organisations. They included a focus on content in language study, communicative competence over a purely linguistic competence and a need for teachers to be qualified in order to fulfil their professional roles.

Taken in isolation, these professional experiences can be interpreted in a variety of ways: however, taken together and viewed through the lens of Bourdieusian reflexive analysis, they become steps in the development of an educator inculcated by a system of pedagogic authority.

C: Current space
The social spaces I have described have covered both personal and professional fields and have shown a clear route of progression and reproduction between my experiences as a child, through those in my early career and into my current position as an educational professional undertaking a doctorate in education. As with many professionals who engage in formalised research after a period of vocational employment, I have tended to give a greater focus to pragmatic issues and 'getting the job done' over the epistemological and methodological considerations necessary in doctoral-level research. I chose to study a doctorate in education rather than a doctorate in philosophy because I understood it to be more practical in application. I also believed there to be a lighter focus on methodological underpinnings than in a doctorate in philosophy. However, as my learning has progressed, I see that there is not necessarily a greater or lesser focus in either of these things, only that there is a focus that is relevant to one's research and broader life context. From my early

reading of Giddens' Structuration Theory (Giddens 1984), Summerson Carr's Enactments of Professional Vision (Carr 2010) and Foucault's Power Relations (Foucault 1975) through to my positioning in a Bourdieusian approach to research, I now see [and am reproducing] that this epistemological knowledge is a key piece of doctoral learning. As well as this, it is key in helping me form a relational understanding of the world, providing me with a number of different lenses through which I am able to view and analyse that which is before me, lenses through which to better understand myself and, in this case, the professional development of lecturers working in EMI contexts.

Appendix 2: 'The Educational Career and its System of Determinations'
[diagram]

THE EDUCATIONAL CAREER
AND ITS SYSTEM OF DETERMINATIONS*

PRIMARY

A

RESIDENCE
and other
morphology
related social
and cultural
characteristics
(1)

SEX
and other
demographic
characteristics
(2)

INITIAL
CLASS
MEMBERSHIP

CONDITIONS
OF
EXISTENCE
(3)

ETHOS(4)

Social
and
cultural
CAPITAL (5)

OBJECTIVE
PROBABILITY
of academic
success in
primary
education

SECONDARY

retranslation

retranslation

A1

Transformed
form of
SYSTEM OF
CLASS
DETERMINATIONS

OBJECTIVE
PROBABILITY
of academic
success in
secondary
education

OBJECTIVE
PROBABILITY
of entering *sixième*

OBJECTIVE
PROBABILITY
of entering
a section
or a type
of school

HIGHER

retranslation

retranslation

A2

Transformed
form of
SYSTEM OF
CLASS
DETERMINATIONS

OBJECTIVE
PROBABILITY
of academic
success in
higher
education

OBJECTIVE
PROBABILITY
of entering
higher
education

OBJECTIVE
PROBABILITY
of entering
a type of
faculty,
grande ècole,
discipline, etc.

VOCATIONAL USE OF
ACADEMIC QUALIFICATION

A3

Transformed
form of
SYSTEM OF
CLASS
DETERMINATIONS

EVENTUAL
CLASS
MEMBERSHIP

POSITION
in
economic
and
social
hierarchy
(6)

Class
HABITUS
(7)

Cultural
and
social
CAPITAL
(8)
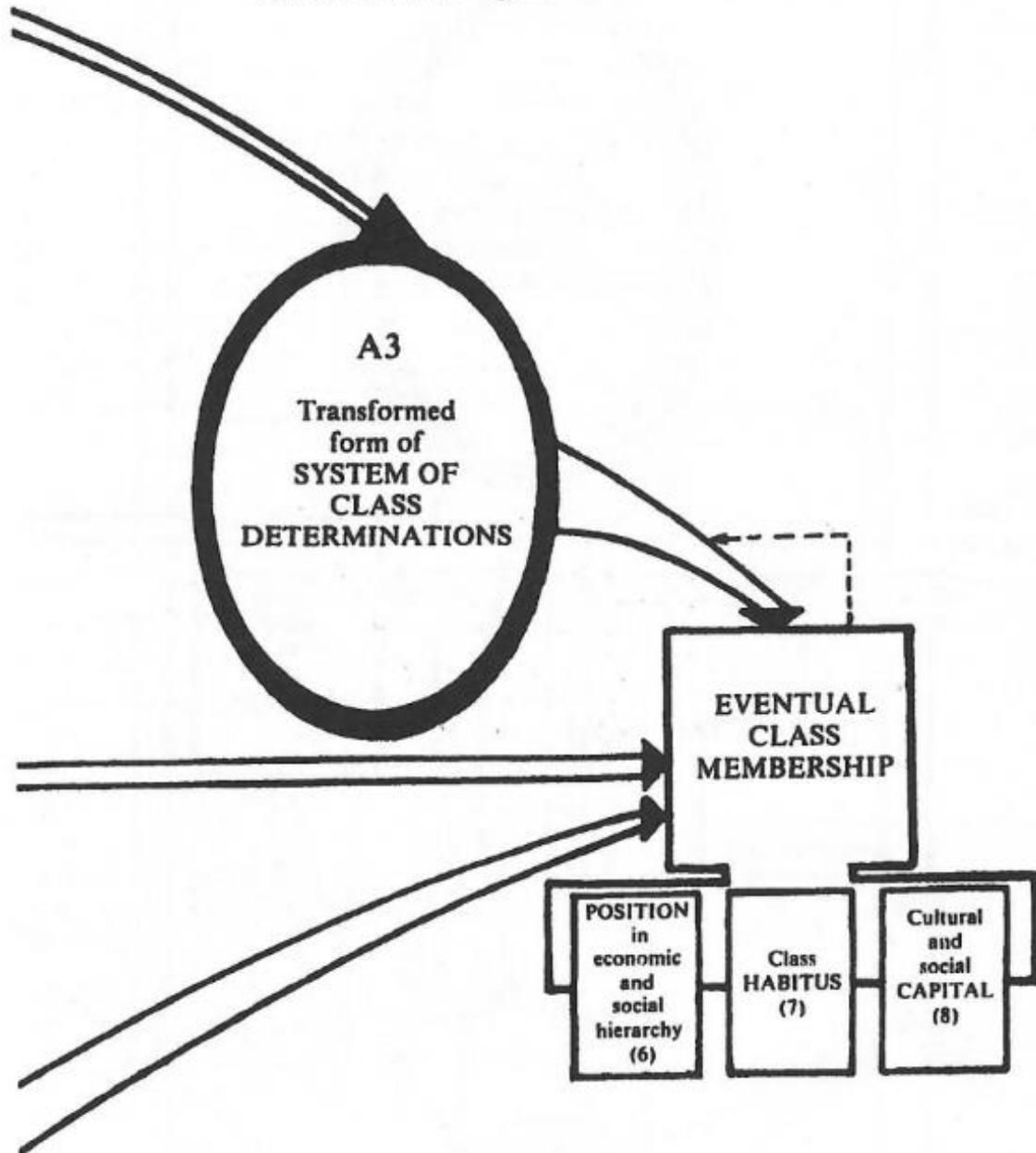
Reprinted from "*Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture" (pp255-258),* by
P. Bourdieu & J-C Passeron, London: Sage. Copyright 1990 by Sage.

Appendix 3: Representations showing the relationship between field, habitus and capital [diagrams]

A. Illustration of Bourdieu's theory of fields, habitus and communities of practice.
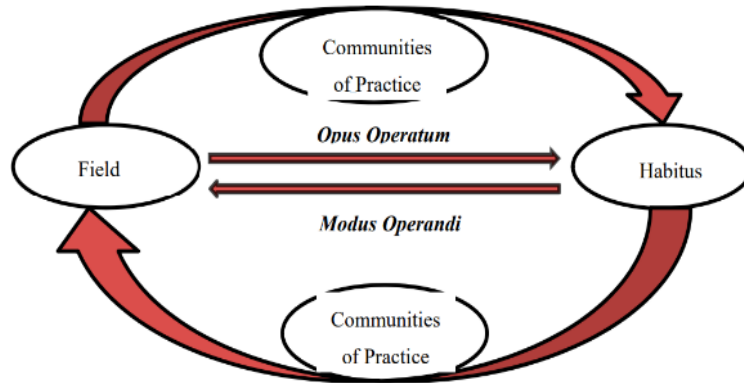
Reprinted from "Communities of scholars: A conceptual scheme of knowledge production" by K. Zougris, 2018, *Societies, 8*(4), p.118. Copyright 2018 by K. Zougris.

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B. Physician culture: key features of habitus, capital and field (SDM = shared decision making).
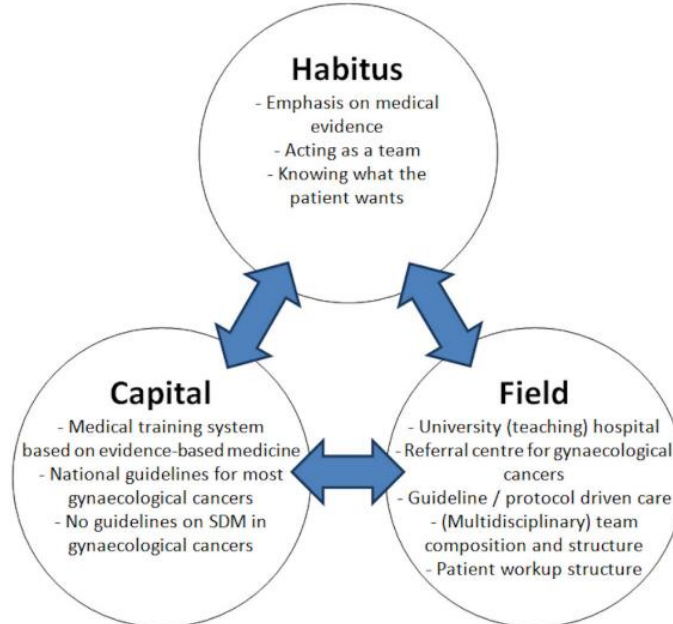
Reprinted from "Knowing what the patient wants: a hospital ethnography studying physician culture in shared decision making in the Netherlands" by L. Spinnewijn, J. Aarts, S. Verschuur, D. Braat, T. Gerrits, & F. Scheele, 2020, *BMJ open*, *10*(3), p.4. Copyright 2020 by Spinnewijn, J. Aarts, S. Verschuur, D. Braat, T. Gerrits, & F. Scheele.

Appendix 4: Research participant information

Exploring the Effects of English as a Medium of Instruction in Higher Education:

The Impact on Lecturers' Habitus

Data Collection: August 2018 – January 2019

Information for participants

Thank you for your interest in working with me to research the ways EMI affect lecturers' practice. I hope that this leaflet will give you all the information you need about the project.

Why is this research being undertaken?

Ben Beaumont is undertaking this research as part of his Doctorate in Education (EdD) at University College London's Institute of Education (video explanation: https://tinyurl.com/EMI-research2018-info)

Evidence-gathering is underway to research the types of relationship between lecturers' sense of professional belonging and their ability to interact professionally using English as a medium of Instruction.

The findings and recommendations reached as a result of the data collection and analysis will be made freely available to everyone engaged in the research.

What will happen during the research?

Participants will be asked to complete an online questionnaire and to take part in a semi-structured interview. The questions will explore participants' thoughts about how their ability to perform professional activities and their ability in English affects their practice and sense of academic belonging.

The online questionnaire will take approximately 5-10 minutes to complete. The interview will be over Skype or other medium convenient to participants, will take approximately 30 minutes, will be recorded and will be transcribed for data collection purposes. Participants will be sent a copy of the transcript to confirm accuracy.

Interview data will then be collated and analysed to identify the relationship between lecturers' sense of academic belonging and their ability to conduct certain tasks in English.

Who is taking part and what will be asked?

Participants are lecturers who have English as a second/additional language and who work in higher education, using English as a Medium of Instruction. Participants will be volunteers taken from different institutions internationally and different subject specialisms. Volunteering, however, does not guarantee participation in this research

A questionnaire (https://tinyurl.com/EMI-research2018) will ask about the kind of activities participants do when preparing and delivering lectures and giving feedback. An interview will then ask participants about the differences experienced when doing these things in English and how this affects a sense of belonging in their institution and the wider academic community.

Participants do not have to answer every question, can stop the audio recording of their interview at any time and can withdraw from the research at any time until completion of the study.

Participation in this research will not influence the actions of any tutor on any course that participants may be working on or any professional associations/relationships linked to Ben Beaumont and his employment at Trinity College London. Confidentiality and anonymity is assured.

What happens to the research findings?

Initially, the findings will inform Ben Beaumont's doctoral research resulting in a 45,000-word report in this area. There will be full anonymity for individual participants.

Once the doctoral report has been written, participants will be sent a copy for their reference. This report will also be made available for institutions interested in using the information for quality improvement and/or other purposes.

Who will know about your research participation?

Only participants and the researcher, Ben Beaumont, will know about participation. The research supervisors at UCL's Institute of Education will only see anonymised transcripts of the interviews and any notes or recordings relating to the data collection will be kept in a password-protected electronic folder. In the final report, all the names will be changed as will the names of collaborating institutions, ensuring anonymity. Once the report has been completed, the audio recordings and notes made during the interviews will be destroyed.

Ethical approval

This project conforms to the Data Protection Act (2003) and has been reviewed by staff at UCL's *Institute of Education.* It also meets *British Educational Research Association* Guidelines. Copies of these guidelines are available at:

https://www.bera.ac.uk/researchers-resources/publications/ethical-guidelines-for-educational-research-2011

Participation permission

I have read this information leaflet about this research and agree to take part in this research and to allow my interviews with Ben Beaumont to be recorded for the purposes of accuracy.

Name:
Signature: Date:

Please cross (x) if permission will be required from your institution or manager

☐

I have discussed the project and answered any further questions.

Name: Ben Beaumont

Signature: Date:

Please address any questions or concerns you may have to the researcher, Ben Beaumont (xxx@gmail.com / +44 (x)xxxx xxxxxx) or the project supervisor, xxx (xxx@ucl.ac.uk).

Thank you again for your help. We hope that you will welcome the opportunity to make your own voice heard.

Appendix 5: Participant questionnaire

This questionnaire explores areas you feel are necessary for teaching/lecturing your subject. It is not to test your language knowledge.

- Section 1: About you
- Section 2: Areas of ability important for identity as a lecturer
- Section 3: Areas you feel confident doing in English
- Section 4: Areas of importance to you
- Section 5: Other comments

Part 1: About you.

1.1 What subject(s) do you lecture in?	
1.2 How many years have you been lecturing?	
1.3 How long have you been lecturing in your current institution?	
1.4 How many years have you been lecturing in English?	
1.5 What is your level of English? *	
1.6 What is the minimum level of English* you think needed to lecture in English?	
1.7 Compared to your peers your level of English is * a) below average; b) average; or c) above average?	

*Levels of English

CEFR level	Level descriptor
A1	Beginner
A2	Pre-intermediate
B1	Intermediate
B2	Upper- Intermediate
C1	Advanced
C2	Proficiency

Part 2: How important is it as your identity as a lecturer to be able to do the following? Mark answers with 'X'.

		Very important	Quite important	Neutral	Not very important	Not important

2.1	Share teaching ideas with peers						
2.2	Discuss advantages and disadvantages of teaching techniques with peers						
2.3	Use subject-specific language / jargon						
2.4	Summarise information and arguments for a PowerPoint slide / other resource						
2.5	Create a worksheet with exercises						
2.6	Use learners' written work to plan session content, e.g. for reviews or recaps						
2.7	Review key points at the end of a 'teaching stage'						
2.8	Compare and contrast ideas/notions						
2.9	Explain words and concepts in simple terms						
2.10	Present topics in a clear and systematic way						
2.11	Demonstrate tasks / activities						
2.12	React spontaneously to unforeseen situations or learners' questions (e.g. someone enters late)						
2.13	Facilitate a discussion						
2.14	Check learners have understood content/tasks						
2.15	Deviate from the session plan to meet learners' needs						
2.16	Supplement a presentation/discussion on a whiteboard, e.g. giving further explanation to help understanding						
2.17	Give overall feedback to a whole class/group/individual						
2.18	Explain a learner's performance and progress clearly						

		Very confident	Quite confident	Neutral	Not very confident	Not confident
2.19	Assess a learner's contributions in a discussion or assessment					
2.20	Understand a variety of international accents					

Part 3: How confident are you in performing the following tasks in English? Mark answers with 'X'.

		Very confident	Quite confident	Neutral	Not very confident	Not confident
3.1	Share teaching ideas with peers					
3.2	Discuss advantages and disadvantages of teaching techniques with peers					
3.3	Use subject-specific language / jargon					
3.4	Summarise information and arguments for a PowerPoint slide / other resource					
3.5	Create a worksheet with exercises					
3.6	Use learners' written work to plan session content, e.g. for reviews or recaps					
3.7	Review key points at the end of a 'teaching stage'					
3.8	Compare and contrasts ideas/notions					
3.9	Explain words and concepts in simple terms					
3.10	Present topics in a clear and systematic way					
3.11	Demonstrate tasks / activities					
3.12	React spontaneously to unforeseen situations or learners' questions (e.g. someone enters late)					

		Very important	Quite important	Neutral	Not very important	Not important
3.13	Facilitate a discussion					
3.14	Check learners have understood content/tasks					
3.15	Deviate from the session plan to meet learners' needs					
3.16	Supplement a presentation/discussion on a whiteboard, e.g. giving further explanation to help understanding					
3.17	Give overall feedback to a whole class/group/individual					
3.18	Explain a learner's performance and progress clearly					
3.19	Assess a learner's contributions in a discussion or assessment					
3.20	Understand a variety of international accents					

Part 4: Areas of importance to you. Mark answers with 'X'.

		Very important	Quite important	Neutral	Not very important	Not important
4.1	Job satisfaction					
4.2	Good salary					
4.3	Title / status					
4.4	Responsibility					
4.5	The respect of peers					
4.6	The respect of learners					
4.7	The respect of university management/ faculty heads / deans					

4.8	International recognition as an academic/professional					
4.9	Being good at teaching					
4.10	Being a model of good language use					
4.11	Being a model of good academic practice					
4.12	Publishing research					
4.13	Presenting at conferences					
4.14	Confidence in your ability as an academic					

Part 5: Other

5.1 Is there something you do in English but *do not do* when lecturing in your first language (e.g. use a type of activity or check session content with peers)?

5.2 Is there something you do in your first language but *do not do* when lecturing in English?

5.3 Is there anything else you would like to comment on [relating to English Medium Instruction]?

Appendix 6: Interview schedule

Key points/questions to cover in the interviews:

(The interviewer will follow up on responses as appropriate)

Note: Before the interview, ask the interviewee to have their questionnaire responses available for the interview.

1. Thank the participant for completing the questionnaire and taking part in the interview. Remind them of the purpose of the research, making reference to research info leaflet. Also remind them they don't have to answer every question if there are any uncomfortable areas and that can stop the recording at any time.

2. Ask if the participants have any questions about the process of the research.

-------- Begin recording -------

3. Ask participants to briefly outline their EMI context and how long they have been working in this field (incl. at their current HEI, when started lecturing in general and in which language).

4. Ask about their self-perception of language ability. Why rated at that level? Why do they think 'x' level is necessary? [where did this level come from?]

5. I will choose one or two areas from each section of the 'identity and ability' stages of the questionnaire [choose areas which show strong similarity or strong difference with language ability Qs]. Ask why important? Where did these ideas come from?

[where necessary, draw their comments back to their context and experience to get details/reasons/examples for their answer]

6. In area 4 of the questionnaire, ask lecturers how this value changes or is affected if they use/don't use EMI.

[where necessary, draw their comments back to their context and experience to get details/reasons/examples for their answer].

Eliciting strategies:

How do you feel about that? / What do you think about that? / [pausing] / *asking about other's experiences they can anonymously report.*

With part 3 on questions of confidence:

Q: Is the difference in your level of confidence in 'X' a problem/benefit for you/ss/peers/management?

*Re-iterate the ethics point about not needing to respond if they feel uncomfortable

7. "Does the relationship with students change when in lecture in x compared to lecturing in English?" "Tell me more".

"Does the relationship change with peers or university management?" "How?"

Ask how MOI affects each of these areas.

"Are there any other key relationships that change with your interactions in an English language context?"

8. Provide explicit link.: "We've been discussing Interactions with peers and management and how you fit with in that. Extending the idea to belonging, what makes you feel like you 'belong' in your institution?"

Belonging may relate to English-speaking academic communities, a sense of inclusion or otherness in other academic communities, the global academic community or their sense of agency in their role, knowledge of how systems work, navigating systems with ease, etc.

[where necessary, draw their comments back to their context and experience to get anecdotes/details/reasons/examples for their answer]

9. Ask participants if there is a type of English language they want to use, e.g. American English, UK English, a 'world English' or other. Ask why they have chosen this.

[where necessary, draw their comments back to their context and experience to get details/reasons/examples for their answer].

10. Ask if there is anything else they would like to comment on regarding this area.

11. Thank the participants for their participation.

-------- End recording -------

Appendix 7: Example of the 'F4 Analyse' coding

Appendix 8: Interview transcripts

Transcript: Participant S1

Participant S1	
1	I: You teach computer programming and you've been lecturing in English for four years. What percentage of your lecturing is done in English and what percentage is done in Spanish?
2	S1: So we can say that when I first started four years ago it was maybe just 10% or 20% but now I would say it is 80%.
3	I: Really. And how do you feel about the increase in that?
4	S1: So this is something that I requested so it was me who decided to take more English lectures and I made this decision because I feel that the students, so I have to teach discourse and with each discourse in eight different groups and from those groups five of them are in Spanish and three are in English. So, I chose those groups in English because I feel the students are more motivated and they are better students and that is the reason why I decided to select those groups. I could take the others if I wanted to, but nowadays I feel nicer to teach these students, which, by the way, most of them are Spanish as well.
5	I: Why do you think that they are more motivated in the EMI Classes?
6	S1: Well I don't think it is because of the EMI but because of the fact that the, so usually the students will follow the course in English, they choose to do so because it looks very good in their CV they have done their degree in English. So if they can, they choose to do it. Usually the students will follow an English course, they are students who have had access to more resources and they are better prepared in general. So it's just a demographic thing.
7	I: Ok. That's very helpful thank you very much. So you describe your English as C1 advanced, now is that because you have taken a test in English or is that your self perception?
8	S1: I have taken some informal tests. They do here a very short test like, I don't know, 20 minutes and they assign you a level. So that is why I said C1 and I also think that is my level.
9	I: Ok, and you think the minimum level in English to lecture in English is a C2, however. why do you think that?
10	S1: Remember you sent me the answers and I was just checking them and that really made me laugh I mean I feel to teach properly and to teach as well as I could teach in Spanish I would need to be, in my opinion, fully just say at the level of a native speaker. But I mean, students understand me. I

	teach, they pass the exams. They are happy, they come back. I mean, really my level is enough.
11	I: As you suggest the understanding is what they're keen for. That's a key point. Now the second section of the questionnaire asks you about areas for your identity, as a lecturer about your actual teaching practice, and you have suggested that they are all very or quite important. And I wondered, is there an area which you think actually this is the most important thing for you as a lecturer, in terms of your ability to lecture?
12	S1: So from my point of view of course, you need to know your topic and we assume that everyone knows their topic. But for me the most important thing when lecturing is to study that connection with the students. To communicate with them so you trust them, they trust you, you trust them and this communication. I don't know how to call this, the setting of a common space for communication where they will listen to you. And this for me is the most important thing.
13	I: How do you feel this changes when you lecture in English compared to Spanish?
14	S1: For me it is much more difficult when I lecture in English because to build this space, there are many things that you have to do, and informal communication is very important and being able to show them that you are nice and you are not aggressive and you will listen to them. And when I am doing this in a foreign language it is more difficult. So sometimes I resort to some minutes before or after the class when they come to talk to me, and there if they ask me in Spanish I answer in Spanish, because as I told you I have some international students but they are maybe 2, 3, 5%. Most of my students are Spanish, so my informal communication tends to be in Spanish.
15	I: And as part of this space, creating this space to communicate with your students, you say later on that you don't tell jokes in English but that you do in Spanish. Do you do anything to compensate for that. Are there any non-verbal things you do to compensate for not telling jokes, for example.
16	S1: I try to set the things that would be equivalent to the jokes, but they are not as useful. I mean, I am not good at telling jokes in Spanish either but I do small things to make everybody feel at ease, and in English it is much more difficult and I don't think I have a compensation mechanism, other than when I talk in Spanish.
17	I: Ok I guess you do the same things that I see you doing now, nodding your head, smiling and making all these positive gestures as well.
18	S1: Sure, sure. Non-verbal communication.

19	I: Ok. As part of your professional identity, of course you lecture, but you also do research. Is one of these more important than the other?
20	S1: For me research is more important than lecturing, so I am assessed on the basis of my research and not so much on the basis of my teaching and also my motivation. I like teaching but, if I had to spend all my time teaching, I wouldn't. I mean I think I would quit.
21	I: The research that you do is it all in Spanish, English or both?
22	S1: Well, I mean all the papers that we read and write are in English, so we can say it is in English. Communication with the team is mainly in Spanish because we have some international students but not that many and most of them are from Latin America. And so of course we have some members of the team who don't speak Spanish, and then we talk to them in English, but mainly our communication in research inside the team is in Spanish and of course outside the team is in English. And I also do research with people from abroad, so I am constantly using English.
23	I: Again a similar question about researching in English and Spanish. Is there anything in particular that you feel is problematic when you have to engage in research in English compared to when you research in Spanish?
24	S1: No not really because I read papers in English as there are nearly no papers in Spanish and so that's natural and I don't find it difficult and when we work in a team and one of the team members does not speak Spanish. But you get to have time. It's not like when you lecture when time is short and you need the time to convey information. When we work in teams, I don't feel it is such a problem. It's just saying things again or using other words or making a drawing. There are many alternatives.
25	I: Thank you. Let's go back to lecturing in English. You have talked about the difficulties of maybe creating that space to create the connection. Can I ask you about the ability to convey information to students? You're interested in your students understanding the information. Do they have any complaints or concerns about your level of English or your lectures in English?
26	S1: Yes, sure I mean, when I need to explain some complex algorithm or something that needs a lot of detail for them to understand, when I am speaking in Spanish there are many more resources that I can use and I don't make so many mistakes and it is easier for me. And I can give more information in a given time and space than I can in English. I try to compensate by preparing.
27	I: Do you think the students notice if you make any little mistakes in English?

28	S1: Yes, for sure they do, but I don't think they mind. Some of them won't notice because their level is below mine, so I don't think they notice. And some of them are bi-lingual and they realise I am making mistakes, but they don't complain.
29	I: How do you feel about making little mistakes? Is it something that you worry about a lot or do you think it doesn't matter at all?
30	S1: So, I used to worry about that a lot. I'm not sure you will remember my contact with you whilst I was with this teacher xxx. I took a course with him, a one week full time course, and there I realised that making mistakes is not important, and so I think I changed my mind there.
31	I: I agree. When I lecture I make so many mistakes in English. It's incredible. Moving on to Section 4 of the questionnaire I was asking about your professionalism and areas which you feel are important to your professionalism. And I was interested in the feeling you have between your learners, your peers and the university management. All of these are very important in terms of your professionalism. Does this change in any way because you are a lecturer in English or is it just the same if you were a Spanish only lecturer?
32	S1: Could you start your question again as I am not sure I got your question?
33	I: The perception of the students, your peers and the university management and their perception of you, does it change because you are a lecturer in English or would it be the same if you were a Spanish only lecturer?
34	S1: Yes, I think it does change because the students, well they are continuously assessing you. You make mistakes, and I'm not talking about the mistakes in the language, but when you say something, sometimes, you change things you don't realise like when you say 'left' and you want to say 'right'. These mistakes when you make them in English and Spanish the students are judging you. So, if you make mistakes they are kind of taking points out of your score when you make mistakes. I feel this happens. For my peers, well, if you teach in English everyone considers that you are very good, because you can teach in English and it is a positive point and the same for the university management. Teaching in English is a plus for you.
35	I: Why do you think the university management consider it a 'plus'?
36	S1: Because they want to sell courses in English because there is a market for this so this is something. I work at a public university in Spain in Madrid and there are four other public universities teaching the same grades as we teach. There are also some private universities, so everybody wants to have the best students and to get the best students if you have some

	courses in English, that makes you different. And in this specific grade I am teaching, we are the only public university that offers this grade in English, and that is bringing us better students. So that is why they want us to teach in English. And me and let's say half of my colleagues, we are civil servants and we are working here for life and they can't fire us unless we kill somebody, so if we speak English the better. Now they are starting the new people they recruit, they are starting to ask them for a certificate in English. And so the new people need to show that they speak English, but for people like me who have been working here for ten or twenty years, if we can do it in English for the same price, they are keeping very happy.
37	I: So really for you there is no direct benefit because you are already employed, but you have become a much more important asset, however, to the university?
38	S1: Well not really, I don't do it because of that reason. It's solely for me and it is something new. When I started I wanted to do something new and something different, and now it is because it gives me access to groups with more motivated and better prepared students.
39	I: Yes, and that makes it much easier to teach, I imagine?
40	S1: And more fun.
41	I: Now you have mentioned the new teachers, that are starting have to demonstrate an English ability. Do you think they feel resentment because they have to do that or do they see it as a natural part of the job?
42	S1: Well, getting a research or teaching position in a university, there are a lot of people who want this position. We have many, many students doing their PhD and most of them need to leave this university after getting their PhD because there are no positions for everybody. So asking them to show a certificate in English, they think it's fair because they have to do much more difficult things and so that's not a problem for them. I think they consider it fair. Maybe I am wrong, because I am not in close contact with so many of them, but I mean, this is not the worst thing they have to do.
43	I: Do you have any older colleagues who don't speak English who are perhaps being forced to learn English in order to lecture in English?
44	S1: So for us so far, it's done on a volunteer basis and nobody is forced to teach in English if they don't want to. I don't know how this will change. I don't think they will be able to force us. Maybe it will reduce your choice of some courses that you prefer and that is the only thing, but I don't think they can force us as I told you we are civil servants and have been granted this job for life and, if they don't want you to teach, you can always stay at home. I think that's the way it works.

45	I: And thinking about your professional relationships, aside from students, peers and the university management, are there any other groups that influence your professional life and your professional decisions?
46	S1: Well, maybe the administrative staff, but this is less of an academic or professional relationship and more for day-to-day things. That's it, I think.
47	I: That's very helpful. Thank you. Now, we've been talking a little bit about the interactions between you and your students, your peers and the university management. I'm very interested in what you feel makes you belong at your university. Is there anything in particular that gives you this sense of belonging?
48	S1: Lately I have some troubles with this feeling of belonging and I don't feel we are such a tight group, a tight institution. There have been many problems with different things, mainly those positions I mentioned, who gets the new positions and I don't think teaching in English has any role in that, no nothing. I mean, I feel that it is a good thing that my university is following this path of offering the students the option to learn in English because it is getting us more students and better students. So it is a good idea and this helps me think better of my university management. But for my feeling of belonging, this doesn't change anything.
49	I: Ok. Forgetting about English medium instruction, in general, what makes you feel that you do belong and what makes you feel you don't belong?
50	S1: I think it's mainly the decision-making process. If you have a say, then you feel you belong. If you feel everything is done without getting the opinions of the teachers or getting the opinion of a type of teacher or the teachers for our department, not you yourself but say the group you belong to, then I think that is the most important thing.
51	I: And does that group include the students for you?
52	S1: Well, I think I would feel very bad if the students' opinion was not taken into account at all, but they have some representatives in the decision-making process, I don't think it is so important.
53	I: Thank you very much. Now, just going back to the questions at the end of the questionnaire. Is there something that you do in Spanish but you don't do in English? You said two things: one, you don't tell jokes and the other is that you don't review the theory before a practical session and I wondered why that was?
54	S1: So, this happened more in the beginning when I started teaching in English because I felt that I didn't have enough time or that I needed to prepare more. In Spanish, I don't need to prepare it. I think in the beginning in English I felt that I needed to prepare it to make sure I knew all the words

	and how to pronounce them. But now I have been doing this, this is the fourth year, I think this has changed, I mean I would do the same.
55	I: Thank you. Equally in English you check your exam papers with peers. Is that to check the English of the exam papers or to check the results?
56	S1: Yes, to check the English.
57	I: I have one more question. The English that you speak is, of course, very, very good and I wondered if you are aiming to have a particular type of English. For example, do you want to have a British English, an American English or an international English standard? Is there a standard you are aiming for?
58	S1: So, when I was young, I spent some months in the UK and if I see there are two ways to pronounce a word when I look these up, I choose the British one and the same for the words. If I am aware of a word that is different to another one I usually stick to the UK one only because that is the one I learnt but I am sure that I have learnt some words in American English that I am using and I am not aware of it. I think it is better to use one of them, stick to one, but I am not sure I am able to do it.
59	I: But there is no particular reason, apart from the fact you had this little time in the UK, there is no particular reason why you are interested in a British pronunciation rather than an American or Australian one?
60	S1: If I choose one, it is this British one because it is more natural for me and this is the reason.
61	I: Thank you. This is the end to the questions for you but is there anything relating to this topic or anything relating to lecturing in EMI before we finish that you wish to add?
62	S1: I think my case is particular because I teach in English to Spanish students, and I am not sure it is so common in other countries. The problem for me, usually I teach twice a week and one of these sessions is in a computer lab. So typically the students are working on their own on their computers and they ask me questions and I give them general advice and I also help them individually. And there it is very, very difficult to talk in English to a couple of students who, among them, who are talking in Spanish. This is why I say it is particular to my situation and what makes it difficult. And if I am tired, I just give up and these one-to-one conversations they are in Spanish.
63	I: Do you think that there is any particular problem if that happens?
64	S1: I feel I am cheating because we are supposed to be doing things in English. That's the only thing.
65	I: How do the students react when you reply to them in Spanish?

66	S1: I try to continue in English but if I am tired or if they do not follow then I switch to Spanish and they are always happy when I switch to Spanish. And it never goes in the other direction that I speak to them in Spanish and they answer in English, that never happens.
67	I: Alright. Thank you again for taking part in this interview it is very, very helpful

Transcript: Participant S2

Participant S2	
1	I: I see that you have been lecturing for twenty-four years, a really nice length of time and you have been lecturing in English for eight years. Can you tell me a little bit about that lecturing for eight years? Is it just about 25% of your lecturing time or is it 50%? What proportion does it take?
2	S2: It will be about 25%, something like that.
3	I: Has it always been about 25%? If you think back to when you started about eight years ago, or has increased over time?
4	S2: Mmm, no. I think it was about ten years ago my university decided that lecturing has to be done in English. Even though these courses are for Mechanical Engineering Degree, so it has to be four or five groups in Spanish and one in English and it started like that. So, the thing is they came to my department and this is a subject from first year, so they came to the department and said who is going to lecture in English? A lot of people say that they are not going to do that they are Spanish and that they speak Spanish and they are not going to do this in English at all and I thought why not? The main advantage is that the groups are smaller and so I said I prefer to teach about 20 people in English than 60 in Spanish, so I said I am going to do it. The subject is the one that appeared in that moment that I feel comfortable with the issues that you have to explain about technology of materials, so I could have chosen any other subject but this is one that I really like and so I say, OK, this is a good chance for me. I have been able to change it during time to move to another subject, but even if it was in Spanish I am not going to do it and so I said, I know how to do it, I know the subject so only if I change I do it so, but if not I am not going to do it. It is 30%, because it is to be honest. When I make the decision, I didn't think in the amount or whatever.
5	I: You mentioned that it was a good opportunity for you to be doing this and you said that it was in part to do with the smaller class size. In what other

	respects do you think it was a good opportunity for you to volunteer to lecture in English?
6	S2: I don't speak so usually English and it is obvious, and when I first travel abroad I have problems with people in Europe or when I go to a conference then I speak English. Usually I travel in that moment maybe twice a year something like that, three times, so at the end it is considered a short time. My little daughter more or less was five or six years old in that moment. She was in a school that speaks in English and Spanish so it was a good chance for me so I, let's say, recover or I tried to improve myself, yes, lecturing in a semester once a week, an hour at the house, something like that. So, then I have to be used to talk in English one and one again so. And my wife, who is also lecturing here in the university with me, says, tell me that I have improved my English my pronunciation, my ability. As you can see I don't always forget the 's' in the first person, things like that, and in the course I try to be accurate because it is much better for the people who listen to you but it is hard for me. Only fifty years, also I prefer to do it in a nice manner and this was the reason. Personally, I was comfortable in the classes and I can speak with my daughter being more comfortable also with doing it, and my English has improved even.
7	I: Yes. Moving on to the topic of your English. You describe yourself as upper intermediate, a B2-level proficiency. Have you taken an exam to get that level or is it your perception of that level?
8	S2: No, I made an exam, I suppose, about thirty years ago, but it was the first certificate, which is a B2. But I think about fifteen years ago, something like that, the university gave us the chance to make a school courses here and they made us another exam to know the level and it was social B2. And so I think that in fifteen years I haven't changed, more or less. I see how my wife and my daughter speaks English and people around me and I more of a speech, and I'm pretty sure that I am not as bad and I'm not C1 at all.
9	I: You say that compared to your peers at the university your language is above average. Can you tell me a little bit about that and the peers you work with in your department?
10	S2: My language you mean English?
11	I: Yes. Your English language ability being above average compared to your peers.
12	S2: I think it is a little bit, I'm not the best one obviously. But there are young people about let's say, twenty-five to thirty-five, that are much better than me and people who have travelled and made a stays in other universities for three, four or five months and so they feel very comfortable talking in English and they do it better than me. But, specifically it was ten

	years ago, I was one of the best ones. I am talking about people say from forty years old and above, I can be above the average.
13	I: Good. And when it comes to being able to lecture in English, what level of English do you think it is necessary to be competent as a lecturer?
14	S2: I think that B2 can be a good compromise, to be honest. I think the first thing that you have to control is the technical issues as I am going to talk about the technology materials. My experience is that in some departments in our university, when they started with this experience, let's say young people and people like me say, 'I'm not going to do it', so they contacted another university and contract people who knows how to speak English in a very nice manner but has no idea what they are to talk about. So, I think it has no sense. I think lower than B2, is not an accurate way so I have to teach in English. I don't think the university expects from me that I am like Shakespeare, for instance, or something like that but they should expect from me a certain level. I think that a first certificate is sufficient and when I travel abroad now, I can speak with everybody without any problem at all so I think this is a nice level.
15	I: We'll come back to a couple of those points later but moving on to another section of the questionnaire you filled in which was about your identity as a lecturer and the things which you feel are important to be able to do. And it's the one I sent through.
16	S2: Number 2?
17	I: Yes, number 2, and I'm just looking at some of the pieces on this and there are some things which you feel are more important than other areas of these points as a lecturer for your teaching ability. So, for example, it is more important to you to present tasks in a clear and systematic way than perhaps it is to create worksheets or to review teaching points. And I'm interested in where your perceptions of what is important as a lecturer come from.
18	S2: Can you repeat the question? No, no, just kidding. It is difficult to answer because sometimes those things are perceptions. So, I think that when I prepare my slides and my classes, I think that I have to do it in a good way. But many people do it in different manners. So, I think that it is important for me to do it this way because I want to be comfortable with it, but I don't think many people think like me. To be able to talk about almost everything in the subject without any problem. To be honest I have summaries of the two lessons that are far from my usual scientific work so I have to fast reading, but if not, I don't have to do it. So there are things that I have to learn and there are things that I know. I don't put my time in reviewing what I am going to teach and things like that. I suppose the time,

	the first year I do it. Almost every year I change some things in my slides because I think that I want it to be better, but I don't make a lot of reviews. But in fact I think you have to be a teacher so that the students have to understand what you are talking about and they have an idea about the subject you are teaching.
19	I: As a working lecturer at the university, research is an important part of your day-to-day work, or the work you do in the year. Do you associate more as a lecturer educating others or do you see research as being more important or are they equal for you?
20	S2: My education.....? Sorry....
21	I: So if you think of your job as a lecturer, partly being research and partly being teaching, which one do you feel is more important or are they both the same?
22	S2: I think both of them are important and are more or less the same, yes.
23	I: Good. Thank you. Of those things which you think are important when you are lecturing, how much does that change when you lecture in English? What are the things you feel are difficult when you are lecturing in English, if anything?
24	S2: Grammar is the most difficult thing. I usually like to speak fast. I'm very involved in what I am saying and I try to convince the students and, so people know exactly what I think and so, from time to time, I get lost around the grammar. These things about saying the 's' at the end and things like that. This usually escapes me.
25	I: So the grammar is part of your ability to speak accurately and what is the reaction from your students when they notice these grammatical inaccuracies, do they say anything or do you think they don't notice?
26	S2: The first time I was lecturing, the first year, I was very afraid because I was thinking, 'ok these people who are sitting in front of me which level of English will they understand me?', and you know all the things that a person can ask himself so after three or four classes, I notice that there are a lot of people from Spain in my class and they understand me perfectly. In fact, these people complain when they have, let's say, an Indian professor who speaks English in a manner that they are not used to. So, the way a Spanish person speaks is very nice for them. And there are also people from abroad, I don't know because I am their professor so they think that I don't want this man to make me fail this exam or something like that, they say that they can follow me without any problem. So, then I feel happy. I am not sure it is an honest answer or not, but this is what they say. After the first two years I am comfortable and you say OK, my English is not the best one from Oxford or Cambridge, London or whatever but I think I have a way

with my pronounciation and my grammer is not the best. But when you see the football players come to Spain and in four months, they can speak Spanish. It is not the perfect Spanish but everybody understands them.

27 | I: And do you think your learners are satisfied with the understanding rather than having perfect English in their lectures?

28 | S2: I think that the students prefer understanding.

29 | I: Yes. It makes sense certainly. You have given me really helpful answers, thank you and we have just got a little bit more to go. I was interested to look at Section 4 in the questionnaire about the areas which were important for your professionalism, the general areas, and you have indicated things like job satisfaction, the respect of your learners and just to explore this a little bit more, what gives you job satisfaction?

30 | S2: Ahh. A difficult question. In fact, when you sit at classes and feel comfortable and see that people follow you and try to understand my point of view and try to learn, this is important because they are the students. And to these people I am trying to show my abilities in teaching. When I make things in the class and people say that's nice and when the students show interest in what you are teaching it is very nice and it satisfies me. You say, OK, they understand me. And when you make research, at the end, the satisfaction comes from the money – it comes from the Ministry. There should be a positive answer. That satisfies me.

31 | I: You mentioned that it was satisfying when your students can follow you. Regarding the respect of your learners, it was interesting you felt the respect of your university management was less important than the respect of your learners and I was interested as to why you felt that.

32 | S2: The university management, I don't think they are interested at all in our opinion. I have the idea that, in fact, they do not try to know exactly. There is a Rector and Vice Rector, they sit on a table, they decide, and so at the end of this kind of management they do not know who is who. Maybe there are some who can know it but not all. It is not because of my lecturing but because of other things that can happen. My learners, at the end, I have a semester one to two classes per week and at the end I have been with them twenty to forty hours. Plus the exam plus whatever, so at the end they are closer to me so this is why to have the respect of my learners is more important to me. Managers are very different. For instance, here we have a way of lecturing where they make big groups with maybe 120 people and there were a lot of people like me who said this was not good and that it's not possible, and moreover you are not evaluating all these people. Maybe you can evaluate half but managers do not mind. I am always talking against managers, so I will never be a Vice Rector.

33	I: Equally you said a similar thing in respect of your peers, your fellow colleagues, and I wondered if you would talk a little bit about that? Is that a different relationship with your colleagues than with the university management?
34	S2: I think that many people here respect my colleagues that are closer to me. They do not do it because how I teach or things like that. I think it is, not because of English, it is more a general thing. That there are many inputs of working with similar people 10 to 15 years and this is what they respect, and if you have to do some things you do it and things like that. There was a professor here, a full professor but is now not at the university that would say about his English, 'I am the best, I am the best', just because he speak English, and he didn't even know the specific language of materials, when he speaks in English. So, I really don't think my colleagues here will have better thoughts about me just because I do it in English or not, and I don't think they are interested in this at all.
35	I: Thank you. Maybe that respect comes more from your ability to do work and the length of time you have spent at the university and this kind of thing?
36	S2: Yes, of course this is really general.
37	I: Considering these three groups: The students, your colleagues and the university management, do you think there is any difference in their perception of you when you do decide to lecture in English? Does it bring you any benefits or any problems?
38	S2: Neither, benefits, no. Some years ago the managers here said that they were increasing the hours by 10%: I must teach in English from 21 hours to 23 hours and so there is no benefit for me, no, just because I lecture in English. When I did my choice none of the managers are going to say you are great, marvellous, and then you have an increase of 10%. In fact, I haven't done it. My colleagues, well I think there is another man, who is a little bit older than me and he also said, 'I am going to do it in English', but in fact people like him are more or less 50 years old like me. We are about 16/17 permanent professors in my department and there are only two permanent professors are lecturing in English, so I don't think my colleagues have more or less respect. At the beginning they asked, 'why are you going to do it?' I just said I prefer it because I am not going to say I prefer to have a class with only 20 students compared to 60. 32 So again everything is an advantage for me. The students don't mind. They just want to do it in English. And that's all.
39	I: Thank you very much. Earlier on you said that there are some younger lecturers who have very good English, maybe because they may have

	worked in an overseas university or they have taken part in an overseas study programme. Do you think for those younger lecturers there is more or less opportunity because of their English language ability?
40	S2: Nowadays more. In fact, there are not a lot of opportunities of permanent positions in my university. And the last person who got one is because she decided ten years ago to lecture in English and people who are expanding their contracts nowadays in this department they say, 'I'm going to lecture at least 50% in English'. At least in theory, at the end they do not have to do it, but they sign that they are going to do it. People who do not speak English nowadays, it is more difficult in fact. In fact, to be honest, I think all young people in my department now speak good English.
41	I: Thank you. Do you think that for older teachers that do not speak English so well, do you think that causes resentment or do you think they see it as a good opportunity for the young lecturers?
42	S2: They think it is a good opportunity for them. They say, 'OK'. It is not a problem at all. Our university asks for people to lecture and teach in English so, for me it is an advantage, as I don't have the problem in finding who is going to lecture, and it is a good opportunity for them.
43	I: We have been talking about the interactions between the students, your peers and the university management, and I wonder, is there anyone else who has a professional influence on your work?
44	S2: On my work? No, no-one really. My family, maybe. That's all. But not much.
45	I: OK. Thank you. I would like to explore your sense of belonging at the university. What is it that makes you feel that you belong at the university?
46	S2: I am happy to belong to this university but I know that it is very difficult for the university to operate in a very personal and friendly manner, but I am doing what I like and I have to be happy with that, but I would be happy to lecture in a university and happy to be here. I think I'd be very happy to lecture in another institution without any problem at all.
47	I: Part of the reason you feel you belong at your university is because it makes you happy. Can you say that there is anything in particular that makes you feel happy at being at this university, perhaps in relation to the students, your colleagues or the management?
48	S2: In general there are a lot of people… This university was created in xxxx. I arrived here xxxx and it was a very small university and a lot of young people were coming here so it was a very different way compared to other universities. I studied in xxx in Madrid, a very old university with a lot of old people. Many people fighting against the other. People who were almost 50 - 60 years old, bored doing the same work and it felt very

	uncomfortable. There was another university in xxx and I had some problems with the language. People are less friendly like in xxx like in other places in Spain so here in xxx people are friendly and it was a young university I know people here for more than 20 years and people have changed. Young people start and want to be happy and work as better as they can so this is great.
49	I: Thank you it sounds like a nice place. Your English is excellent and you are using English a lot. Is there a particular variety of English that you are interested in getting, for example, would you prefer to have an American-English, a British-English, an Australian English, or is it just enough to have a general international English?
50	S2: But you are British.
51	I: Yes, I am British, but I won't be offended with what you say.
52	S2: Not only from the lecturing, I have students from Lithuania, Poland, Italy, the United States, France, but I don't remember having any students from Britain. I have known in my projects all people including Britain. In general I think that people from the States and people from the UK are most complicated. I can understand you personally, you speak out very nice English. Sometimes I get lost in the questions because I use a very old computer and these earphones, I don't like them, and these things make it a little more difficult. But in fact, sometimes, the people I have noticed are more complicated from time to time are people from Britain and the States. I have heard people, as well as you, people from the States I can understand them perfectly, but I would say people from non-English countries like the Netherlands, Sweden whatever, they are easier to understand for a Spanish, not for me, but for a Spanish. Australian people, I don't remember if I have ever met an Australian in my life. I like Rugby and I usually take a download of rugby matches, the championships in Australia and New Zealand, from England against France and they are always in English. So my wife says, 'OK, you can understand this man because this man is from the BBC'. Yes, this is right but as we were talking before. If you see on Spanish television the woman who is telling you the news speaks nice. If you try and take a beer in Almeria, maybe it's a little bit more complicated.
53	I: Because of that I guess you are happy to have an international English rather than trying to specifically have a British-English accent yourself?
54	S2: Although I learned everything in the same British. Because when I was young everything was coming from Britain. For instance my daughter, the one who I told you was speaking English in the school, students from different parts of the world were coming into the school to make internships,

	England, Wales, Ireland, Australia different parts of the US and so she's very used to different ways of talking English. When I learnt there was no internet, and everything came to Spain from the UK and so this is what I have, everything was British for information.
55	I: That's helpful. I think I should mention that a lot of people have the same problem. They say British and Americans are more difficult to understand when they speak English than people who speak English as an international language, which is interesting. Now that is the end of my main questions, but before we finish is there anything else you would like to comment on in relation to English Medium of Instruction and your experience with it?
56	S2: I think that people who is afraid is completely wrong. I think that if you are not afraid of talking in English, and you have a certain level, lecturing in English has no specific problem. So, I really don't understand people who say that they are not going to do it in English, in fact, I do not understand them. People who speaks English, I mean I have my colleague, I work with him and he is 64. And is learning French, and he almost doesn't speak English and it is stupid to try to put him to lecture in English, but for young people to say they are not going to do it is wrong.
57	I: Why do you think they say that they don't want to do it even though they might speak English?
58	S2: They are afraid. They are completely afraid.
59	I: What do you think they are afraid of?
60	S2: I'm not sure about that. I am not sure why they are really afraid. To be honest I don't know the reason for that person.
61	I: That's very helpful. Thank you very much.

Transcript: Participant S3

Participant S3	
1	I: How long have you been working at the university in total?
2	S3: Yes, in total. I began in 1995 and so now I have been teaching for twenty-three years. Wow a long time.
3	I: Yes, and that is in Accounting and Finance, is this the subject area?
4	S3: Yes. Accounting and Finance. Accounting, really.
5	I: And how long have you been lecturing in English?
6	S3: This is my third year.
7	I: And what percentage of your lecturing is in English?
8	S3: In the first semester it's more or less 40%.

9	I: Is this the same for the second semester?
10	S3: No I don't have an English class in the second semester because our subject in English was only for one semester.
11	I: Why did you decide to lecture in English?
12	S3: I have been looking to lecture in English for, I don't remember, this is the third or the fourth year, only because I love speaking English and I wanted to improve my English and this is the only aim. I should have said it is because of this feeling, but I don't know, my real purpose is to improve my English.
13	I: And so it was a voluntary decision?
14	S3: Yes of course.
15	I: Are there any other advantages to doing this course apart from being able to use your English?
16	S3: Not for me. I teach Accounting or I have been teaching Accounting for a long time and I don't really know the words for Accounting. Why, because my research is not in Accounting. We cannot publish if we research in Accounting so I research in, I don't know, Corporate Social Responsibility and Gender and so I know the words in other fields but not in Accounting. So, I want to improve my English.
17	I: The classes that you have in English, the international classes, are they the same size or are they larger or smaller than the Spanish classes?
18	S3: Are you mean the number of students?
19	I: Yes, exactly.
20	S3: Oh, it's less. I have like fifteen students in my class of English and I have eighty in Spanish. It is really different.
21	I: What is the effect on your teaching? Is it different with the class of fifteen compared to the class of eighty?
22	S3: Yes, it is really different for me because of the language and the number of students. Because with the number of students I have to, I don't know, say something like they have to be quiet but I do more or less the same class. It is more difficult to teach when they are eighty rather than fifteen, but for me it is more different because of the English and I feel like another person teaching English. I like to speak a lot and I like to give the student a lot of examples and in English I don't have the, it's not easy for me, so at least this third year.
23	I: Can you tell me a little bit about that? You say you feel like a different person?
24	S3: Yes. A really different person like I like to communicate a lot and Accounting is a subject that is difficult for them to understand and in the beginning you have to give them examples and perhaps I have to speak

	about equity and I have to ask them 'what do you have, what is your patrimony?' And they say 'what?' And I say 'yes, you have a T-shirt you have a car' and I say in Spanish 'you can't lie so now this is the opportunity for you to say you have a little or big boat…!' And in Spanish this is easier. Then I say that companies have the same, companies have machines and companies have furniture, you know, but in English ahhh, I am more - it is not easy, it is not easy.
25	I: So do you think you talk less in English and that there are fewer examples?
26	S3: Yes, fewer examples. I'm afraid of trying to say something I don't know the word to say. For example, in Spanish I have to speak to the students what an 'asset' is and the asset has to have the characteristic of benefit or profits. For the future and I can give them thousands of examples. In English I can give them two, and of course I prepare in advance and I have to call a machine, in general, a machine, and I'm not speaking about a machine who made pants because I don't know the name of this particular machine in English. So I am speaking always about a machine and a component for a different machine and I don't want to say that, I don't want really to say that, I want to be more focused on a particular machine, and the component of the machine, if you can understand me?
27	I: Yes. You said that you were afraid of not finding the words sometimes. Has this happened when you have been doing your classes in English when you haven't had the words?
28	S3: I mean, yes. I wanted to give the same example as I do in Spanish and as I realised I didn't know the word, like I told you, 'component'. 'Component' is useful for everything.
29	I: And what would you say is the effect on your lecturing in not being able to say the specific machine but to say machine?
30	S3: I don't think they realise because they are not attending my classes in Spanish where I am really a different person. I don't think they realise.
31	I: So only you realise?
32	S3: Yes, I think so.
33	I: How does that make you feel?
34	S3: Oh! I have really been trying to improve my English, I don't know, if I tell you, twenty, thirty years and I'm not exaggerating. As more I know, I know that I don't know anything about English because I miss a lot of words because of my memory. As you say 'the memory as a fish' or something like that. I need more vocabulary in general, not only in Accounting but in general.

35	I: Thank you very much. You have given some very interesting answers. You spoke about your level of English and your level of English is C1.
36	S3: Ahh this is what the exam or the test said, but I don't feel I have this level. Because at home we watch TV very often in English. My kids understand everything, and they laugh and I say what are you laughing about because I couldn't understand a word. So, I don't feel I mean I have C1, at least, I don't know, I think I should know more.
37	I: I see. And so you took a test in English?
28	S3: Yes I have C1 from xxx.
39	I: And there are four skills, reading, writing, speaking and listening. Was there a difference in score for those? Was there one that was easier than the others or would you say they were about the same?
40	S3: For the exam? For me in general it is easier to speak because you can go round at the end - you say what you want to say. Of course you have mistakes and of course it is not the best way to say but at least you can communicate, and I think it is very good for that because they don't stop you when you are speaking because if they understand you, you keep speaking. I used to go to xxx and for me there are a lot of rules and it is easy more or less for me to read and it is more difficult to understand a person. I can understand perhaps movies or programmes. Some of them are more difficult.
41	I: Thinking about your students when you are teaching in your international class, do you have any trouble understanding them?
42	S3: No. Perhaps a woman which is from China. Sometimes I don't really know what she is saying because these specific words for Accounting are difficult. They don't know, but they try and they invent like they do in Spanish but in Spanish I of course know that they have no idea! But I am not sure if she says something similar or not or she has just invented.
43	I: I guess a similar thing as you described earlier such as a machine, or a component of a machine
44	S3: Yes, but I don't know what they are saying.
45	I: Do you think there is a problem with the specifics, the understanding of the detail?
46	S3: Yes, yes.
47	I: Ok. Do you think there is a problem with the student's learning if they can't get the detail?
48	S3: When I teach them? I think that if I am able to give them an example, a general example, they can understand quite well the subject but I know that I cannot go in the same depth that I go in Spanish.
49	I: I guess that they can go into that depth in their own study afterwards.

50	S3: I hope so. But what I do I give them more materials, for example, for them to work with and this is something that helps me a lot too, because these materials I have, have all the different names of accounts, hundreds and hundreds and they have, and I have too. And I say let's see if we can support with some materials that I have, but I don't need this in Spanish.
51	I: So the materials help you and they help them. You said that compared to your peers your level of English is average.
52	S3: Yes, this is my point of view. I am, as my colleagues say, I am not an optimistic person but I don't know. Once I was listening to one of my colleagues teaching English and I felt very bad because he spoke a very bad English and he had been teaching in English for four years but he didn't care. But some of them have a good level. I remember this guy couldn't pronounce the word 'euro' and how can the students understand him, and that time was about four years ago and my colleagues said you know you can teach in English - look at him! This guy thinks he speaks very good English, but he doesn't.
53	I: It is interesting that you said this particular lecturer gave you confidence when you realised that his English wasn't so good.
54	S3: It was for me, from my point of view. Uf! Awful.
55	I: Why do you think that he didn't care so much about his mistakes?
56	S3: I don't know. I think he doesn't know to say the pronunciation of the word, I don't know. I tried to attend all the classes that we had so we had a class with somebody who has a very good level. He was Spanish but he could speak English very well and one of the exercise we had to do was give part of a lesson of the subject we wanted to teach in English and then this guy comes, I don't know, but he was confident and I was really surprised and this guy had been teaching for at least four years. I don't know. People are different and he was proud of his level of English.
57	I: So perhaps he was confident with his subject. Moving on to the next part of the questionnaire where I asked you about different teaching skills for your identity as a lecturer and you said that everything was either very important or quite important.
58	S3: Yes, because for me teaching at the university should be the first priority and here in Spain, I think we worry more about the research than teaching and for me it is really a big mistake because the students are the best assets we have. But not a lot of people think in the same way.
59	I: So in terms of teaching, what is one of the most important things you think a lecturer should do?
60	S3: You have to explain things in a way that the students can understand because they can't know a lot of Accounting. And if I speak like I do with a

	colleague the student cannot understand me and I think, how you say, to 'put yourself in their shoes' because I have students that arrive in the first course and they know nothing about Accounting. They don't even know what Accounting is. The first year some of them have studied some Accounting in school, but some of them have never heard about Accounting before. That was my real experience when I arrived to the university and I thought I could understand the subject, but then I asked what is this woman doing, so I couldn't understand a word and I always remember that day when I arrived there, when I was a student. Months were passing by and when somebody asked me what do you study? I said, this, this and this and Accounting and they ask what is Accounting? I don't really know! I know that I have been attending class for three months, but I don't really know what is Accounting. I realise that it is difficult, until some day you say, ahh, now I see what this is about.
61	I: And so that really helps you now as a lecturer as you see the importance of being very clear and to explain.
62	S3: Yes, yes.
63	I: You mentioned earlier about the difficulty of lecturing in English and that sometimes you can't be as precise. Do you feel you have less ability to explain when you are doing it in English?
64	S3: Of course. I'm not going to say 50% because I'm not going to be very unhappy with myself, but of course less ability. Language is a very important thing in fact you have to communicate everything. And I try to go to the student and I prepare things and give them things and I go around to see what they are doing, but I have to come back to my desk to see what is next and I don't need to do that in Spanish.
65	I: There isn't the fluency of lecturing?
66	S3: Yes, of course.
67	I: So, let's talk about your confidence of doing things in English. When you were going round and looking at the students, you can ask them some questions I guess, and is the interaction that you have with the students good?
68	S3: It's fine, but sometimes I am not as confident as I am when I take my classes in Spanish. Of course, when I give them an exercise I have prepared it in advance so I know what they can tell me or not, but when they ask me something different, it is difficult for me.
69	I: Is this because you haven't prepared?
70	S3: Yes.
71	I: In the section of the questionnaire where you filled in your confidence levels, you said you were very confident and quite confident at most things

	and for some things you are just neutral. For example, creating a workshop with exercises, or creating an example.
72	S3: Yes, this is what I am doing now. I mean I don't feel confident and I have to go through and look on the internet about words, about, I want to say this sentence, is this sentence correct? Is this Accounting part correct because this is the way I am going to write the sentence. I spend not double, but about four times more than when I do it in Spanish. My exam in Spanish is like I fill a sheet of paper and in English it is just two paragraphs.
73	I: When does the lack of confidence become confidence?
74	S3: I hope next year! I hope year by year. These are my first years and everything is new and I am preparing my slides from scratch so I hope next year I can focus on different things, different subjects and have more time to do more things.
75	I: So, the confidence will come from experience and you will have more time to do other things as you'll have already prepared some of your materials?
76	S3: Yes, I hope so. I am preparing my materials. I spent yesterday all afternoon with exam. I couldn't finish. This is incredible. I mean four hours for an exam is enough, although an Accounting exam is long but in English I am not confident with the exam now. I don't know if I have mistakes.
77	I: If there is a mistake in the English, does it matter?
78	S3: You know, I have to say that, 'a company purchased these goods to receive…' if I say something different then the student is going to understand something different and will answer a different way and it will be correct or incorrect and so some things are really important and you learn, of course.
79	I: So, the vocabulary is more important than the grammar?
80	S3: For me it is, yes.
81	I: Of course, it is a problem if the students misunderstand the vocabulary but if there is a mistake in the grammar is that a problem for you or for the students?
82	S3: I don't think so. You know if I say to a student that the company is going to purchase this and the expectation of the company for this product is to sell and they have to call this 'goods for resale', and if I say this is to 'make the process of the company' and I don't know if to 'make process' is the correct way to say that we are not going to sell. You know, in this way they have to call this machinery, a kind of machinery. But this is really different and so I have to use the right words.

83	I: Thank you very much that was a really nice example. Let's move on to the questions where I asked you about your professionalism, and about what you feel is important. You said that job satisfaction was very important. What gives you that job satisfaction?
84	S3: Ahh, for me the work and what is really important is the teaching more than research. Here in Spain teaching is not the most important thing because they don't value you because they don't say you are good or bad because of your lecturing but because of your research. So, the only advantage you have is the feedback from your students and at the end of the course we always a survey from the students, and they don't have to say their name of course, it is anonymous. And I have to say that I always have a very high mark from them. The top is 5. I always have 4.3 or 4. something.
85	I: You say that in Spain people don't value the teaching that they only value the research. Who doesn't value the teaching?
86	S3: I mean if I want to improve my career in my curriculum I don't even have a place to say that I am happy with my classes. I don't have this place I only have to say how many papers I publish and where they are in the journals, at the first level, and I have some of them and I have some of research but I don't like this part, or even if I like for me it is secondary.
87	I: Ok. So this value is value about research by the university?
88	S3: Yes, a commission that value lecturers in the university.
89	I: But your students don't really mind so much as they are interested more in your teaching?
90	S3: No, they don't mind. I have a lot of colleagues that don't care about teaching and you can see this, but they are very good researchers and you can see them make a lot of mistakes when they speak in Spanish, not English of course. You know we have a 'Spanish Accounting Plan', a book, we have to use it and this changed in 2007 so things are different now. I have a lot of colleagues who are not explaining things and say as it used to be before. I mean this is 2007 and they only have eleven years to change their mind! They don't want because nobody tells them anything about it.
91	I: And they are not interested so much in the teaching?
92	S3: Perhaps they are interested, but they have to improve in their career so a lot of them, how you say, prioritise because they can lose their job if they don't do this research.
93	I: Again, very interesting, thank you. You also mention that what is important to you is the respect of your peers, the respect of your learners,

	and the respect of the university management. All of them are the same. Is there one which is more important, peers, learners or management?
94	S3: For me? As I told you the students are the first thing we have to take into account. But to tell you the truth they are not going to make me, if the student thinks me good or bad it is the same nobody knows. I have my questionnaire from the students but nobody knows only I know them.
95	I: So the questionnaire doesn't go to your manager?
96	S3: No, it doesn't. If the lecturer has a bad results of this survey, of the questionnaire from the students they don't say anything because you don't have to show. I have been working here for a long time and I want to be, I need to be, seen from my colleagues and from the management and I try to work well in all the areas. This morning I had a meeting because I ran a commission and I don't want to because I don't like this commission. I spend a long time doing things, bureaucratic things but I think that somebody has to do it. So I try to do my best in these areas but I don't like that type of work.
97	I: Has the respect from your students, your peers, or the management changed in any way now that you are lecturing in English?
98	S3: No, it is the same. I think I change because I used to focus on only my students and I didn't care about the Director because I am a little bit, here at the university you have to follow some rules. I am not a person to follow rules if I don't think the rules are good, but little by little as I am getting older and I think ah, ok if there are rules and they ask to say or do that and I am not happy with it. But at least I am not going to say now. I am going to be quiet.
99	I: Ok. Thinking about value. You mentioned about the value of research over teaching. Do you think you as an individual are valued more at the university because you can lecture in English?
100	S3: Perhaps in general but I don't know in this department because as I told you before I have been trying to get this post for three or four years and the person who had this in advance of me has less level than me and so I should have taken the first year, but I don't know. Perhaps when you speak to somebody else not here in this university, but in this department they say, 'Are you really teaching in English, oh my god!' But I don't know in this department if I think it can be true, but not here.
101	I: Do you think that colleagues in other departments give you more value because you teach in English?
102	S3: Yes, I think so, or people who do not belong to the university.
103	I: OK. We have been speaking a lot about relationships with the students, and the management and you mentioned other people might be

	impressed or might give you value because you teach in English what are some of the other key relationships for you professionally. You have your students, your peers, your university is there anyone else who is a key relationship?
104	S3: Inside the university?
105	I: Anywhere.
106	S3: I have a lot of friends who do not work. I am speaking about women - they are married and so they have never worked and they are impressed with whatever you do. And if you say you are teaching in English and that you are teaching at the university, which you are, they are like, 'wow!', they think you are an important, intelligent person. They are easily impressed. Friends!
107	I: What about colleagues outside of the university? Do you have any academics or professional colleagues in different universities?
108	S3: Yes. I have friends in different universities and some of them teach in English too. I think it is always of value to teach in English. I mean you have to know the language and you have to be brave to do it because it is not only the language. You have to prepare a class and you want it to work and you want to do things.
109	I: And of course the teaching is very important and there is a little bit of research as well, but what about conferences, and presenting at conferences? Is this something you do?
110	S3: I used to. I presented a conference in Copenhagen in English and it was one of the most difficult times I spend in my life, and another conference in xxx I present about Artificial Intelligence because my Ph.D thesis is about this. If I tell you that my kids were young and I had to take my car very early in the morning to arrive to xxx and I was in a hurry about what I was choosing to wear. I was sitting in the first row because I was doing the presentation and I realised I am wearing different shoes! And I was sitting close to a guy, an auditor. I had never seen him before. I say to him ' Oh my gosh my shoes are different' and he looks at me like this is the most crazy woman I have ever seen and I ran to go to a shop to buy shoes and the guy in the shop looks at me like I am crazy. But this was because I was so nervous.
111	I: And this nervousness was because this was your Ph.D topic?
112	S3: No, no, it was because it was in English, of course. It is good to speak about Artificial Intelligence because nobody knows at this time. It was 2001 and I could speak whatever I wanted and so it was not because of this subject it was because of the English.

113	I: That was really good and also very funny, and you got extra shoes as well! Let's see, we have been discussing interactions. Let's move on to thinking about belonging and your feeling of belonging at the university. You have been there for xxx years. What makes you feel like you belong at the university?
114	S3: What I feel? A lot of people say that when they arrive at university it is because they love teaching since they were a child, but this was not my case. When I finish my degree I began to work in xxx and I was there for four years, but I realised that I didn't want to spend the whole day working and then I finished work at 10 pm. So I wanted to change my life and I only wanted to work in the mornings and it is not easy, of course. I am not the person who can say that 'I am a teacher because this is what I wanted to do since I was a child'.But after that when I began to teach and I had the opportunity I realised I loved teaching and I loved the way you can connect with students and you can help them not only with this study but, some of them, with more but what, I don't know, I cannot say, something.
115	I: And so it is not necessarily your position or your contract or your responsibility. There is not one thing?
116	S3: No, I mean perhaps I am saying this because I have a position, not a very good position but in this sense I can be quite calm. I'm not worry about it. But I cannot say anything else about this.
117	I: And is there anything that would make you feel you belong more? Perhaps if you could choose your courses more easily or your times to study and times to work?
118	S3: Ah, I don't know how to say this in English but I have something to do because I try and I try and I have, for example, this particular project and I have been trying to get a project for five years and I always get the 'No you cannot have the funds to make this project.'
119	I: Like a research project?
120	S3: Yes, but this is not because I love the project or the research it is because you know you have been doing something and you have never obtained and I don't feel when I obtain at the end I'm going to be more part of the university. It's only because you make a big effort and you have some day somebody tell you, 'OK you have already done', and it is ok.
121	I: Ok. Thank you very much I have only got a couple more questions. Thinking about your English and the type of English that you have. Do you want to have a British English, American English, Australian English, or are you happy with international English?
122	S3: I am not happy with my English this is the first thing I have to tell you. I would love to speak a very good English with a very perfect accent, but

	that is impossible. The English I know I can speak is because when I finish my degree, I went to New York for five months. So I learnt English there and for me it is easier to understand American but it depends because in Atlanta you cannot understand anything but it does depend on the person who is speaking to you. I don't really care if I have an American accent or English. I would really love to have a very good accent American accent or British. It doesn't matter.
123	I: Ok. That is the end of my questions. We have talked a lot about English, lecturing in English and your place at university but is there anything else you would like to talk about before we finish, about lecturing in English, that you haven't talked about already?
124	S3: I would just really just like to have more opportunity and more students attending classes in English. But I feel the university have classes in English because they have like a quality stamp that they do and not because they are really worried about it.
125	I: The reason the university have classes in English is not for internationalisation, it's perhaps more for prestige?
126	S3: Yes, it is for prestige. Everything is. You have points if you have different grades or similar. They don't care about it as far as I am concerned. The only reason they give these is prestige.
127	I: Thank you very much.

Transcript: Participant I1

Participant I1	
1	I: You say you have been lecturing for six years and three of those years you have been lecturing in English. What percentage of your lecturing time is in English and what percentage is in Italian?
2	I1: At the moment I am forty hours course in English, completely in English, and I don't have any course in Italian.
3	I: Ok. Was that the same last year as well?
4	I1: Last year I had two courses both in English. One in Italy and one in France. I was teaching European Union Law in a French university in English.
5	I: Ok and how did you move into lecturing in English instead of Italian?
6	I1: It was not my choice but since the university have this programme completely in English and the older ones don't want to teach in English so

	the courses are always given to the younger fellows. That's all. It was not my choice.
7	I: Ok. Since you have been lecturing in English, have you found any benefits such as giving you employment opportunities or promotion or anything like that?
8	I1: Not exactly because I am working at the university here in Italy and I am trying to make my career here and I even do not look for other job abroad at the moment.
9	I: Ok, thank you very much. Looking at your English level you describe yourself as C1 advanced. Have you taken an exam to verify that or is that your perception of your ability?
10	I1: It is my perception. I can easily write in English and read materials in English and talk better when I talk about my subjects when I talk about law and I have no problem for speaking, especially everyday when I teach.
11	I: Thank you. You also say the minimum level of English needed to teach is a C1 level, and why do you think a C1 level is the level lecturers should have?
12	I1: Because I think it is the minimum for being fluent you want to teach in English so I think the minimum fluency level when you are an advanced speaker.
13	I: OK. Thank you very much. Compared to your peers you described your level of English as average. Do you find that your peers have roughly the same level as you or do you think that some peers have a much higher level and some a much lower level?
14	I1: I think some of them are a much higher level because they spend times in USA or United Kingdom and others they speak the worst than me. I'm in the middle, I guess.
15	I: OK thank you. Do your colleagues who have a higher level of English, do they all teach in English as well or do some of them just teach in Italian?
16	I1: Some of them just Italian because they are older than me so that they can choose to keep the Italian courses and they do.
17	I: Why do you think that some lecturers only like to lecture in Italian even if they have a high English ability?
18	I1: Because it is easier. If you can speak fluently in English it is much easier. If you speak in Italian you can speak for half an hour and saying always the same thing but it is not the same in English. Teaching in your own language is much easier and there is not so preparing the lecture if you speak in your own languages and it is always easier to talk for one and a half hour.

19	I: Mainly is it to do with the preparation for lectures? Do you need to do more preparation if you are lecturing in English?
20	I1: Yes, I think so.
21	I: How about the class sizes are they generally larger or smaller between English and Italian classes?
22	I1: Smaller in English. Classes are smaller because it is a specific course and is completely in English so there are less students that start these kind of studies. Maybe you know it is a big issue in Italy to speak a good English so the average of the students, especially those who decide to study law, have not the level of English and they prefer to follow the normal courses in Italian.
23	I: When you are teaching in Italian and teaching in English do you use slightly different activities?
24	I1: No, the class is more or less the same. Maybe I ask more questions when I teach in English because I want to check if students understand whereas in Italian they understand because it is in their own language.
25	I: Of course. Are there any advantages in teaching a smaller class than teaching a larger class?
26	I1: Yes, sure, because you can involve more the students when you ask questions and when you have one hundred students nobody will answer your questions, but if you just have twenty students you will have two or three who always answer.
27	I: Ok, thank you very much. Just looking through some of your answers on your questionnaire about your identity as a lecturer and the things that you think are important or not important. Of these things what is the most important thing for you as a lecturer?
28	I1: In general?
29	I: Considering the teaching role. What do you think is the most important thing as a teacher in your lecturing position and what is the most important piece for you?
30	I1: For me it is being able to engage the students in the class otherwise it is just me speaking for two hours and it is useless, I guess.
31	I: And what are some of the techniques you use to engage the students in the class for up to two hours?
32	I1: I give them readings that they are to read before time to the class and then I ask questions and sometimes I ask questions and ask them to speak with their own colleagues in order to give an answer. If nobody is answering I say ok check with your colleagues to see if you can find some idea, but it is more just asking questions and waiting for an answer.
33	I: Do you think you do this more or less when you lecture in English?

34	I1: More in English. Actually, it helps let the time passing.
35	I: Is there a difference in the level of engagement between the students in an EMI class and generally in your Italian class?
36	I1: Yes because in the Italian class even though they should read something before the class they never do because they are not used to this in Italy. Whereas these students in the international class there are students coming from other experience and so they read and so on, so the Italians maybe they went abroad for Erasmus and they are used to read readings before the class and so it is easier to work with them.
37	I: Thank you very much. About your belief about the importance of engaging students, where did this come from?
38	I1: Because I spent one year in Canada and went to university there when I was young and I taught a class in French and I discovered this way of teaching which was more, you can say, was better, even for the students than for me because it was a real discussion, a real exchange with the students. And a value added to normal lectures instead of you just speak and they repeat what you say or what is said by authors in books.
39	I: Thank you. You did some teaching training with xxx recently but have you completed any other training in lecturing?
40	I1: No this was the first one and we don't have any kind of this training, even not in Italian. This was the first time somebody told me how I could teach, which method and tools I could use for teaching.
41	I: Have you had a chance to use any of these tools yet in your teaching?
42	I1: Yes, when I ask the students to compare their ideas with one of their colleagues and so on and it works. Because maybe they are too shy to say something at the beginning, but they discuss with their own peers and their ideas come out. So this was a very interesting and useful tool.
43	I: Thank you very much. Moving on to the next part of the questionnaire about your confidence in doing certain things in English and because you said you have a high level of English you felt quite confident in doing all of these things. In areas where you are not very confident, how does this effect your teaching? So, for example if you are creating a hand-out or creating some information on the website for your students, but it's in English, what is the effect of the lack of confidence on you?
44	I1: For me in Italian I can speak or say more. Or the sensing but in different ways, whereas in English I can say in two ways maybe to explain if they don't understand and then I can use the other way but I cannot do more than two tries, but in Italian I can use ten different words to one word in English or just use two or three. The explanations, they tend to be more shorter. And maybe this is better, yes.

45	I: OK. Looking at the difference to what you do in Italian and what you do in English are there any other problems apart from how you explain something when you lecture in English?
46	I1: Sometimes I find it difficult to understand the answers of the students or the questions. So for now I have a student from Canada and sometime he speaks very fast and uses a lot of words and so in the end I cannot always understand. And then I have a student from Germany and he does not speak a good English and when I ask him to repeat because I didn't get right, he uses the same words and with this strong German accent and so I cannot ask him to repeat the same time and I say "OK", but I didn't understand!
47	I: Do you think there are any benefits from lecturing in English to your students?
48	I1: Italian students or students in general?
49	I: Students in general when you are lecturing in English?
50	I1: Well, the advantage is the fact that we have our international classes, otherwise the Erasmus students would have to follow Italian classes and it is more difficult for them.
51	I: I expect it is quite important with your subject area as well that there is a lot of international involvement?
52	I1: Yes, it is for our European and international students.
53	I: Thank you. I am going to move away from the subject itself and now will ask a little bit more about the relationships with students and peers. Do you think there is a different relationship between you and your students from when you lecture in Italian and when you lecture in English?
54	I1: The classes are smaller when I lecture in English and the relationship is different, the atmosphere is more friendly because the number is smaller and it is easier to have more friendly relationships with the students because I know them by name. And this is not possible when you have one hundred or two hundred students.
55	I: Ok. Considering the language, do you think your students react to you differently when you speak to them in English compared to when you speak to them in Italian?
56	I1: Yes it is more tense when I speak to them in English because it is more difficult for them to understand and it's also that the students in that class are really motivated and there is a different type of study, and I have also really good students there. And there is the different way of teaching there. Is that I ask them, the students attending the class, to give a presentation at the end of the course. Whereas with the Italian students and the Italian

	course they have to prepare their exam from books and they don't really need to be always in the class and pay attention to everything that I say.
57	I: Thank you. How about the relationship with peers or university management?
58	I1: My relationship with my peers and the university management does not change because of the fact that I teach in English. It's not something my peers see in a bad or good way.
59	I: Maybe they don't see in a good or bad way but do you think they respect you for teaching in English or do they think that it is completely independent and something they're not interested in?
60	I1: I think that they don't care at all and this is very difficult to explain to people outside of Italy about how it works in Italy. I think they really don't care.
61	I: In some places the university management are very interested in whether or not a person can speak English. In your situation you were told to lecture in English because you have a high ability and you are young.
62	I1: Not so young. I mean I am not young at all! Young for the Italian academics….
63	I: Younger than some older academics I should say. How would your situation at the university change if you couldn't speak English or lecture in English?
64	I1: It is difficult to say because I am in the Department of Law but I'm researching Comparative Law and so you are supposed to know at least one other language. I know also French but we do not have courses in French and so I don't know for sure if I do not speak English. Because you cannot do Comparative Law without knowing languages.
65	I: We have talked about students and peers and the university management. Are there any other key relationships that you have in your professional life?
66	I1: In Italy we have maintain some relations with the professor we have when we do the degree, and it is very peculiar of the Italian universities and so it is very difficult to try to explain this in English and translate this and to explain why we have this strong relationship. They sort of choose us, the professor, when they think that a student is good enough for this career and they ask this person if they are interested in a role, in a PhD and then start them in an academic career. And this is the strongest relationship we have.
67	I: How does this relationship effect your day-to-day work?
68	I1: Yes, quite a lot especially at the beginning when they say what you can do and it is better to do it to achieve your career or not and in my case my professor is a very well-known professor and he is very good and he

	speaks very well English. And I didn't speak English very well and so it effected my confidence and now I grow up, so it is ok. I am still a little bit uncomfortable in speaking English in front of him. But one day I will have to do this.
69	I: Just going back to the question of confidence do you feel the same lack of confidence in your classes when you have, for example, your Canadian student or is it not so important for you.
70	I1: No, it is not so important for me. When I teach in Italian, I am a good lecturer but maybe you are not so focused on the lecture because you have other thinking problems so I think it is really like my Italian class. Some days are better than others. The average is ok.
71	I: Thank you very much. Now we have been talking a lot about the relationships with your peers and my next question is about the relationship within the university itself and belonging. What makes you feel that you belong in your university?
72	I1: This is a very hard question. I don't have this feeling at all. I am in a very weird situation because my department is caught in conflict between other professors and it effects my career and other careers of people my age and at this moment I do not have a feeling of belonging to this community because of this, so no, I don't have this feeling. You just work and I like to research and write and teaching.
73	I: What would give you a feeling of belonging at the university?
74	I1: If the people were, what to say, more friendly and avoiding this dispute. It is really sad because it effects persons who have nothing to do with the dispute. This dispute is really among older professors to say more power for the youth, so I can choose a person who is young and even not so good and make him to become a professor before the person that you want to be a professor and is older and is more experienced. So this is what is going on in my department. It is difficult to really have the feeling of being part of the community when you have colleagues like this.
75	I: If you could give three suggestions to help create a community what suggestions would you give?
76	I1: Stop fighting and just try to choose the best person for that work. It doesn't mean the most brilliant student but just a person who is able to have good relationships with other colleagues and be able to teach and do research. Yes, and cooperate more because each of us is just doing his own research and there are never occasions to speak to each other about our on-going research to compare and talk about our results and I think it is very bad because I did my PhD in xxx and we used to have meetings where we would discuss our work, even those of different topics because it

	was very useful. Sometimes you have an idea but when you talk with another person you think "OK, maybe I can change a little bit" and good suggestions.
77	I: Ok. Thank you. That's very interesting. You have talked a little bit about research and for you which is more important in your professional role the teaching side or the research side?
78	I1: I prefer the research side. I think the teaching is important to educate the young generation but I prefer to do research.
79	I: Yes. Ok. Let's move one. In the section asking about your professionalism you say that it is quite important that you are accurate in your English, or accurate in your language. In your language, Italian, you are accurate but in English you may be less so. How does that effect you in terms of your daily work?
80	I1: Well, I am accurate about using legal terms and I always use English when I do research because Comparative Law and International Law is written more in English and so I really use it the English text and I am less accurate about the language outside of the legal terminologies. I think it is bad for the students because, yes, it's a bad example.
81	I: You say it is a bad example. Can you tell me a little bit more about what you mean by that?
82	I1: I mean because of course I would not evaluate a level of English or student but if I talk with someone who has good English my level tends to improve but if I stick with a person who has the same level of English as me or lower I am not so focused on my language, so my level is lower than normal.
83	I: Do you think it is a problem if you make an error with your English language in front of students?
84	I1: No, I don't think it is a problem it is just that I have this perception about abroad. I may make mistake in Italian, well, not really mistake but you know when you speak and I am not reading my lectures and I don't know them by heart. So you have an idea and you start to speak maybe in the middle of the sentence and you change a little bit so you see some mistake. But you say ok just because it's not changing an idea it is just a distraction, but when I speak in English it seems ok she made a mistake because she is not able to speak in English. This is my perception and it is clear that I am not a native English speaker and it is normal to make mistakes.
85	I: Yes. Thinking about when you first started lecturing in English to now when you lecture a lot in English, what are some of the big differences you feel in either your confidence or your preparation?

86	I1: Yes, I am much more confident now. The very first lecture I must read all the lecture and prepare a very detailed writing of the paper of my lecture, and now I just have some notes but I speak without reading.
87	I: Ok. That is very very helpful. That is the end of my main questions but before we finish, is there anything else you would like to comment on about lecturing in English?
88	I1: Well, I do think it is good but that it is not so useful if we don't have a professor who is not a native English speaker, and this is my opinion.
89	I: Do you think it would be better to have more professors who were native English speakers?
90	I1: Yes, because if you are educated in England they can really speak very good English. I think your generation is speaking English much better than my generation and the previous generation. Because I know Italian students who can speak really good English and maybe they have been to high school in English countries or have done a high school in English in Italy so I think the new generation are better English speakers.
91	I: That's very helpful. Before we finish is there anything else you would like to say?
92	I1: I am happy with what I have said.

Transcript: Participant I2

Participant I2	
1	I: You are lecturing in Probability and Statistics and you've been lecturing in English for eleven years but Italian for ten years is that correct?
2	I2: Yes that is correct.
3	I: Ok. Good. The lecturing that you do in English is that 100% of the time or 50% Italian and 50% English?
4	I2: You mean in terms of yearly load?
5	I: Yes.
6	I2: It's not a fixed percentage. The first years I was teaching more in English because I came in contact with an international research institution that we have in XXX and there are also some educational programmes. So I started teaching in English there and that was my first teaching experience actually. Then when I got my first position in academia I started teaching in Italian too. I catch some courses in the other institution and then, you know, every year something changes so there's not a fixed percentage. The numbers I gave in terms of how many years are true. Maybe, one year I

	taught only in Italian and one year in English but over ten years, it is not that relevant.
7	I: That doesn't matter so much.
8	I2: Let me just say that at the moment, I am teaching in my yearly load fifty hours in Italian and around seventy in English. So, it is more English than Italian.
9	I: That's very helpful. Thank you. You place your English at C1, an advanced level. Have you taken a test to have that certificated or is that your perception of your ability?
10	I2: Ok it's a halfway between two. My partner is an English teacher OK, and so I actually asked her what is my level of English, yeah, and she told me. She is a certified native bi-lingual English teacher, so she told me I would put you halfway between an advanced and a C2 and so if you want to be on the safe side just put C1.
11	I: Ok. That's a good way to find out. You say about the level of English necessary in order to lecture in English should be a B2 upper intermediate. Why did you decide B2 for that question?
12	I2: Ok. Let me say I don't have the very precise differences between B1 and B2 but my perception in deciding that was that I believe the minimum level should be decided regardless of the possibility of the teacher making grammatical mistakes more or less often but at least they should be able to construct on average sentences with good grammatical form and that for me in my perception is an upper intermediate or something like that. So, without structural repeated mistakes especially in the structure of sentences and questions etc. That for me is my perception.
13	I: Ok. Thank you. We'll move away from English language a little bit now and ask some questions about pedagogy and the kinds of things that you do in the lecture room. In section two there were questions about what you feel is important for your ability as a teacher, a lecturer, and you listed lots of things under very important and quite important. Just thinking in general, is there any one thing in particular that you think is important for lecturers to do when they are teaching a group of students in Italian or in English?
14	I2: Well, the honest answer is that it depends on many factors among which I would put certainly the class size, and the level of the topic. Of course the medium of the language, the medium of teaching facts and the teaching itself. So, your question is if I had to choose one or two items which would I say is most important?
15	I: Yes.
16	I2: So, I would say clarity of exposition comes first, and second, I would put the ability to really involve the students' attentions.

17	I: How does this change when you lecture in English? You mentioned clarity of exposition is one of the most important points and your English is obviously very high. Do you ever feel that sometimes that is a problem with clarity of exposition, when you lecture in English compared to when you lecture in Italian?
18	I2: Very rarely on my side. It is another matter if it is a problem for the audience because they are 99.9% on average of my audience in class use English as a second language. And so on my side usually it is not a problem and it certainly doesn't effect, in a measured way, almost at all the clarity of exposition because I mean I am trained. English in my professional life has been part of the job since the very beginning and so, of course, sometimes you are missing a word and Italian you can do it right away but in English you have to think and paraphrase a little bit, but I can paraphrase so it doesn't really effect the clarity of my exposition. And concerning the second aspect, I think not at all in the sense that the most important factor for involving the students' attentions is the class size, and the type of topic and not the language of teaching. This is in my case and not in general. That is what I feel about me.
19	I: And just thinking about the class sizes is there a class size which you prefer, obviously a smaller class size, but in terms of numbers is it like ten to twenty or twenty to thirty, roughly speaking?
20	I2: So, let me say that in English I teach one class of roughly 10 to15. Another class which is 20 to 30 on average. And in Italian I teach a class of 400.
21	I: Aha!
22	I2: So that makes a huge difference. So, I would say 10 to 15 is the most comfortable. 20 to 30 is ok and 400 is not easy.
23	I: And which do you prefer lecturing to? Do you prefer the smaller groups in English or the larger groups in Italian?
24	I2: The smaller in English. No doubt.
25	I: Why is this?
26	I2: Because I don't think English for me is an obstacle in my teaching activity and so again the most important factors for deciding which environment I prefer are others. So, the topic, the class size, the level of interaction I am able to establish with the students, even implicit, even just understanding their attention and how they understand, but sometimes getting answers and something like that. So the language is not in the first place for deciding which environment I prefer, it is rather the class size and the relationship with the class.

27	I: The fact that you can lecture in English so well means that you have the choice of taking the smaller class size which for one of your peers who doesn't speak English is unable to do.
28	I2: Yes, to a point. I mean there are some rigidities in the allocation of courses and teaching loads, so I am OK and I am happy to do that, and other colleagues may not be. But I couldn't choose to switch my classes in English to Italian next year. That I couldn't do. I couldn't choose to switch my Italian classes to English next year because there are rigidities and so it is whether one is happy or not and that is how it is going to be I guess. Unless you find a substitution or some other colleague, but that is a structural type of change.
29	I: So when you started with your current job was the fact that you could lecture in English a requirement of the job or was it something you volunteered to do later?
30	I2: My early class in English it was a requirement, and so in this higher education institution I have been affiliated to since the end of my PhD. All courses are taught in English, so it was a requirement and I didn't have a choice.
31	I: Thank you. Just going back to something you said earlier about the clarity of exposition you said that it may not be a problem for you but it is perhaps for your students and I wonder how do you compensate or help if your students are having a little problem with their understanding because of their language level?
32	I2: Well, I certainly paraphrase. I make sure I go through the key argument or notion a few times with different words and different ways of describing it and possibly I check if the repetition with the wording worked and if they got the message. I try to provide an example or a counter example or something like that.
33	I: Thank you. Moving on to a later part of the questionnaire I was asking about the importance of sharing ideas with colleagues or discussing areas with colleagues. When you are discussing class matters with your peers, is this normally in Italian or in English?
34	I2: It is in Italian.
35	I: Would you ever decide to do it in English?
36	I2: Discussing the class matters with my peers, I would have no problem with that it would be awkward, but if it is a private conversation and we are both Italians it doesn't really need to be in English, so I don't know. Sometimes I mix the two languages in the same conversation.
37	I: Just as it becomes necessary?
38	I2: Yes.

39	I: Ok. Thank you very much. Now just thinking about your skills as a lecturer in general, not necessarily in Italian or English, are there any areas which you feel weak in or you feel lacking in confidence in terms of your ability?
40	I2: Ok. So, lack of confidence or lack of ability?
41	I: Something that you would like to develop more perhaps?
42	I2: Ok, certainly more confidence and a better strategy in delivery to a mass audience, so with a crowd essentially, because you have to compensate for lack of direct interaction, even eye contact or something and the herd behaviour that develops in class, which is difficult to deal with and we need to improvise as we are not trained for that. That's one thing. Another thing that is highly personal is the fact that sometimes when I don't feel I own the specific topic of the class, I feel on edge with maybe with students that have a very strong background, and of course everybody is afraid that somebody will spot a mistake or something like that, so sometimes there is that factor too.
43	I: Ok, thank you. Thank you for your honesty there it is very much appreciated. When you say that you sometimes feel on edge how does that manifest itself? How is it demonstrated in your character or personality?
44	I2: In class I guess I end up speeding up my pace of teaching, you know, to get away with the topic as soon as possible and so, I imagine, the clarity of my exposition diminishes because I give less time for the notion to sink in, etc. So I would say that is the first change the first type of reaction I have. And I am less eager to interact with them, and you know, ask if they have understood the questions, comments or dedicate more time to analyse the sort of thing that I have just explained.
45	I: Ok, thank you. Is this the same when you lecture in Italian and when you lecture in English when you feel that you don't own the topic? Do you feel that you don't own the topic more in English or in Italian?
46	I2: No, that would be unrelated, so let's say if I had to teach the same class also in Italian at the same time it wouldn't change anything about it. It is uncorrelated with the language.
47	I: Ok, thank you very much. You also mentioned that sometimes a lecturer is worried that a learner spots a mistake and I guess in Statistics and Probability it is very different from Humanities where everything is open to interpretation. How important is it that you don't make mistakes either with your content or your subject matter or your language?
48	I2: Concerning the content of the class it is very important for me. Concerning the language, it is not. I have no problem in making mistakes

	and realising it and correcting it and so on. Concerning the topic, it is much more important.
49	I: Thank you. Do you ever have students identify a mistake you have made?
50	I2: I guess so, I don't have a clear memory in mind but I guess so.
51	I: I guess it doesn't happen very often then, so maybe this is why.
52	I2: Yes, yes it doesn't happen very often. I would just like to say that students share with the teacher small mistakes not bad ones and so we read faces and try and interpret you know frowns and little laughter and something like that. So we don't really know but sometimes you are like you realise afterwards so.
53	I: And so you see a student frown then later you realise why that student was frowning because there was a mistake on the board?
54	I2: Yes.
55	I: I can empathise with that being a lecturer myself I understand that feeling and looking at the students to see what they are feeling and how they are working. Thinking about your relationship between your students, your peers and the university management, you said in the questionnaire that the respect from your students is more important than the respect from your peers, and I wondered if you could tell me a little bit about that?
56	I2: Ok, I don't remember ranking the two things. So, I don't know. Respect from the students makes you feel that you are doing a good job. Respect from your peers is something that you feel is more subjective because it is not averaged out by larger amounts of people and probably when there is a lack of respect there is more, you know, politeness in hiding it at least a little bit you know or something like that. It's a bit more sugar-coated if you want. Whereas the lack of respect from the students shows up immediately and it's painful!
57	I: And how about with the university management? Can you tell me about your relationship with them and the respect you would like from them?
58	I2: Are we talking about the administrative stuff?
59	I: Let's start with the administrative part first and then the academic management as well.
60	I2: What do you mean the academic management?
61	I: Maybe if there is a Dean of your School or if there is a professor?
62	I2: Head of Department, Head of School ....?
63	I: For example, yes.
64	I2: Ok so what is the question again? Is it in terms of respect?
65	I: Exactly. Yes. Maybe if you could just tell me about how important it is and why you feel it is important?

66	I2: Ok, respect from the administrative staff is important because they are supposed to help and if they don't respect the faculty they provide less help and so our work becomes more difficult, more burdensome etc. Respect from academic management has to do with the entirety of your professional life, it's evolution in the medium and the long run, and the quality of your tasks today and tomorrow. And so if you don't have their respect, then the quality of the assignments and your local professional life deteriorates. So, for both I would put them in a practical perspective.
67	I: Thank you it is very helpful to understand that practical perspective from your point of view. I have mentioned peers, and students, and we have had the administration and the academic management are there any other key relationships for you in your professional life?
68	I2: No, I don't think so. Peers from other institutions, but I guess they are in the set of peers.
69	I: Now thinking about your role as an international professional. You obviously travel to different cities within Italy and I guess you also do research and present at conferences outside of Italy as well. How important is that for you compared to your role as a lecturer in Italy?
70	I2: It's important. It's a different type of importance. It is difficult, I mean I am not sure I can rank them. Let's say that the international standing in Italy is less recognised than abroad and so if tomorrow I had to choose which one to get rid of, it would be my international standing in respect to the local professional life.
71	I: Thank you. Also, your role as a researcher and your role as a teacher, as a professional, are they balanced in terms of importance to you or is one more important than the other?
72	I2: They are balanced. I would say that they are balanced. The research used to be more important when I was younger but now they are pretty balanced.
73	I: Ok, good. Thank you very much. You have been working at your institution for seven years I think you said?
74	I2: Yes.
75	I: My next question is about your sense of belonging at the university. What makes you feel you belong more and what makes you feel you belong less at the university?
76	I2: At my institution or at the university in general?
77	I: At your institution.
78	I2: It makes me feel I belong more. I mean along the years you naturally, or I mean hopefully, you become part of long-term projects, construction of

	educational programmes and you feel you are contributing to creating and to managing so you feel more, you have a higher sense of belonging.
79	I: What would increase that sense of belonging for you personally?
80	I2: Better recognition and reward of the non-compulsory activities. That would increase it a lot.
81	I: Can you give me an example of the non-compulsory activities?
82	I2: Yes, so for example, the amount of time and effort and personal… I don't know how to put… personal type of input you give to the administrative management on the teaching side which could be running a Master's course, a Master's degree or something like that. It's among the non-compulsory duties and I believe it is not rewarded enough regardless of the rewards and I believe there is an imbalance in terms of incentives for non-compulsory activities.
83	I: And would you be interested or feel you belong more if you had more control in terms of the decision-making power at the university. Maybe the decision making for the type of course you are lecturing or something at a higher level?
84	I2: Absolutely.
85	I: Ok, good. We've almost finished I am pleased to say, but I have a question about the type of English that you have. Now obviously your English is very, very good but when you are studying or when you were studying did you aim to have an American type of English, a British English, or an international English? Was there a particular type you were looking for?
86	I2: When I was studying?
87	I: Yes or perhaps now. Would you like to have your current type of English or would you like to have more of a British accent, or an American accent?
88	I2: No, I would say if I had to specifically choose, I would aim for a type of international English without a specific accent you know.
89	I: Ok, good thank you very much. My focus questions have now finished, and I just have a final question which is to say is there anything else you would like to talk about in respect to lecturing in English or English Medium of Instruction which you haven't commented on so far?
90	I2: No there is nothing else I would like to say.

Transcript: Participant I3

Participant I3

1	I: You're teaching Statistics and you have been lecturing for seven years but for three years in English. Can you tell me a little bit about how you started lecturing in English, the history and the situation behind it?
2	I3: Ok. I started because I have been one year in the UK. I moved in 2015 to the University of xxx for a temporary lectureship there and so I spend this year in UK teaching Statistics, so clearly in English. After that I moved back to Italy and now I am at a university and we have a Master's degree programme it is in English and so I am teaching in English.
3	I: In your Masters' degree programme, how much of your lecturing is in English and how much is in Italian?
4	I3: It is 100% in English.
5	I: Do you do any lecturing in Italian at the moment?
6	I3: Not really… To be more precise at the moment I teach for two Master of Science programmes. One is in Data Science and is maths oriented and the other one is a different Science which is… OK, more Economics. But both in English.
7	I: Thank you. When you applied for your university job in Italy was it a requirement that you were going to do some EMI courses or did that come later?
8	I3: Sorry, Masters' courses or English courses I didn't get your question?
9	I: When you applied for your job at the university?
10	I3: English was a requirement. English was required officially and unofficially I knew that at least one of the two courses that I had to teach in case of offering the job of appointment would have been in English. Ok. I asked someone which kind of teaching allowance and he told me one of the two courses would have been in English.
11	I: Ok. Thank you very much.
12	I3: To be more precise in the core, English was required.
13	I: Ok, good but you had had your year lecturing at the university of xxx.
14	I3: I don't remember very well but I think the interview, even though it was in Italy, the interview was in English.
15	I: Really?
16	I3: I'm not sure 100% to be honest but I guess yes, and for sure there was a small part in English but I don't remember 100% which part was in English.
17	I: Ok. Thank you. Just looking at the next part of the questionnaire looking at your English language level. You described yourself as B2, upper intermediate. Did you get this level from a test or is it your perception of your ability?

18	I3: No, not some test. To be honest this is my perception I don't ever have any official marking for my English.
19	I: Ok. Thank you.
20	I3: To be honest I never studied English. I just learned English for myself. I'm auto-didact.
21	I: Fantastic. How did you study English?
22	I3: I just started when I had to write my PhD dissertation in English paper then I was kind of pro in UK. Not in USA, to finish my PhD. And it was a disaster; it was incredibly hard and the words in English suddenly came out in some way.
23	I: I bet it was very difficult.
24	I3: Yeah.
25	I: Ok, and in the questionnaire, you said that you think the minimum level of English needed to lecture in English is C1, advanced. Why do you think that?
26	I3: Because I struggle with my level. No, but yes, I think that even if I teach in English I did it also in UK. I can perceive sometimes I struggle because sometimes I cannot find an easy sentence that I would like to say about a complex topic notion - simplification is super important in teaching and to simplify a concept you need a very advanced language skill. So, I think that you need this kind of advanced skill to simplify especially for simplification. My key word would be 'simplification'.
27	I: Ok, and did you have any difficulty with your personal English in informal situations that is to say not lecturing?
28	I3: No, not really. Ok, yes I have difficulty with expressing correctly my big work but for find my informal situation is ok.
29	I: And compared to your peers you believe your level of English is above average. Can you tell me a little bit more about that?
30	I3: Now that I think about it, I probably think that I am below the average.
31	I: Ok.
32	I3: And so this is I think I tick the wrong box.
33	I: No problem.
34	I3: You're asking about my colleagues at the university that's right?
35	I: Exactly.
36	I3: No, no, they actually speak very good English because I can perceive when I speak with them when we go to the conferences, when we are in informal situations. In formal I see that we have some very well-formed colleagues in perfect English speaking skills, English knowledge.
37	I: How does it make you feel that maybe your colleagues have a higher level of English than you? Does it matter in any respect?

38	I3: It did but not now. It did when I was less experienced when I was looking for a job you know because when you are looking for a job you want to be best so you think that your skill cannot be well evaluated because of your English ability, expressing your thoughts, I don't know what to say.
39	I: And now that you have a job you think that is just as important or less important?
40	I3: Well it important for my personal, it is more important from my subjective point of view because I want to give the best for my students and also my work and so I think that I can teach better, communicate better, write paper better. So, it's just for myself. It is different.
41	I: Ok so would you say it is connected to your confidence as a lecturer?
42	I3: Yes.
43	I: So perhaps do you feel more confident now in lecturing in English?
44	I3: Ah yes, yes, yes.
45	I: And is that to do with your ability in English or to do with your understanding about what is required of a lecturer?
46	I3: Both, both. Both experience and the fact that it improved. My year in UK clearly push it up my English level. One year in UK, for sure. But also the fact that now I am experienced in teaching English, so I know it is not very important if I make a mistake, if my sentences are not super correct, if I make a mistake between the singular and plural and the students do not care. They care but they care more about other things. They care more about the condition of the classes, the materials, the textbook. They care more about other aspects.
47	I: When did you realise that the students care more about these other things than the quality of your English?
48	I3: This is a process. I cannot say there is a change point. I realised during my experience so let's say about for my English-speaking teaching but just to put the point as a reference. It is a process, maybe they will realise even more in the future. But this process of learning about what is important and what is right.
49	I: Ok thank you. Thank you very much. Let's move on to the next part of the questionnaire which talked about your identity as a lecturer and you said that there are some things you think are very important for lecturers, for example, summarising information, creating worksheets with exercises, explaining words and concepts in simple terms. Where did you get this information from? Was this from your training or from your…?
50	I3: This is something quite important. My first training in teaching has been this year with xxx. I was thinking about this Italian university. When

	you are hired, the first time, they throw you in the class and so you teach. Do it. It is incredible and I don't know how they can do it. Now if I think my first class was about ten years ago time, in Italian right, and I was 34, and they told me 'go' and it was 100-student class.
51	I: My goodness!
52	I3: And it was incredible and I don't know how I survived and it was like 'go and teach this'. But it was my experience that let me understand all the things that I wrote there.
53	I: OK. Did the course you did with xxx change any of your ideas about what you think is important for lecturing?
54	I3: Not really change – she gave me more things. I have more technique. In my luggage now from this course, I have more technique, but I think that was kind of confirmation of my experience and achievement of goals.
55	I: Can you give me an example of the achievement of these goals?
56	I3: What achievements are you speaking about?
57	I: I think you took something from xxx's course that you attended...
58	I3: Ah, yes. For instance, this exercise with the boxes. We have a piece of paper and we have to divide the piece of paper in four sub boxes and in each box there was, in the first was a smile, the second was a thinking guy, the third an arrow and then something else and as a student you should write your opinion, what you are happy about, what you are not happy about, questions and ticking at home. And I am using this in my class and it is useful for what is going good and what is not going good.
59	I: Thank you very much.
60	I3: There is contact with the class because they know that there is a way to discuss with you the problem.
61	I: Ok. Thank you very much. Let's move on a little bit to looking at the things you are confident doing in English and things you are less confident doing in English. You said that you are not confident in using subject-specific language or maybe statistics jargon in English is that correct?
62	I3: Yes.
63	I: So how does this make you feel this lack of confidence in the classroom?
64	I3: Ok, no, no, no, really I don't mind, because I don't think the student want me to use this kind of, let me check this reply correctly. Is this subject specific language, technical language, statistical language?
65	I: Exactly.
66	I3: Ah so this is again a wrong answer. I was thinking about jargon in different subjects not in mine. My English is based on technical statistical English.

67	I: Ah, yes that makes sense.
68	I3: I thought it was jargon but in general jargon, not in statistics.
69	I: No problem at all. You've got 'explaining concepts in simple language', and you have mentioned this before but you are kind of neutral in this and this is quite a difficult thing to do. Can you tell me how this neutral confidence makes you feel compared to when you lecture in Italian?
70	I3: I will like to, this is something I would like to improve. It makes a difference with my style in Italian than in English. Because I think in Italian the feedback is that I am able to simplify more and I don't have the same feeling in English. Really, I would like to improve.
71	I: What effect do you think this has on your teaching or your students' perception of y555555our teaching?
72	I3: I think since I try to do it maybe not so fully, they are confused because you try to say something with a simple level but it doesn't 'hit the ball' and they are a bit confused.
73	I: Ok thank you. Going a bit further down you mentioned that you are very confident in reacting spontaneously to students or to facilitating a discussion. Can you tell me what techniques you use to facilitate a discussion?
74	I3: Questions, oriented questions and I wait until someone replies and I get the student to start a discussion. Sometimes, you know, I say ok this is the question and I sit there silent for five minutes and the students do not reply and I say 'sorry guys, I'm waiting', so they are really forced to participate. And also I use students to do some exercise in class and put them in twos and threes, ask them to solve this simple exercise and then we discuss altogether the solution. Something like that right.
75	I: And do you use the same techniques when you lecture in Italian.
76	I3: Yeah, yeah, yeah. This is independent of the language this kind of style.
77	I: Ok. Good. Did you get these techniques from watching other people or did you discover them for yourself?
78	I3: Experience, again. This was something from xxx that was a good source of input.
79	I: Let's move on a little bit to talking about the areas of your professionalism which are important for you and you say that the respect of your peers, the university management, your learners, these are all very important for you. Does this change when you speak in English and Italian or is it the same for both.
80	I3: It is both the same.

81	I: You also say this is quite important that being good at teaching is part of your job. I imagine your job involves a lot of teaching, research, and publishing. Which is the most important element of your job for you.
82	I3: For me it is the publishing. I really care about publish.
83	I: And when you publish is this in English, Italian or both?
84	I3: English.
85	I: Thinking about your teaching what is the major difference in your teaching, or in your feeling of teaching, between when you lecture in English and when you lecture in Italian?
86	I3: To be honest, OK until xxx's course it was just the language but another thing I learned in this course is cultural differences. To be honest, I never thought deeply about this but now I will be more focused on cultural differences. Maybe I also took care of this with Italian, but clearly if you are born an Italian you are an Italian and your origins are Italian. But now things are international and I should now think a little bit more about cultural differences.
87	I: Ok. Can you give me an example of a situation when you think this cultural awareness has been important?
88	I3: For instance, I can use for an example of the food but this can mean something different for my Chinese students, someone not an Italian. Or maybe you do a joke with the subject of religion. Or someone can be very touching for a joke like that and another culture it can be normal for a joke like that, something like that. It is especially important if you do it a joke.
89	I: Thank you very much. We have been talking a lot about the relationships between your students, between you and your lecturing, the university management perhaps and your peers. Are there any other key professional relationships that you have in your lecturing or in your professional life, apart from students, peers and the university management?
90	I3: Just part of our committee, it is an internship committee that tries try to making contact with company, with students for internship or yes, especially for internship. I need to have contact with companies, for instance to organise events. For companies to help me for internship?
91	I: Are there any other international key relationships you have?
92	I3: My colleagues. Mostly my colleagues around the world.
93	I: Thank you. Thinking about the work you are doing at the university how long have you worked there now?
94	I3: Two years.
95	I: This next question is about belonging. What makes you feel like you belong at the university?

96	I3: The university I am working at now?
97	I: Yes, and what would make you feel like you belong more?
98	I3: The fact that they give me the job [laughs]. The fact that my salary is paid, but it is ok. I don't want to have a misunderstanding, I feel quite comfortable, I like my university, and I like to be here. But I don't think this is a unique place to work. It doesn't mean that I don't feel comfortable this should be clear.
99	I: Of course. What would make you feel more comfortable and what would make you feel like you belonged at your university more?
100	I3: It's not clear, sorry.
101	I: So, at the moment you feel comfortable and I wonder what would make you feel more belonging to the university?
102	I3: To be promoted. To have an increment of my salary but promoted essentially.
103	I: And being promoted what changes would that give in your day-to-day life?
104	I3: Ok the truth means this would increase my teaching route but will increase my salary and my salary is a problem because at the moment I live far from the university and this is quite expensive and so it would be an improvement from a salary point of view even from a teaching role point of view.
105	I: And would it help if you had more influence in terms of the decision making process in your department or the university?
106	I3: To be honest I don't really care about it. I don't care because the decisions don't really affect me. I would like to have control over the decisions that directly affect me but I am not really a manager guy, but I prefer to do my research, my teaching, and things like that.
107	I: Thank you. Do you think that the relationship with the university and you is different because you can speak and lecture in English?
108	I3: It would be different if I could not..... I'm sorry, could you repeat again the question?
109	I: Is your relationship with the university different because you can speak English?
110	I3: Ah, because I cannot because I cannot..... OK Ah yes, it is different absolutely. They need someone who speaks English. Even if in Italy now it is a little bit critical because according to the central government we have to find someone who can teach in English because the universities care about having international students who do master's in English and they care about us. In fact they are investing money for this professional courses that we took are quite expensive for the universities.

111	I: Do you think that the fact that you are able to lecture in English gives you a little more power or a little more influence at the university?
112	I3: No. It is helping to have a job here. No, no, no, in terms of politics no, but in terms of having a job, yes. If I should be promoted they know that they can give me more teaching and more teaching in English is a good point, but from the managers' point of view they don't care at all.
113	I: Ok that's good. We are nearly finished and I just have a few questions now about the type of English that you speak. Of course there are many types of English, American English, British English, and international English; do you have a particular focus for your English? Do you want to have a British English or an American English or are you happy to have an international English?
114	I3: I think that my English is international because I did auto-didact, correct. My conference and my first year in an English-speaking country was in USA. Maybe because I am European I like English British, so from my case, British English I like.
115	I: Ok. Thank you very much. That is the end of my questions but before we finish do you have any other comments that you would like to make about this topic or about the lecturing in English.
116	I3: No, not really, we did a lot. I think I said a lot, right?
117	I: Yes, yes. Thank you once again

Transcript: Participant C1

Participant C1	
1	I: I'd like to ask about your teaching experience. So, you're teaching academic reading and writing and Chinese culture. How long have you been lecturing at your university?
2	C1: So I started to teach at my university since 2009 and I worked as an English language teacher for about six or seven years and then later there were some changes in our department and we start to teach students some integrated language classes, which means we not only teach the students language skills but also we focus on certain subjects. For example, we have intercultural communication, academic reading, and translation of science and engineering subjects and some other subjects, so I started to teach intercultural communication from the beginning and then they asked us to not only do one aspect and we needed to expand into some other subjects. Then I went to the US for one year as a visiting scholar. I worked there and also took some classes, and one of it is

	academic writing, so when I got back I started the course academic writing. Academic writing, I started to teach that since the year before last year. About Chinese culture, I started to teach Chinese culture since 2013 to international students because our university is globalising and tends to be more internationalised, and we start to recruit more and more international students. In the past five years, the number of the population of our international students have been tripled, so that's why they need this culture class to kind of like orientation for the students.
3	I: Thank you very much and a fabulous opportunity to be a visiting scholar in the United States and I'm sure it gave you some great experience. Now you have been lecturing in English for ten years is all of your lecturing in English or is some of it in English and some in Chinese?
4	C1: I think it is all in English. I started as an English language teacher, so I have to teach them in English. But sometimes in certain sessions, or to certain level of students, their level is not very high, and so I can do half and half and do the explanation in Chinese, but basically it is in English.
5	I: Very versatile. And when you started lecturing was it all in English then as well and so right from the very beginning you've always been working in English with a little bit of Chinese?
6	C1: I think in the beginning not much. I should say two thirds is in English and one third is in Chinese.
7	I: That's very helpful, as you have lots of experience in working in English. You describe your language skill as B2 upper intermediate. Have you taken a language test to confirm that or is that your self-perception?
8	C1: Do you mean an international recognised kind of test?
9	I: Or a Chinese test, a XXX test, or some other test like a university test?
10	C1: We, as language majors, have to take a test called a TEM - Test for English Majors. They have altogether eight levels and as an English language major, you have to pass the last level, the eighth level to get a degree actually. So, yes, I passed that.
11	I: Good. Excellent. You said that in order to lecture in English you think that you need to have a minimum of upper intermediate level, a B2 level of English. Why do you think that?
12	C1: Mmmm let me think… Could you say that again your question?
13	I: I think you said that to be a lecturer, using English, you need to have a level which is upper intermediate or B2 level. Why do you think B2 or upper intermediate and not advanced or maybe intermediate? Is there anything or is it just your feelings of what you know?
14	C1: I think it is just a feeling.
15	I: That's fine.

16	C1: Did I write that in the question?
17	I: Yes.
18	C1: I'm sorry. I didn't remember that part very clearly.
19	I: In many cases, in fact, in all cases the feeling about what level lecturers should have is just a self-perception, and most people I speak to say that it is about the level that they're at, and if they are upper intermediate they say it should be about upper intermediate and this is what you said. Compared to your peers, your colleagues do you think that your level of English is about average?
20	C1: It depends on whether it is in my discipline or whether I am comparing with colleagues around the whole university.
21	I: Let's start with within your discipline. Do you think that it is about the same or do you think it is a little bit higher?
22	C1: I think a little bit higher, yes. But across the whole university, I am not so sure, actually.
23	I: How does that make you feel about your level compared to your peers and around the university?
24	C1: It makes me feel that I still need to learn and grasp a lot of opportunities to learn and to do my further study. Yes, and the situation is that the competition at our university in China is really fierce nowadays, so they hire more and more graduates from abroad and I think that it makes me feel like that I need to improve, yes, yes.
25	I: And so the graduates, from abroad I'm guessing that they don't speak Chinese?
26	C1: No, not really. I'm talking about more Chinese who had overseas education.
27	I: So, they are very bi-lingual and can switch between the languages very easily?
28	C1: Yes, yes.
29	I: And how do older lecturers feel about the younger lecturers being recruited because of their language knowledge maybe instead of their experience?
30	C1: You mean recruited as what we are having now in XXX?
31	I: Maybe not so much, maybe being recruited for new jobs as teachers?
32	C1: Things are quite complicated as a new teacher, the new policy for the university can make the older faculty feel less pressured because they have the different promotion system. Does it make sense to you?
33	I: Yes.
34	C1: So, the younger ones, they fall down their pressure of getting recognised and getting promoted can be really high, but for the older

	faculty who is senior and has got promoted over an assistant professor level, that pressure I don't think is that much. Did I answer your question?
35	I: Yes, very much. And for the younger lecturers, the younger new teachers, is the ability to use English a chance to get a promotion more quickly, do you think?
36	C1: Yes, I think so, but it also depends on your organisational skill, your cooperation competence. You need to work with other people, so your ability to cooperate and collaborate with others.
37	I: And do you think for older lecturers, if they don't speak English, does that reduce their career prospects or does it not matter because they are older and more established?
38	C1: Mmmm. I think for like the past several years they feel relaxed, but nowadays since the globalisation and the internationalisation, I think they feel more pressure nowadays, yes, to speak English, yes, as much as they can.
39	I: Thank you very much for that very clear answer, thank you. Looking through your answers from your questionnaire I see on the topic of your identity as lecturer there are lots of teaching points that I asked you to rate as very important or quite important and you have said that most, if not all, of them are either very important or quite important. For you, what is one of the most important skills as a lecturer, as a teacher?
40	C1: I'm trying to think of the question there.
41	I: You don't have to refer back to the questionnaire, it can be just your feeling in general about what you feel is important for you as a teacher.
42	C1: For me, I think that the most important thing is to know my students. To know my students' level. To meet their needs as a younger generation as someone who lives in a very competitive society as young people who are ambitious but lost in a certain way. Does that make sense to you? I mean lost in a sense for most of my students, they are sophomores, so one they are not very good at autonomy. I mean it is their first time, first chance to get away from their parents, so it can be, they want to learn, and they are eager to learn but they are kind of lost in a way. So the most important thing, as I said, to know my students and to meet their needs. To guide them, yes.
43	I: Ok, good, thank you. Thinking about your classes that you prepare what do you spend most time preparing in terms of what you want to get right? What takes up the most of your time in preparation?
44	C1: I think trying to find approachable way to deliver things what I want them to know and, I think, content. I have been teaching this specific course for three years and I'm quite familiar with the material, but I

	mention two things. One is the preparation of the activities for the class and the other is updating the materials. Does that make sense? So, new things to add to the previous content and also I think the most important one is to, because students change yes, so I do not use old way, old approach, to teach my new students. So every year I teach new sophomore students, I have a feeling that they are changing, right, so I need new techniques and new ways to find it more easy and easily to teach them.
45	I: You mentioned later in the questionnaire that when you teach in English that you maybe do more discussion activities than if you taught in Chinese. Why do you think that is?
46	C1: I think that is the influence of the language, you know. There is a theory saying that you speak the language then you are with your thinking and I don't get influenced. I think that when I receive, when I attend lectures in the US, I was quite used to the way that how discussion is held during class, so I feel more comfortable using this or making good this use of discussion session in my class.
47	I: Thank you. Do you think then, speaking English is a way for you to try new pedagogy in your teaching?
48	C1: Yes. Because I'm thinking about speaking a different language and how it opens a way for me to find more information and find more resources and to kind of compare and do the comparison, what Chinese professors are doing and what American or British professors are doing. Yes.
49	I: Thank you. Another question about your identity as a lecturer. Of course, you do teaching, but do you also do research as part of your job?
50	C1: Honestly, I didn't consider this research as a priority at the beginning of my teaching career, but right now, since I mentioned the fierce competition, I have to. So, I consider that a very important part.
51	I: Which do you think is more important the teaching or the lecturing for your identity as a professional?
52	C1: Personally and ideally, I consider teaching as the most important part, whereas in reality the gear does not turn into that research way.
53	I: With the research that you will have to do as part of the competitive environment you are in, is it research in English or in Chinese or both?
54	C1: I think both. Nowadays research in English is becoming more and more popular, especially as many universities consider publication as a very important part or your research. So I think a research in English is getting more and more important.

55	I: Thank you. Moving on to the next part of the questionnaire about your confidence doing things in English. Your English is excellent, of course, so you are very confident or quite confident at everything that was listed. Do you ever feel a lack of confidence with your English as a professional?
56	C1: Sure. I feel it always actually, especially because I started to learn English when I was in middle school which is when I was thirteen years old and nowadays, my students started to learn English since kindergarten, so you know, I sense that. I mean I have that feeling of inconfidence all the time, but I think as my professor told me, as a teacher you are more or less like a… You are going to inspire your students so I think that yes, I definitely feel pressure, but I think I can find a ways which can provide me with more confidence.
57	I: When you have lack of confidence with your teaching, with your English or anything, what effect does this have on the students?
58	C1: For my students, if I don't have enough confidence in what I, I think I need to rephrase that, so. If I feel mostly inconfident when I didn't prepare the lecture very well. And so I think the consequences for my students, they will not choose my class for the next semester.
59	I: I guess this would be the same if you hadn't prepared your class and it was a Chinese class as well?
60	C1: Yes.
61	I: Do you ever worry about making mistakes with your language in class?
62	C1: Yes, I worry but not that much. I think I focus more on content. As a language teacher, as I mentioned, I try not to.
63	I: Do you think your students ever notice any mistakes in your language?
64	C1: I think so, yes. Some students will politely send me a text when I make some spelling mistake and they will send me a text, but very few. I was would say once or twice in a whole semester. Not many do it, but some students did do that.
65	I: How do you feel about that? Is that ok for you?
66	C1: So far, I feel quite ok. I kind of give credit to the students who pointed out the mistakes I made because sometimes I realise the mistakes and sometimes I just forget about the mistakes. But sometimes they give me some information and I think that is good correction and good behaviour.
67	I: It shows that you are a very confident lecturer to be able to take this feedback from your learners. If it is any consolation, when I lecture I always make so many little mistakes in my handouts and in my resources and it happens far more than twice a semester that my students tell me that I have made a typo or something, so I think your English must be better than mine!

68	C1: It is not like that. I think that sometimes it is to do with the hierarchical culture, kind of thing, so students might feel intimidating pointing out the mistakes to their professor.
69	I: Do you think as a professional, does using English as well as Chinese increase your confidence in some situations?
70	C1: I think so yes, in terms of communication skills, in terms of confidence, in terms of seeing things from different perspectives, yes.
71	I: Can you give me an example of seeing things from different perspectives?
72	C1: Example... I can't give you a specific example, but if someone, say international students, say certain things, wear certain clothes, and they would jump kind of into a judgement. I would not do that. So depending who I am talking to, I would try to convince them.
73	I: Does your ability in English have an effect on your confidence with job security, for example?
74	C1: Not really, I think.
75	I: That's helpful, thank you. Now we move on to the next part, looking at the different areas which are important for your professionalism and I would like to look a little bit at the respect of your students, the respect of your peers and the respect of university management. For you the respect of learners and university management was very important and the respect of your peers was quite important. Why is there a difference between them?
76	C1: I think the difference is because of our connection, I mean, among the co-workers in the same department, are not that strong. So, how do I say, so it is kind of like, you go to the place and your most interaction would be what you are having with your students, so not with your co-workers. So that I think, it can make a difference. Yes.
77	I: And the respect of your university management is also very high?
78	C1: Yes, that is the same as with the students.
79	I: And does the relationship you have with your students change when you lecture your students in English to when you lecture your students in Chinese?
80	C1: I don't think so. It is the same.
81	I: Thinking about international recognition as a professional you are neutral in the questionnaire. Does this change when you think about yourself as an English speaker or a Chinese speaker or is it the same?
82	C1: I think that is the same.
83	I: Also just one more thing about using accurate language. You have said that this is a very important thing to use accurate language, I guess in

		Chinese and in English as well. You've already given me some examples, but is it the same between English and Chinese? You always want to give accurate language.
84		C1: It depends. I think with the Chinese language, there is a difference between teaching in Chinese and English, but I consider it a language difference instead of a teaching difference.
85		I: Thank you very much. Related to this in the fifth section of the questionnaire, you said you do something in English but you don't do it in Chinese and that is to give detailed previews of the tasks to the class. I wondered if you could explain why you do it in English but you don't do it in Chinese?
86		C1: Because many students are struggling with their language, if I do not give previous instructions on the activities. I find it more effective to do so, before class preparation, yes, more effective.
87		I: Can you describe what the preview task is like? Is it something like you would do for homework, or do you post something online, or is it the first five minutes of your class?
88		C1: It is kind of like, we have this online platform where you can post almost anything, such as reading, and they can also submit audio, video and their homework, electronic homework. So for example, I would ask them to watch a video about the cases that we are going to discuss in the intercultural communications in class or Chinese culture class and after they have watched that video, I assume they would have less struggling with the language I mean focusing on the content rather than the language. So, I would also give them questions to think about, saying these are a list of questions we are going to discuss within group, so they have this time to read and to look out for new words. So in class we are going to do that and right away we can do that.
89		I: Have you had feedback from your students about this technique?
90		C1: Not specifically on that technique but I had students who told me about it. They knew that I spent time preparing, not just coming to class for information, and so they find it very useful. And they get chances to open their mouths in class, not just struggling with reading and writing, yes.
91		I: Is it something you would like to try with classes you teach in Chinese if you were to teach a class in Chinese, or do you think it specifically works well with an English medium class?
92		C1: I think I would try the same, but I might give them more difficult tasks to do, yes.
93		I: Thank you. Now we have been talking a lot about the relationships between your students and with the management and with the peers. Do

	you think that your relationship with the students, peers, or university management changes when you speak to them in English?
94	C1: The management, I don't think I ever speak to them in English. It is pure Chinese, yes. Unless we have a third party who speaks English.
95	I: If the university management see you speaking English to an international lecturer, do you think that would change their perception of you?
96	C1: I think so, yes. For example, I think if they observe my class, they can see that I am teaching them in a more active way and students have very good feedbacks. I think that would definitely change the way they think of me as a lecturer.
97	I: For your peers who don't speak English as well as you or who only speak Chinese, is there a similar feeling or do you think it is different?
98	C1: I think quite similar but as I mentioned, we didn't have that much strong relationship with each other. So yes, it can make a difference.
99	A: And apart from students, peers and colleagues, is there anyone else who you have a professional relationship with, someone who might influence you as a professional?
100	C1: Well, there are the administrative staff, but maybe they do not have so much influence on my teaching and my research. Hmmm. Yes, just these.
101	I: Thank you. Now I'm very interested in looking at the feeling of belonging within an institution. You have been working at your university for a while. What is it that makes you feel that you belong there and what is it that makes you feel you don't belong?
102	C1: Good question. I have been asking myself the same question and am still looking for an answer. You know, it is kind of like when you are in a crowd with a very competitive team. From time to time you feel lost and maybe you feel you don't belong here, even though I work there for ten years, I still have that feeling.
103	I: Wow!
104	C1: I think being recognised by students gives me more confidence since belonging to the institution I work in.
105	I: What do you think would give you a sense of belonging more? You mentioned recognition by students. Do you think recognition by management, promotion, or involvement in decisions, or anything like that would give you more confidence?
106	C1: I think promotion, yes. Get promoted and not only recognised by students, but also recognised by the system.
107	I: Good, thank you. And my final question. When you were learning English is there a type of English that you were interested in learning? For

	example, American English, British English, Australian English, or are you just interested in a broad international English?
108	C1: Interesting question. In the beginning my teacher was speaking with a strong British accent, so I found a British English accent quite attractive and very good. Later I was influenced by the American Hollywood movies and TV series, and so I found speaking American English more relaxed. So later, American English. Now I am teaching international students. For one class I have over fifty students from over seventeen nationalities, so I found, yes, international English is more acceptable, and I need to adapt myself to different accents.
109	I: Thank you very much. They are all the questions I have, but before we finish, is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your experience with English Medium of Instruction teaching?
110	C1: I was wondering about the other teachers that you have interviewed so far, what are they teaching? What kind of disciplines they are from? Am I the only language teacher?
111	I: Kind of half. One of the participants was a language in education teacher in primary education and also English language; another was in politics, and another in Engineering, and another Computer Science. An interesting range so far. I am hoping to get a wide range of participants.
112	C1: Good, yes. Very interesting questions. You made me think about my career and also my sense of belonging.
113	I: My pleasure. And thank you again.

Transcript: Participant C2

Participant C2	
1	I: Could you tell me about your teaching in China and how often you lecture in English?
2	C2: My course in English is Social Investigation. This is new and is for the students from Russia, and Central Asia some people, and the time is the first half of the year. Just one semester. Forty hours for a course.
3	I: So roughly what percentage of your lecturing is in English each year? Is it about ten percent or twenty percent?
4	C2: Ah. If he or she is a foreign student it is all English. We just give them post graduate and graduate. For post-graduate, we talk about research you know and I give them PowerPoints and they studied in advance and they ask questions and I answer questions maybe, and so I don't need to speak

	more, just answer questions. I ask them to practice, to make a real investigation in China, nearby our universities and so I can give them the skills instruction, not knowledge you know. Knowledge is always used to speak, but skills not so much use languages.
5	I: So, you give them the research skills then they do their research in English or Chinese?
6	C2: In English, English. We talk about some papers. They choose paper and I give them some topics they choose by themselves, about the topic they are interested in. About China and their motherlands, maybe focus about trade, culture and so on. They choose topic and I give them the skills instruction and the paper. The paper is an English paper not Chinese paper, so we can read you know. We all can read, but Central Asian students, not so good at English.
7	I: Why do you think this is?
8	C2: Why? Because of their level. They just like the Chinese reform and open, you know. The first students abroad are always the leaders', high leaders' sons or daughters, just like the Central Asia nowadays situation. But many of them are not so good at study. They are rich.
9	I: Talking about level you describe your level as B1 intermediate. How did you get that level? Is it your own perception or was it a test that you took?
10	C2: You gave us the criteria and so I think the level at most is B1.
11	I: I think a little higher.
12	C2: Ah, thank you. You are so politely.
13	I: No, it is true, remember I am a teacher as well. I think B2. You think that the necessary level to teach in English is B1. Why do you think B1 is the right level? Is this because you think this is your level or something else?
14	C2: Because the functional language is to communication, and if I can give them the thought what I want to give them, that's ok. So maybe there is some grammar mistakes no problem, so I think I can give them the knowledge, skills and they can receive them. But that I think under my level is not ok. Actually, I cannot accept my level to be a teacher in English class.
15	I: You say that you don't accept your level so how does that make you feel when you change to lecturing in English instead of Chinese?
16	C2: Could you repeat your question?
17	I: Of course. You said that you are unhappy with your level in English. Is that correct?
18	C2: Yes, yes. I agree with you, I cannot accept my level.
19	I: When you lecture in English, how does it make you feel?
20	C2: Just like food you know. We have Chinese stomach, but we are eating the English food. Sometimes it is delicious and sometimes it is so difficult to

	swallow. And I cannot make sure which use of English is right and what is similar and so I guess and the students guess too. We all guess and this is not the way to practice education. You understand?
21	I: Yes. What do you think the effect is on the learning? Do you think the learning is better or worse or about the same?
22	C2: Good or bad? A good point. It's international and I can know and understand people's thoughts because from my childhood, what I get from the education does not include all effects, for example, for history, for religion, and the real thoughts of other countries. For example, after the students from Eygpt or Greece, I ask them, 'Do you believe in Darwin's evolution?', and one said, 'No absolutely not.' and I feel so amazed, why don't you believe. He said, about the god thing, and he gave an example of the woman's pregnancy, and he said it was a miracle. I agree it is a miracle. But he said that because it is a miracle, it is god that gives you power too. And this is the first time I think that in this world there are students and many people that do not believe what I believe. So English teaching is very good for communication. This is not so bad but just because my English level is not so good, which is a bad thing. But good communication is always good, and if you let others speak, you will get more.
23	I: Ok. Thank you. You also say that your English is about average compared to your colleagues. Some have a higher level and some have a lower level. Because you speak English and you lecture in English, does that give you any special status at your university?
24	C2: Special status? What is that?
25	I: Any extra responsibility or does it increase your value as a lecturer? Do people give you more respect because you can speak English and Chinese?
26	C2: I don't care. It's true, I don't care. I shall do what I shall do. I will try my best to but if you accept or do not accept I don't care, because I am old teacher. But if I was a new teacher, maybe I will care about that. Now I will care more about my son, my husband and my family, my relatives, not students.
27	I: You are still a very young teacher!
28	C2: No, no, no, I have a twenty years, you know, as a teacher. And so from xxx, so not so long, but not so short.
29	I: In Section two I asked you things about your identity as a lecturer and things you said were important for your identity. Something you said was really important was reviewing key points at the end of a lesson. Why do you think this is important?

30	C2: Really, really. It is really important because the latest discovery in research is firstly published in English, but if you want to get the new thing you must know English to read it.
31	I: In Section two of the questionnaire, I asked about the different things that are important when you're teaching. What do you think is one of the most important things for a teacher to do?
32	C2: Responsibility. Responsibility.
33	I: Can you explain?
34	C2: If you have responsibility, you are willing to do many things. For example skills, knowledge about teaching and patience towards students and attitude to teach. So if you are not responsibility, that's OK. For example, just now I say that I don't care if the students don't respect me, but I will try my best. If I didn't try my best, I would feel shame of me, but I try, so I don't have. So, responsibility makes people to undertake their tasks.
35	I: Thank you. Let's move on to the next part about your confidence in doing certain things in English. You said on the questionnaire that you are not confident in summarising information or creating a PowerPoint slide, for example. How does that effect your teaching?
36	C2: Because of the different countries and the different ways of thinking. I cannot give them the real conclusion, just a suggestion. And when I teach my Chinese students, I will try not to give them the conclusion, because maybe it is dangerous if I put my thoughts to them. I may be wrong. I didn't experience what they experienced and I didn't put on their shoes and walk their road, and so I have no qualification to make conclusion. Maybe I am sixteen or seventeen year's old and have the full experience of life, and now I cannot.
37	I: You also said in your lecturing you don't have confidence in presenting topics in a clear and systematic way. Again, how does that effect your teaching in English?
38	C2: Because of the level. When I pay attention to what they are saying, just like now, I can get your point, but always if I think other things, I cannot listen to what you say. I can understand some words but not the whole thing, and so I cannot get into the discussion sometimes, but if I pay attention I can.
39	I: You said that it is very important for a teacher to have responsibility for their students and you say you want to try very hard, and of course you do try hard.
40	C2: Not so hard, because I am tired. Now every Chinese feels tired. We have so many things to do. Actually, we work almost every day. Every day I

	work every night like my son. He finish his homework each day at eleven o' clock pm and he is twelve years old.
41	I: He is very young to have so much homework.
42	C2: Yes, and he cannot finish his homework and get good scores because he doesn't have enough time to practice and to do sport, so we have no time to become better. More and more people go abroad.
43	I: Does it worry you that you don't have more time to get better with your English?
44	C2: Yes I think so, yes, I do, yes.
45	I: How does that worry affect your teaching?
46	C2: You cannot prepare so fully for students because there is not enough time. And sometimes I want to go out and have meetings and there are many things that I don't have enough time. Time is so important, and there is no time and no energy you know.
47	I: Ok. Thank you. I think that is a very important point about there being too many things in life to worry about. The fourth part of the questionnaire asked you about your professionalism and what is important and what is not important. You said that job satisfaction is very important. What gives you job satisfaction?
48	C2: Many things. The students think that you are a good teacher, and maybe students sometimes got a useful skill, a knowledge to apply correctly. Of course, the salary is a factor, but it is not the most important, I think. And if the job gave me more time to have more time with my family, it would be a good job satisfaction. It means that the job, I can hold a job you know. I get a job good. If I have not so much time to do, that means that I cannot able to finish a job, because I must finish at my spare time. So it is very sad when you have to do your job at midnight. You cannot sleep - and you feel that you don't want to do anything and labour is so a bad thing. Just like Marx said, 'Labour makes people apart'.
49	I: And when you prepare your classes in English does it take longer than when you prepare in Chinese?
50	C2: Sure.
51	I: So, you finish later at night when you prepare in English than when you prepare a Chinese class?
52	C2: Yes, and why I talk about paper, and not just like you give the knowledge. Knowledge is always being changed you know, and there are new examples but papers you read and you get the point and you share with your students and better the questions approach. That's OK.
53	I: A question about teaching in English. Why do you teach in English? Did you volunteer or were you told by your manager to teach in English?

54	C2: I was told some years ago and I don't know why. Maybe because in xxxx when I came to my university to do my job. The leaders see my experience and they think my English is good and at that time in China the people think that teaching English is good and the leaders think that my English is good. And in China at this time we have tried to have two languages in class, not all in English, but my leader asked me to try it and more salary, in fact double salary, and so I think I will try it, but actually not so good promote, but now English teachers, foreign teachers, come here and we have big progress. Actually, my memory is not so good as before and so I think I have no progress. But more and more we see American and English TV Series, and with Sherlock Holmes. And Harry Potter. We always see movies and the TV series and make big programmes.
55	I: Do you enjoy lecturing in English?
56	C2: Enjoy? Sometimes. Enjoy?! It depends on the topic and what we will discuss. If the topic is interesting and I am absorbed in it, but always prepare more you know. So, I always feel that I have not prepared enough for the students.
57	I: Speaking about the students, in the questionnaire I asked you about the respect of the learners, the respect of your peers, and the respect of the university management. Which one do you value most? Which one is most important? The respect of your students, your peers or the university management?
58	C2: I forgot my answer is what?
59	I: You said that the management was most important and the students were least important. I just wanted to check this.
60	C2: I think the administration is always pride, always pride. So just as I mentioned, I not so care about the students' respect because I am a teacher, just like mother, you know. The administration they give us our job. They are our parents and they give us something and we try our best to please them not the opposite. Actually, the respect is not for us, but just for job. This job is seriously, and I think this is most important.
61	I: Do you think because you lecture in English the university management has more respect for you or no special respect?
62	C2: Actually, I surely want more respect from my management but if you are not in a high position, you didn't get. So actually, more and more, just like the people in the administration, just like the friends you know. You stay here twenty, forty years and you always have friends and friends respect is OK. But some people depend on position.
63	I: I have asked you about the management, your peers and the students but can you give me an example of any other key relationships that you

	have? You mentioned your friends and wondered if there are any more important relationships professionally for you?
64	C2: Any, any any......
65	I: Professional relationships which are important for you. Can you give me an example?
66	C2: I always wanted a student-centred education. I do agree with it, you know, because if you mention a 'centre', you always left something aside, you know, so we are all equal, you know. So, facilitating teachers are like, you give them a direction, but facilitators, you give them direction. But you do not decide, and so you do not become change.
67	I: Right, ok. Thank you. In the final section I asked you about some things you do in the English class but not in another class so for example you said that you use new technology like 'Kahoot' in your sessions. Why do you use more technology in your sessions in English rather than in your sessions in Chinese?
68	C2: More technology in English class? This is because it is so international and is so current and with time, I can save energy and the new technology is advanced technology and you must use this, such as a Smart phone. You know in the Chinese classroom, we don't allow the students to use tech tools on their Smart phones.
69	I: Thank you that is a good example. You also said that in your Chinese lessons, you analyse examples more than when you are lecturing in English. Why is that?
70	C2: Because I must use English. You know the language you use shows the way of thinking.
71	I: Do you think that your lack of confidence is a problem in your teaching? Do you think your low ability in English is a problem for your students?
72	C2: No, no, no.
73	I: Do you think your level of English is a problem for your students, your peers or the management?
74	C2: The relationship, peers, students, management? Not so big problem. If you do it, it's OK. They are all afraid of no one do it. But more and more PhD, you know, come back from the foreign countries to have English class. And then I think the tuition is better.
75	I: We have almost finished I just have a couple more questions left. My next question is about your sense of belonging. At your university what makes you feel like you belong? What makes you feel 'at home' at your university?
76	C2: Value, you know, value. We have a saying, 'that similar target and the target will lead us to the same direction' and this is most important.

77	I: Would you like to have more value at your university?
78	C2: Yes, yes.
79	I: How could this happen?
80	C2: If I compare with my colleagues in other departments at the university, you know my university is good at, planes, rockets, and submarines you know, compared with others, humanities is so low. But currently in my department I feel good.
81	I: Why do you feel good?
82	C2: Because I think maybe because I am an undergraduate and I majored in Economics and my postgraduate is Philosophy, Marxist Philosophy and PhD is Finance and so I didn't always focus on one field and so teaching is more useful and more popular to students. And it made me feel good. But accompanied for this department, it's not useful you know.
83	I: Does teaching in English give you any more or less value?
84	C2: I think there is a tendency for the future, so I feel good and it is OK and it's more value.
85	I: OK, good. My final question is about the type of English that you want to have. Some people study English to get an American English, some people want a British English and some people are happy with international English. Which would you like?
86	C2: What is international English?
87	I: Not American English, British English, Australian English
88	C2: It's OK, just what I can understand. 'English English' is OK. I think English English cannot accept Chinese English. Do you mean the pronunciation?
89	I: Yes, the words, the grammar.
90	C2: I think English English it is clear for Chinese people. For example, when we say 'credit card'. The American English say 'creditcard' and other words and we find it difficult to understand, but English English is more acceptable for me.
91	I: These are the main questions and they have finished. Thank you very much. Before we finish is there anything else you would like to talk about on this topic of EMI before we finish?
92	C2: It is a kind of method to make us more skillful, and so I wake up so much here. You and the students in Oxford are so nice and helpful and responsibility and are serious, so we have got skills, knowledges, and a way of thinking, and attitude not only by EMI but also by people you know. EMI is a skill, and EMI will be promote more and more energies like this, but maybe longer, you know. If we have enough time to know English culture, you know, because my university send us but the age is so

	important, so not enough energy to study. We tried, so maybe we need younger people and a long time.
93	I: You mentioned skills. Do you think that an EMI lecturer needs different skills than a lecturer in Chinese? Of course, you need the English skills but are there any other skills?
94	C2: You need more skills. You always make the groups and different task groups and this gives a different message to divide across. In Chinese class, because we have no other tradition to discuss more, and the class type is not easy to divide, but it's a good thing you know. My teaching task, our teaching task is a little heavy, so we just put the knowledge you know. And we don't have enough time to give students the whole knowledge of the course, so discussion is after class and in the class are mainly what teachers say to students. So you have maybe four or five course in one semester, but in Chinese students eight or ten.
95	I: It's a lot.
96	C2: Yes.
97	I: Thank you very much for your answers.

Transcript: Participant C3

Participant C3	
1	I: First of all, let's talk about your EMI context. So you teach Mechanics of Materials and you have been lecturing in English for three years. Can you tell me a little about your context? How much of that time did you teach in English, and how much in Chinese, for example?
2	C3: I teach Mechanics of Materials in Chinese and in English both, but for international students English.
3	I: Overall what percentage of your lecturing is in Chinese and what percentage in English?
4	C3: Overall, in recent years just in English.
5	I: 100% in English?
6	C3: Yes. Because I have enough work, so I just made the space.
7	I: I didn't realise it was 100%. That must keep you very busy. Can you tell me how you started lecturing in English and why did you started lecturing in English?
8	C3: Why I start my lecture in English?
9	I: Yes

10	C3: This was basically my assignment, yes. The students need to learn this lecture, so they chose me to teach this.
11	I: Did you volunteer for the lecturing in English or were you told that you must do it by your manager?
12	C3: I think maybe half.
13	I: When you started lecturing in English, how did you feel about it?
14	C3: At first, I think it is very difficult for me, yes, since to know the language is a problem for me but I am familiar with this subject, so I think it is ok.
15	I: You have described your level of English as B2 upper intermediate. Why did you decide on that level? Was this because of a test or was it your own perception of your ability?
16	C3: From the test, yes. You know EMI. Yes, I read the videos and according to my situation I think yes, maybe. Maybe my reading ability is a little higher, but I think my spoken English or writing are my weakness, so I can be true.
17	I: You said that you think the minimum level to teach English or to be a lecturer in English is B1 intermediate. Can you tell me why you think that?
18	C3: I think we give lectures to the international students and the English is just one aspect, not a total. In the classroom, yes, I speak mostly what I want to say, yes, and they can understand me. Maybe, if there is discussion, it is a little difficult. But after several times communication, I think I can understand what they say and they can understand me. So I think yes, it is not a total problem of the language.
19	I: Thank you, good. What about your students? What level do you think their level needs to be? Is it B1 or B2?
20	C3: Yes, I think I did not do any test for them. But I think they can speak fluently. Maybe sometimes I cannot master what they said but they can speak fluently but they are, how to say. Yes, although they can speak English fluently, but for them, the maths, they are very weak. For simple equation, they do not know how to solve it. So I think for them in the lecture, they feel very difficult.
21	I: Is this for the international students or the Chinese students?
22	C3: Yes, international students, but for Chinese students they have many choices, and they can read the Chinese textbooks, yes. They can learn themselves, so I think it is easy for them. Maybe in the classroom they didn't listen to me just read a Chinese textbook, yes, most students like to do that.
23	I: For the international students who have trouble with equations, is it easy or difficult to explain these equations in English?

24	C3: Equations, yes. I think I can help them to solve it, but for most time, they didn't ask me, yes. I think they pay much in this course, so they are sometimes absent, they didn't finish their homework. I think they are not serious.
25	I: Why do you think that they don't ask you questions if they don't understand?
26	C3: Yes, only a few students like to ask questions. But I think most students, yes, maybe they don't care about it.
27	I: You also said that compared to your colleagues, you were about average for your English level and there are a lot of people who lecture in English at your university. How do you feel in comparison to your colleagues? Do you feel that having English gives you more, or any, special respect or treatment?
28	C3: For me or for my colleagues?
29	I: For you in comparison to your colleagues?
30	C3: Compared to my colleagues yes, you know, first we don't use English in our daily life. And I think my English, yes, compared with my colleagues.
31	I: Yes, thank you. We'll move on to the next section of the questionnaire which talks about the things which you think are important as a lecturer. And I asked you about the different points which were important to you and you said that they were all either very important or quite important. For you, what is one of the most important elements to being a good lecturer?
32	C3: Ah, most important, yes. I think that how to design a lecture, yes. After learning EMI, I think that is very important for me. Learning to design a lecture carefully, according to the ability of the students yes, maybe it can get good effects.
33	I: How is this different to how you might prepare a lecture which is in Chinese?
34	C3: In a lecture? You mean compare an English lecture with Chinese? At present they are most the same. Yes, I like use the ppt and I'm familiar that and I think yes, they are mostly the same.
35	I: Thank you. The next question asks you about your confidence in using these different techniques and again, because your English is very good you say in the questionnaire you are neutral or confident about all of these. But one of the things you were only neutral about was using your students' work to help you prepare a session. How do you use your students' work to help you plan and prepare future sessions?
36	C3: Use students' work?
37	I: Yes, for example if they have had a test, do you use the results of their test, if it is good or bad, to help plan future lessons.

38	C3: Ah, yes. At present I did less about that. Yes, I think it is important to do this, but at present I almost did nothing, as I did not have much time to do this.
39	I: Yes, it is a lot to cover. Is this something you would do in Chinese or is it something that you try to do in both?
40	C3: They are almost the same, yes.
41	I: Thinking about the students themselves in your EMI class, are the numbers greater or fewer than in your Chinese classes?
42	C3: The EMI class? What is the number? You mean in my class how many students?
43	I: Yes.
44	C3: In the first years there are about fifty students. By the third year, that means the last semester, there were only eleven students.
45	I: How does this compare with the same course in Chinese? Are the numbers about the same?
46	C3: No, for Chinese students I have taught one hundred students or sometimes sixty, or something like that.
47	I: How is it different to teach a group of sixty compared to a group of eleven, like the students in the last semester?
48	C3: Ah, yes, actually they are almost the same, but I like the class which had a few students, yes. I can talk much to them. I can learn them well. Yes, I can discuss more with one or two students, yes. I know them well, so I think that this is better.
49	I: Thinking about the important thing about lessons and being a good lecturer is planning your lessons accordingly, planning your sessions. Where did you get this idea from? Some people think it is important to have dialogue, some people think it is important to have tests, and you say it is important to plan your lessons carefully. Did this come from your own experiences or from a mentor? Where did they come from?
50	C3: Mostly from my experience, yes I think. Yes, I learn some from others in EMI, but mostly from my experience.
51	I: Ok. Thank you. Now in section 4 of the questionnaire I asked you about areas of your professionalism, areas which were important. And you said that job satisfaction was very important. What gives you job satisfaction?
52	C3: Oh, sorry what is this job?
53	I: What gives you job satisfaction? What makes you happy in your job?
54	C3: Ah. Yes, job satisfaction, yes. A lecture that I feel it is good. Yes, I feel happy.
55	I: How does a lecture feel good?

56	C3: Ah, yes, after the lecture, I really have some feelings, yes. I feel a little regret that I didn't do well in this lecture. But sometimes you feel, yes, I did well. So I feel better, yes, I think.
57	I: What are some of the differences between a lecture which you think has gone well and a lecture which has gone differently or badly? Why is a lecture good or why is a lecture bad for you?
58	C3: Yes, let me think. Maybe in some lecture, yes, I did not explain a concept exactly or made a little mistake, or something like that. I feel sorry or I feel regret that I didn't do it well.
59	I: Is this a feeling you have more or less when you lecture in English?
60	C3: I think less. Only a few times.
61	I: OK. Thank you. I also asked you about the importance of respect. Respect from your colleagues, respect from the learners and the respect of the university management, and you said that they are all the same. Can you tell me about your feelings of respect? Why are they all the same from students, peers and university management?
62	C3: Respect, I'm not sure. From my colleagues and from my management, we seldom discuss this question, but from some students I really feel they respect me, yes.
63	I: Do you think your students and your peers and the university management have the same respect for you because you lecture in English, or do you think this respect is increased because you are an EMI lecturer?
64	C3: No, I don't think so. Yes, from my peers or my management I don't think so, but from my students maybe yes, they seem like their teacher has had some special training, yes. I think so. Maybe from teachers, managers, yes. I will teach more students next year and the management asks me questions about the training and EMI and I think, yes, they don't pay much attention.
65	I: Does the fact that you lecture in EMI give you any special conditions with your employment? Does it give you a better chance of promotion or a chance for anything like that?
66	C3: Ah, yes, maybe, yes. Yes, in some situations there maybe students like me which have the training in EMI yes. Maybe, I am not sure.
67	I: Thank you. We have talked a little bit about your relationships with your students, your colleagues and the university management. Are there any other important professional relationships for you at the moment?
68	C3: Professional relationship with what?
69	I: Is there another professional relationship that is important to you outside of the university. Do you have a mentor in another university or some

	friends or anyone who influences your opinion about how you teach and what you teach?
70	C3: Mmm. How you teach? At present, I pay much attention to the teaching technology. Yes, and I learn much more about teaching this technology in the classroom and something like that, I am interested, and I want to use this in the lecture.
71	I: OK. Do you get these ideas from the internet, or from your colleagues about the knowledge about technology?
72	C3: Actually, it is from, some from my colleagues, yes. Some from my colleagues in other universities, yes.
73	I: Ok, thank you. We have talked about the university and your colleagues. My next question is about belonging. What makes you feel you belong at your university?
74	C3: Belong, yes. I have been a teacher in this university for about twenty-eight years, so I think, yes, I really belongs to it.
75	I: What in particular gives you this feeling? Is it because you know who is responsible for things or you know the systems? What makes you feel you belong?
76	C3: Yes, I am used to this. I am used to the life in the university and I think that that is important.
77	I: What would make you feel you belong more at the university?
78	C3: Belong more? What do you mean?
79	I: What would increase your feeling of belonging? Would it be responsibility or promotion or anything like this? Or are you already high with your sense of belonging?
80	C3: Yes, I still not sure. Let me see. I have forgotten.
81	I: So, you have been at the university for twenty-eight years, quite a long time, would you like to have more responsibility at the university than you do at the moment?
82	C3: Yes.
83	I: What kinds of things would you like to do at the university?
84	C3: In my life I just want to do a few things. One is lecture and another is doing some research with my leader. Yes.
85	I: Would you like to do more research or more lecturing. Or would you like more management responsibility, for example?
86	C3: You mentioned, I like them.
87	I: OK. Thank you. I have one more question. You're learning English and there are many types of English that you can learn, American English, British English, Australian English, International English. Is there a

	particular type of English that you are trying to learn or is it just an international English that you are happy with?
88	C3: I am not sure. I feel they are all English. Are there any differences?
89	I: Maybe just to do with accent or maybe some vocabulary being different between British English and American English for example.
90	C3: I am not sure what I say is maybe not American English, not British English, maybe international English, I don't care about that. It is just to say correctly. Sometimes my pronunciation of a word in English is not good, but I don't care about it.
91	I: Thank you very much. They are all the questions I have. But before we finish is there anything about EMI and your experiences in EMI that you would like to tell me about before we close the interview?
92	C3: Yes, in the first week of my course, I felt that I learnt much from it. Actually, before I went to XXX, I want to learn more about it, yes. Like flipped classroom, like micro classroom and new technology. And I want to know the differences between them and how to use them, since you know that is very popular in China and I really want to use them in my lectures.
93	I: OK. Is there anything else you would like to add?
94	C3: No at present, but I still know much from EMI, and I think I will use that technology next semester when I teach, yes, Mechanics of Materials in English.
95	I: Thank you. Your comments have been very helpful.

Transcript: Participant U1

Participant U1	
1	I: You teach Physiology and you have been doing that five years and for four years you have been using English to teach Physiology. Is that right?
2	U1: No. It is my first experience and before this I used my English for some conversation only.
3	I: OK. So how long have you lectured in English at your university?
4	U1: Four years.
5	I: What percentage of courses do you lecture in English?
6	U1: You know it depends on the amount of foreign students in our academy and it has increased this last four years to for now when I have nearly eighty percent, I think, I have now in my classes in English with foreigners.
7	I: Quite a lot of your classes in English.
8	U1: Yes, it could be almost all day that I am speaking English only, with students not with colleagues.

9	I: When did you first start lecturing in English?
10	U1: Four years ago, it was just like one time per week maybe and then my students increased and my English became better and they come more and more until now when I have more English speaking groups than Ukrainian ones.
11	I: And how did you start teaching in English? Did your Supervisor say you must speak in English or did you volunteer for this course?
12	U1: No, no it is my official place and at first it was a little bit hard because before I spoke with Ukrainian students only. But I know with some help and training finally, I think now it's better than previously.
13	I: Can you tell me about the help and training that you received?
14	U1: It was my own time, my own training. I was trying to use all possible sources of English, such as Twitter, any kind of news information, some movies, music and also maybe bigger than all was this course with the testing. And it was like a final level of my training, and the result of this was by testing by the XXX and it was excellent.
15	I: Did you do that at the same time as you were lecturing or was that before you started lecturing in English?
16	U1: You know before my English classes, I was trying to prepare for each topic with information and it was not a general training in English but it was by small steps because of my other kind of activity and my private life. So I was trying to find any way possible for my English training.
17	I: Thank you.
18	U1: It was my own way, but I can't recommend it for everyone.
19	I: Talking about your language level, you identify as being C1, an advanced speaker.
20	U1: According to my XXX exam result yes. Yes, according to the official paper from the test and that is why, as it is the results of the XXX.
21	I: I was wondering if this was assessed by a formal exam, so XXX, that explains it. Helpful, thank you. You also say that in order to lecture in English you need to have a minimum level of B2, an upper intermediate level. Where does this idea come from? Why do you think B2?
22	U1: It's come from my own experience and level of English of some students at this English level because some of them have good English and pronunciation and as for me it is the same for no less than the students. Of course, some of them it depends on, I don't know, not from countries but from personal ability, of course, but some students' English level is less than B2. Yes, but some of them have good English and I can't know less than level students.

23	I: You said that sometimes it's not good if the student knows more than you or knows more than the lecturer. Have you had an experience like this before?
24	U1: No, no. I just can compare it and I can imagine that if the teacher knows English not so good as students, it is not good for study of course.
25	I: Why do you think it will not be good for study?
26	U1: You know, it is not good for low level in language and not only for subject knowledge, but for the level of conversation and for foreign lecture also.
27	I: Thank you. You say that your level of English is slightly higher than that of your peers. Does that mean that you get more teaching in English or you have less teaching in English? Is there a difference in your job role because of your level of English?
28	U1: I try to recall my thoughts about this question. Not everyone in the Academy can teach an English-speaking group. Maybe that is why I give such answer. Some teachers perform their classes or lecture to Ukrainian students only. Not everyone can teach or perform their lessons in both language and maybe that is why I chose this answer.
29	I: Ok good, thank you. When you lecture in English is it 100% in English or sometimes do you do a little bit of English, or a little bit of Ukrainian?
30	U1: No, if I have an English-speaking group, I prefer use only English. For some students, you know, when they don't know English at their good level and they are trying to explain something in Russian or Ukrainian, but I prefer use English always, because if English-speaking group, they should know English, so there is no combination. Only English.
31	I: When you have students who speak in Ukrainian or Russian how do you cope with that in your sessions?
32	U1: You know this is not my question. This question is for the Academy as to why they choose English-speaking group and not Russian-speaking group or Ukrainian-speaking group. If the other students know English and they want to study in this language, how I can teach in another one.
33	I: Thank you. Let's move on to the next part about the things that you think are important as a lecturer and you have put a number of things for example sharing ideas with your peers, creating worksheets. So you have lots of ideas here. Where did your beliefs about teaching come from?
34	U1: I don't know. You know before I work in the Academy, I am like daughter in the XXX and maybe I use my practice experience my practice knowledge for certain way in which we have to explain our subject and what kind of information we have to send for students maybe. Not all teachers

	have such experience. So, I can't say that this is only my answer for it, but it is my answer.
35	I: Did you get any of these ideas about the importance of teaching or different elements of teaching from your teacher training or from your XXX course or from somewhere else?
36	U1: Could you repeat?
37	I: Your beliefs about teaching and the importance and different elements, did it come from your training as a teacher or did it come from your experience as a student?
38	U1: I think it is both, as I can't choose only one. It is my experience as a student, as a teacher, as a daughter. Maybe I create some ideal way of teaching in my mind and I'm trying to go by this, my own way. But of course, I use some methodological instructions for teaching, some general information for teaching, but also I am trying to use my own version of this process.
39	I: OK. Thank you very much. Moving on to the next section it is about confidence in using English. Your English is of course very high, and you are an advanced speaker and you are confident with everything for teaching, which is very, very good. Can you think back to when you started teaching in English, and maybe your English was a lower level. What was your confidence like then?
40	U1: Yes, it was harder than now. And that is why my professor gave me only one class per week for my training, for my practice, because to immediately prepare for all students each day, I think it's impossible and too hard for everyone. But I tried to increase it each days, and those days were harder.
41	I: In particular, what did you find hard?
42	U1: You know before my starting, I had some long period without active English conversation, maybe that was why it was hard for me, because you know practice is very important for language. Not only but also because you have to use not only your knowledge but your hearing, you know, because to teach some foreign students are different, and they are hard to understand. These are Indian students or some African students. And I think everyone needs time to analyse information and to refresh their knowledge.
43	I: It was maybe difficult to understand the students from different countries, as you say Indian students or African students. Is this because of their pronunciation or their vocabulary or something different?
44	U1: First of all pronunciation. Not all of them, but some students don't have classical pronunciation, and mostly it was hard to understand. And I have

	asked for repeat or speak more loud. But after some time, now, I am not sure I can understand everything, but it is better than previously.
45	I: OK. Thank you very much. Thinking about the other things you found hard when you were starting to lecture in English. Did it take you much longer to prepare your sessions?
46	U1: Yes, yes. I used more time. I used more time. I used some audio help, like, to find correct pronunciation. Because not everyone student, but some of them have good English and right pronunciation and I have to do better and a higher level, and of course I used more time for this.
47	I: Did you find it harder for the pronunciation or for writing materials for your course?
48	U1: I can't think of only one problem. Of course, I try to check everything, materials, pronunciation, some additional information for the students. Like common problems and I try to find a solution to this problems.
49	I: Thank you. There are some classes where you have completely Ukrainian students and some classes where you have a mix of international students. Is there a different way you teach the international group compared to the Ukrainian group?
50	U1: You know, I am thinking about that from time to time. I don't know why, but it's not a secret but those students who pay more expensive for their studies, they are usually more active in preparing for the class. Very often in comparing foreign students even better. The same is for Ukrainian students but even if I use some example of the foreign students' answers for my Ukrainian students. And in comparing, they usually belong to the Indian students and some African students they, I don't know why, they are usually stronger.
51	I: Are there any social factors that a teacher or a lecturer needs to consider when working with an international group compared to using a Ukrainian group?
52	U1: Socially, mmmm. I think this can make for some different way of studying. I'm not sure.
53	I: OK. Moving on to the next set of questions about things that are important for your professionalism. You mentioned that the respect of your peers, your learners and management is all the same. But if you could choose one which you value more the respect of peers, learners or management, which would it be?
54	U1: This was in the last part of the questions, is that right? I am trying to remember what thoughts I had about my answer, but this is not the usual questions and I am not sure I can remember it. Could you repeat?

55	I: If you think about your peers, your learners and the university management, which relationship do you value most?
56	U1: Professional?
57	I: Yes.
58	U1: I don't know; it depends on persons. There are more colleagues I have more friendly relationships and there are some are only professional and something like this.
59	I: Thinking about your learners, peers and university management. Are there any other key professional relationships that you have?
60	U1: As for my teaching practice no, but I have other relationships in my Doctor's activity. I still continue some particular activity and I have other relationships. But here in the Academy, as I told you, professional, maybe friends, something like this.
61	I: Thank you. In your answers about what you value you said that teaching is more important than research or publishing for you. Can you tell me more about this?
62	U1: Yes, I can. I remember these questions. Again, I can make I think like this due to my doctor's activity. I know how good level of knowledge important for Doctors, and that is why I try to explain to my students that it is not only for us or for receiving some graduation, but it's important for practice. It's important for some patients and maybe some lives could be saved due to the knowledge. Maybe this is why I choose such answers.
63	I: OK. Thank you very much. Now on to the final stage of the questionnaire. You said that you use scientific movies and videos more when lecturing in English than in Ukrainian. Why is this?
64	U1: Maybe because in English I can find more movies than in Ukrainian ones. And, you know, I want to give different source of information to my students, not only my own explanation or my questions, but to have other sources to change their attention. And maybe in such way, I can give them more information.
65	I: Thank you very much. We have only two more questions left. My next question is about your sense of belonging at your university. What gives you a sense of belonging where you are?
66	U1: You know I believe that I can give someone the right direction. Maybe my classes will help someone understand better at the beginning and will help them be a good doctor in the future. Maybe, maybe it's too optimistic, but I still believe in this.
67	I: OK. Good. And so your belief of belonging is about your ability to change and support your students?
68	U1: Yes, if I can do it at my place, I will do it, of course.

69	I: Thank you. Is there anything else that would give you a greater sense of belonging for example, responsibility, or promotion or this kind of thing?
70	U1: I think I can't choose only one option for this. In general, to be a good role model for my students and for my try to be a good teacher. So, I haven't only one option and I haven't one answer.
71	I: OK. Thank you very much. My final question now is about when you were learning English. The English that you use do you want a particular type of English, for example American English or British English or are you happy with an international Ukrainian English?
72	U1: I think I'm used to British English for my studying and for my practice and I'm not sure that I know some American. So, I know that my English belongs to the British one and not the American one, I hope.
73	I: Thank you very much. That ends the questions that I have for you but is there anything else that you would like to say about teaching in English that you haven't talked about already.
74	U1: I often think about some example that I can use for my Ukrainian students when I give them my answers but I can't explain the same example for my foreign students, due to the different system of health control and health management.
75	I: Can you give me a specific example?
76	U1: You know in some countries there is a different structure for their health management and this makes it harder for me to explain my practical examples. For example, the ambulance service. I know in England, in Great Britain you have different ways for ambulance organisation than in Ukraine, and that is why I can't compare it and can't give some advice for my students. Because I'm not sure they can understand it. As for the Ukrainians, my examples will be more clear and that is why I feel some problem in this explanation.
77	I: Thank you very much. That comment was incredibly helpful and a very useful point to finish with.

Transcript: Participant U2

Participant U2	
1	I: So, let us begin with your teaching context…
2	U2: Actually, I have three languages that I lecture in, Ukrainian, English and Russian. Of course, I am trying to do all my best but unfortunately I always can't do it. I need a few minutes perhaps fifteen to twenty minutes to switch

	my brain from language to another language. For our Ukrainian lecturers, it is very difficult to think in English, not talk but think in it. It is a great problem to start to think in English and that's why I think maybe this is one of the problems of our lecturers' section. And of course, it is cultural because the English language students, they are not native English language students. They are from different countries and it is a multi-cultural society inside the groups. It is really difficult sometimes to understand them because they have many different accents and many different basical knowledges of my material and it is really difficult to create something, to combine something, to explain something for them. But actually for me, because I have experience not only in lecturing but in practical classes too. For example, today I had English language practical classes one Ukrainian practical classes and a lecture. And now I know I will use anything what I have. The pictures, sometimes notes from my patients, my own patients actually, some additional materials, any additional materials actaully, maybe a piece of paper or pen or pencil to explain them. You asked me in your questionnaire about specifically jargon. Of course, I will use it because in their future profession it is important to understand medical terms and definition. And if they will not do it, unfortunately they can't read specific literature or articles or something else. OK. But it is only my point of view maybe it is wrong, I don't know, but it is mine.
3	I: And the important thing is as a lecturer, as a professional, your point of view is incredibly valid and of course in this kind of research your experience is very, very important because as you experience, when we lecture and when we teach, often it is a very isolated experience. We don't have many opportunities to react and interact with other professionals and what you are saying is very, very similar to what other people are saying that I have interviewed. So, I think this research will be very interesting in helping identify exactly these things that you have said, and I think, help create a more supportive environment for lecturers. Thank you that was a really interesting kind of summary about what you did. So, you've been teaching Internal Medicine and Professional Diseases and it sounds fascinating and you have been doing it for eleven years but seven years in English. Can you tell me more about your context for teaching in English? For example how many classes a week do you teach in English? The percentage of English, Ukrainian and Russian, etc.?
4	U2: Well for this seven years, we had different demands in the group for English language teaching. Mostly it is for fifth year of education. My groups are for fifth and sixth years of education. The fifth year of education is about 40 percent per course. The sixth year of education is about 20 percent

	because they are divided. There are two parts for the students and our part is a part of that. For about a year it is something about 60 - 80 percent. Something like that. Ukrainian course is larger, much larger because it is maybe 350 persons to 200 persons according to the first-year results, actually according to the first course. That is why it is difficult and different to speak to these in the auditorium because this auditorium is a big auditorium and it is awsome, Actually. Phychologically, it is more difficult to speak to a smaller auditorium maybe, not for someone else but for me yes.
5	I: How did you get in to teaching English? Did you volunteer to teach your subject in English or were you asked to teach your subject through English?
6	U2: So, you ask me, if I understand correctly, why am I started to teach in English, because nobody could except me. It wasn't my choice. Seven years ago, it wasn't my choice but nobody else except myself could to do it. I was the first one, and now we have three English language teachers with B2 level of English certification, but for about five years was only me.
7	I: That was a lot of responsibility for just one person.
8	U2: Yes, it was, and it was tons of work, actually. Because I should prepare all these additional materials by myself and to do some methodical recommendation to find some English language literature for them. And some other research and, of course, my own level of English seven years ago was lower than now. Just I had no practice in language and it is very important to have practice. Of course, it will be better if I have the possibility to practise with native English speakers but I have no source for this except for YouTube and TED Talks, so I should do something for this. Now I have a little bit more knowledge, well, I hope so I'm not sure, but I hope so.
9	I: When your university started the English Medium of Instruction programmes in the Medicine and Professional Diseases courses, was it your university management that said, "xxx, please do this course".
10	U2: Yes, they asked, 'Do you know English?'. Yes, OK I was shocked actually, and I told them, 'So, so. I suppose I can understand it'. And they said, 'OK. You will do it.'
11	I: That's very difficult. And when you made that transition, when you started to teach in English did you get any extra time to help prepare your classes?
12	U2: Yes, of course. I needed some additional time. But I used almost all my free time, and that is why it was very, very difficult for me. But I did it and this is good for me now.
13	I: So why is it good for you now?
14	U2: Why is it good for me now? Because now I have basis for practical course for lecturers and some key points and I can use these key points in future. Of course, I change my lectures year-by-year, and renew them but I

	have something. It is something, not nothing. And that is why I have some experience and another one, a very important thing: I don't afraid to make mistakes anymore. Because many our lecturers they are silent because it is very, very important for them about their mistakes. Their own mistakes in English and translation and so on. I am not afraid to do it because I had no chance to choose something else except English language teaching and that is why it's much better for me and easier for me. Also, now I know how to do my lectures for them, for English and for Ukrainian language students, and also how to make practical English classes. A better way for education and that is what it's easier, yes.
15	I: Can you give me some examples of how you make your lectures more practical and better?
16	U2: OK. So, five or six years ago my lectures, they was very big. It was something like 80 slides with text. They were just awful, really. A few years ago, I saw one of my lectures and I said, 'What was that?!'. Now I do shorter lectures and mostly it is scan and pictures and much less text in it. And it is easier for me and for them. Of course, I am not reading. I am speaking and explaining and this is much better for them and for me too because I can change something. I can give them something additional if I see that they are not clearly understanding the topic. I can give some additional information. So, in my lecture I am not just using slides but combine the slide. And it is much better than before and it is much easier.
17	I: Do you think this change in your lecturing is because of your general experience as a lecturer or is it because you are making differences to support the use of English in your lectures?
18	U2: I guess it is because of my general experience. Well, when I see something is wrong, I need to find some new ways and I will be searching and looking for something else, something new. That is my point. Maybe some additional pictures, sometimes photos, sometimes even videos.
19	I: Do you think that there are extra things you need to do when you lecture in English compared to when you lecture in Ukrainian?
20	U2: No. Now, no. I don't think so.
21	I: In the past was something different?
22	U2: Well, five years ago, I thought that my English language students, because they are from India and Nigeria they are worse than our Ukrainian students. But that was a mistake and now I know it. So, I will give the same information for my Ukrainian language students and for my English language students. The same volume but some extra information. For example if I am giving some scan of treatment I will give them not only our Ukrainian scan I will give them the European scan and I will give them the

	scan from USA and all additional information and they should have it to compare the treatments. They need to see it because if they just sit and listen, they will not remember anything from my lecture. And so they need to work, they need to think and they need to understand. If they understand my lecture, they will remember if they are not understanding, they will forget.
23	I: This development in your lecturing, where you give these extra international examples, do you do this in your Ukrainian only classes as well?
24	U2: No, no, no for all of them. Now I'm not divided between our Ukrainian, English, or Russian language students. I see only students and it doesn't matter which language.
25	I: OK. That is really helpful, and you have given me some really good examples. I talked about your English level earlier and of course now it is very, very good but before you said it was so, so. Now you say you are an upper intermediate B2.
26	U2: Yes, a B2 I have a certificate.
27	I: When you started lecturing in English what do you think your level was?
28	U2: Well, I thought it was B1 but I think it was A1 or something! But it wasn't very bad, but it wasn't good at the same time. My active vocabulary was very, very, very low. Of course, my testing vocabulary was not so low, because I started English at school and at the Academy and I had experience with English in the Netherlands. After my graduation I had Post Graduate course in Amsterdam in the Netherlands. And so, it wasn't very bad and so maybe B1, or maybe a little bit lower.
29	I: Thinking about your students who are from Ukraine, India and Nigeria. Is this right?
30	U2: The foreign language students are mostly from India and Nigeria. And only this year, I have one student from Britain.
31	I: Aha. Fantastic! Apart from the language what are some of the additional challenges of having students from a number of different countries?
32	U2: Well actually for me, it is a new experience. I don't know how to explain it. So, this is a new aim. They are not only students for me they are humans, first of all. And I need to find some point of interaction with them as they are from different countries and it is a multi-cultural society. Sometimes it is difficult, yes, and that's why I need their respect like a teacher, like a person. Sometimes, I help them with their health or their nearest person, and it's normal for me. I do it just because they are my students, and because they are humans. So that is why respect is very important inside the group.

33	I: You said that you believed that the minimum level for a lecturer to lecture in English is B2, upper intermediate. Why do you think that?
34	U2: What do you mean? Not lower, it is a minimum of B2.
35	I: Why do you think the minimum is B2? For example, you said when you started lecturing in English you thought your level was A2 or B1. Did you think this was insufficient?
36	U2: Yes, because I had no choice at that time. But for equal work with additional literature, with articles and with this periodical literature, I need to have higher level than B1. It should be B2 probably, the minimum.
37	I: And how did you feel when you were running your classes and when you had maybe only a B1? Did you feel there was a problem in some way or was it not a problem?
38	U2: It was problem. It was a great problem when I had a B1 level because I know the student's level was higher than mine. So, it was uncomfortable to work with them, but I was unstoppable at that time and I worked hard, so I had a progress and they saw this and they saw that I am trying. And I guess that's why I had, and they had a good results in the end.
39	I: It is really interesting to hear you say that you were unstoppable. It sounds very exciting. Can you tell me what was unstoppable and why was it unstoppable?
40	U2: What was unstoppable? Well, the tendency to learn English. To be better in English because technically it is important for me to be better than now. If I feel that something is wrong, I will read more, and I will find more. I will listen more, and I will be trying to talk more, and experience is very important for me. Why was it unstoppable? I realise that no one else can do it except me. I was only one and it was my own responsibility to do this work. To give all information and that is why it was so important. Actually, it is still important for me even now because I am asked questions all the time and I am talking all the time and it is up to me to give them the answers. Of course, I am a human and I can't know everything. If I cannot explain them some materials, then OK I will do it and explain it next day. This is my practice and they know about it and so it is more easy to talk with them this way.
41	I: Thank you very much. These are really interesting answers. Thank you.
42	U2: You're welcome!
43	I: I'd like to ask you about what you feel is important for your identity as a lecturer and you said that most of your teaching techniques listed in Section 2 of the questionnaire are important or helpful. Can you say what are the most important things for a lecturer to do in a teaching role?

44	U2: The most important things to do? Mainly to speak with them in auditoria. To be with them in auditoria. Not standing outside, but to be with them because it is more easier to interact with students when you are in society, not out of society. Sometimes in my practical classes, I am giving a small lecture and if I saw that they don't understand material, I can just stand up from my chair, my own chair, and sit down between them to take piece of paper and pencil and start to draw. And in this situation, it is sometimes even better than when I am sitting on my own chair or standing at the side. So, this doesn't mean that I have to be like a student, no. Of course not. but sometimes it is important to be closer to them to understand them.
45	I: You have given a very nice example of maybe going in with the papers and so on. What's another technique that you use to help you get into the auditoria to help be part of the class?
46	U2: Well, sometimes it is a case method of education. Imagine, we can use case matter of course with my own patients. It's painful for me because it's a little bit uncomfortable to work with all group, but mostly it is between ten to twelve persons in one group. Just imagine that. Me, my patient and twelve persons and they are standing there and can't understand any words in Ukrainian. I translate from patient to students and from students to patient and it is a hard work. But sometimes it is useful because they should to practise to see something done to feel it and sometimes see something contagious and now even on my course some of my students are afraid to touch patients and it is a shame but it is not their shame it is a shame of the educators and I am trying to resolve this problem. And that is why I need to work with patients more often. So, this is another way.
47	I: You mentioned about making mistakes. Thinking about your English, do you worry about making mistakes in English or not?
48	U2: I know that I can do mistakes, but even if I do my mistakes, if I explain my material and if they can understand it, it is not a big problem for me. If they can't understand me, of course it will be a problem because my main aim is to give information, difficult information.
49	I: Moving on to the next part of the questionnaire where I asked you about your confidence in English. Of course, your confidence is very high now and you are confident in so many areas. Is there any area where you don't feel confident in your lecturing practice?
50	U2: I don't know really, and I was thinking about that before. This is not in lectures or not in practical classes but maybe on conference. I have felt some uncomfortable feelings because of my mistakes, because I don't know why, actually. I should and it's not only in English it's also in Ukraine. I

	am not very good in society, maybe I am afraid of society. I don't know why. When I am part of some conference and when I have some speech at this conference, I feel very uncomfortable and there is something inside of me that is unstoppable. I had an experience actually, of this activity and I'm thinking OK, but I can't understand why. Maybe this is the only uncomfortable point for me - some conference.
51	I: Do you think that uncomfortable part is because it is a conference or because it is the English language element?
52	U2: Probably because of the conference not because of the language. Because even in my native language, my Ukrainian language, I can feel some discomfort in the time of my speech.
53	I: Thank you very much. Let's move on to the next part which is about areas of professionalism. There are some key areas which you say are important one of which is job satisfaction. What gives you job satisfaction?
54	U2: Well, I like medicine a lot. I like to see the result of my work and after this I like teaching and I have satisfaction from teaching and curing my patients and when I can combine the two lovely activities, why shouldn't I do it? It is great.
55	I: Thank you. We have talked about respect already, but thinking about the respect of your peers, your students, and the university management. In the questionnaire you said that the respect of your students was most important and that the respect of your peers was not so important. Can you explain that a little bit?
56	U2: Yes, yes. Well, OK. My colleagues' respect for me is not very important. They are only humans too, and it is only their point of view. I shouldn't care about their opinion because five years ago, nobody could and nobody would help me with this you know. Well, I'm giving my experience to everyone who will ask me. That's why the respect of my students is more important, because I am working with them. Of course, it is more important for me to have their respect than of my colleagues. I respect my colleagues actually, they are great specialists, but I don't really care about their respect for me.
57	I: Thinking about your colleagues, did their perception of you change because you are able to lecture in English?
58	U2: I think that they are not even thinking about me, because it is not their problem you know. They are not in this. They have their own problems with their students with their subjects and that is why I'm not sure they are thinking about me, like a lecturer or educator at all.
59	I: And how about your students? Do you think your students view you differently when they realise you can lecture in Ukrainian and in English?

60	U2: The greatest prize for me is after my lecture I hear, 'Thank you, Ma'am'. This is just something, something very important and something very pleasure. I think they are thinking about me like about lecture. I have my own sociological research in this group of students, and I asked them last week, 'Is it useful for you to have lecture or not?', and they told me, 'Ma'am, if our teachers explain of course it is useful, and if they give us some points that we can use in our Croc tests…' Do you know about our 'Crocs'?
61	I: No.
62	U2: Well, our Crocs is like a system of checking their notes. So of course, it is interesting and useful but if this lecture is only about materials, just reading materials from the laptop or from presentation it is not very interesting for them and they are beginning to talk in the lecture and they are annoying the lecturer and they don't pay attention. Then this is not acceptable for me, and I try to avoid this conflict with them. And that is why I told them that if anyone don't want to be here then they should just stand up and go home. It is easier to work with students who want to listen, and I have no conflict with them.
63	I: Thank you. Thinking about the university management. Seven years ago, you took this difficult role to lecture in English and now you have lots of experience. How do you think their opinion of you as a professional has changed?
64	U2: I am not sure about their opinion at all. So I am only part of a big system, and it is good that I am present in it, but if I was absent, probably they would change me for somebody else. They don't think about me as a person, but I am just part of a big system.
65	I: The fact that you can lecture in Ukrainian, English and Russian doesn't really matter to them?
66	U2: No.
67	I: Apart from your personal satisfaction are there any benefits or pros for you being able to lecture in English?
68	U2: Yes, of course. This is great for something inside of me, I guess. Maybe I know something extra, maybe I'm better than somebody else but I'm not very often compare myself to somebody else because I'm a self-enough person. I have a daughter and she is four years' old, and that is why I have found what I want to do. And that is why this is not very important for me.
69	I: Thank you. You mentioned of course that it takes longer to prepare sessions but are there any other problems with lecturing in English that you would like to talk about?

70	U2: Well, I don't know. Maybe only cultural problems. Some of the students can be very aggressive, like not generally in society, but like one or two persons. They may be aggressive; they may be lazy. They are different and that is why it is a problem for me. Because I am a woman and when you are looking at an aggressive man because he previously had bad marks, and it was very, very unpleasant and very uncomfortable and actually, sometimes very dangerous. And their temperament, well they can comment and be very hard or very aggressive. So, it is a problem.
71	I: This was a very helpful response thank you. My next question is about your sense of belonging at your university. Do you feel that you belong where you work?
72	U2: Well, actually yes. Medical Academy this is my home. This place was where I was studying many years ago. I remember my teachers and my educators, and it was teachers from old Soviet Union school and I remember their techniques and their methods of education and I can't compare. Now our education system and our medical system is under the reconstruction, so it is changeable and I can compare and I can take from that some positive points, and that is why it is important to be a part of society but, but, but. Maybe because I am sensitive.
73	I: And what would make you have a greater sense of belonging at your university?
74	U2: Oh, I don't know, really.
75	I: If you had like a promotion, a salary increase, or something like this?
76	U2: Well, salary increase I have no salary increase, and I have salary as before. Well, I don't know really. Why am I doing this? Maybe for satisfaction. I'm not ready to answer you this question. I don't know why I am doing this. 100% no, not my salary. My salary is XXX dollars per month.
77	I: Is there anything else at the university that would make you have a greater sense of belonging.
78	U2: No.
79	I: OK. We've talked about your relationships with students, and with your peers, and your relationship with the university management. Are there any other people who have an influence on your profession?
80	U2: Maybe my parents because they are doctors too, but nobody else.
81	I: And thinking about your English, are you trying to have any particular type of English, for example, American English, British English, Australian English, international English or just as you are?
82	U2: I'm not trying to do it, actually. I'm not trying to have American or British English as far as something like. But when I am listening for a long time some English, for example American English, probably I will take something

	from this speech in my speech too. But it is automatically. I will not take from Indian English because it is awful, really, really awful. Or Nigerian English, as that is very specific too.
83	I: Thank you very much. That is the end of my questions, but is there anything else you'd like to talk about in relation to English Medium of Instruction teaching that you haven't said already?
84	U2: No, I think that is everything. Thank you.

Transcript: Participant U3

Participant U3	
1	I: You've been lecturing in Ukrainian for four years in International Public Relations. Can you tell me more about your context and how many classes a week do you teach?
2	U3: First the subject was started in Ukrainian for three years and this is my second discipline in English because the first of my discipline was Information Management and I started this in English two years ago, and I started from Information Management. About Public Relations, Public Relations have the basically the work in society and so on and International Public Relations is something like Public Relations in its meaning and Public Diplomacy. So, it is half that and half that.
3	I: And when you changed and added in the Public Relations, was that in Ukrainian as well or was that when you made the move to English?
4	U3: You know for our students, it's a little bit hard to study English so I tried to use simple language for them, without slang and maybe without many funny moments, because I like to joke with them, but in English they can't understand so many jokes and different hard complicated sentences, something like that. So, I tried to use simple language and I give them home task to make their vocabularies, but no rules English because it is not my specific.
5	I: Why did you start lecturing in English?
6	U3: You know when I was at school I had the opportunity to study well and we had many English classes. Then I came to university and there the level of English in our university wasn't enough to be well speaker, to speak on the normal level. So this is how I met xxx because she had been teaching me for a few years before I created my own programme in English. So that's how I do it but it was with the information I had and to upgrade myself and rise up and my potential like a teacher. And you know I wish more

	teachers in my home university and other universities in the Ukraine do the same in the nearly future, because it is very important. It is 100% more important than other things because in that way it makes students more competitive and gives them better competence in the subject they study. So, it was only motivation and because you know our government told us that in future we will have 20% rise in salary, but now it is only motivation without any money and bonuses. So I am only teacher who do this studies in my department.
7	I: When you started these English studies or this English course did you volunteer or were you asked by your Manager?
8	U3: No, it was only my initiative to do it. I don't know why I started to do it but, Information Management was like subject that consists of different parts of Public Relations, and Marketing and so on. And it was very simple in our major language for students. That is why I tried to create this simple programme and translate it to English because I was thinking that, in that way, they will understand it better. This way I started from Information Management and this year I started International Public Relations course.
9	I: So, there are two reasons why you wanted to do this. Is it correct because one is you wanted to push yourself to develop, and also to provide an opportunity for the students?
10	U3: For the students and to rise up our education system because we have many problems, many, many problems in our higher education and so I think that if every student and every teacher will make one little step, it will be like huge step for all system. Maybe I idealist but I like this.
11	I: Yes, a very nice concept if you have everyone working together.
12	U3: Yes, yes.
13	I: Maybe some more questions about the lecturing that you do. You do some in English and some in Ukrainian?
14	U3: Yes, I do some subjects in Ukrainian, like Major Planning and System of Market and Communications.
15	I: What percentage of your work is in English and what percentage is in Ukrainian?
16	U3: Courses that I have in English, they are 100% in English. So, from time to time, they can't understand some moments and I start to explain in Ukrainian and half of my subjects are in nature language because I have only four subjects, and one English subject and one regular English language subject each semester.
17	I: Thank you that's helpful. Let's talk about your language level. You have described your language level as a B2 upper intermediate. How did you decide on this? Was this a test that you took or your own perception?

18	U3: No, I have a certificate because in our country we have the law and if you want to, oh, I don't know how it will be in English, one moment I will tell you... 'senior lecturer'. In our country, without this document you cannot be a senior lecturer and you have to got certificate with the minimum of B2.
19	I: You said that you think this is the minimum that a lecturer needs to lecture in English.
20	U3: Well, it is minimum by the law, but I think it could be the minimum because I can speak and I can think and translate and I can explain and so it is the minimum, because the line between B2 and B1 can be but better always better.
21	I: Thank you very much. You said that your English compared to your colleagues is about average.
22	U3: Yes.
23	I: Let me move on to the second part of the questionnaire, where I asked you what you thought was important. You have put lots of things that you think are important like sharing ideas with your peers, discussing the pedagogy....
24	U3: Yes, discussing with peers and when I was filling in your questionnaire, I was thinking about sharing the ideas with colleagues, like averaging because you know we have the same problem with the English because not many of my colleagues know English on that level, and maybe only the youngest colleagues like me want to rise up their potential, if it can be say so, and got the certificate and maybe to pass some exam and, I think it's great. What about to share ideas with students, I think this is the most important. But they totally agree with me about the thing that they need English disciplines. And personally, I think they need one pair or two pairs a week in English, but not like a professional language but usual English, like the rules and the translation and reading and two pairs of professional, like Public Relations and Information Management, so in that way they have mix of grammar and professional skills, and that way I think they can train. With regular training they can rise up their potential as specialists.
25	I: In your university do you have this situation where you have two lecturers, where there is an English language professional and a subject professional or is it just one person together?
26	U3: No, we have English teachers who teach like grammar and so on, like all the grammar and skills, and we have such teachers as me who want to give students a lecture in English, but I have never seen such people in my university, except me. I don't mix with them but I think one day I will ask if we have such teachers in my university because I want to share ideas with them. It is very important.

27	I: Is that share ideas about the language or share ideas about the teaching techniques?
28	U3: About the teaching techniques because I know that I am not ideal teacher and I have mistakes in language, and I can also have mistakes in my professional skills because everything is developing very fast. So I want to find the same teachers who got subjects in English and to communicate with them, but more about maybe some more some models of teaching, something like that.
29	I: Why do you feel you need development in your professional skills?
30	U3: I like my profession, I'm like journalist. And I was playing basketball by the way, and I was writing up about the sport basketball. Except for that I was working in media but then I started to write my PhD, and now I have finished it in 2016.
31	I: Congratulations. A big achievement.
32	U3: Yes, I was very hard working at that period and motivated and it was really hard work, so I think you are really motivated too.
33	I: I think anyone who does a Doctorate is very motivated. (Laughter)
34	U3: Yes, because it is crazy work. And I don't know how this process works in Britain, but we have so many jokes to do it, that in the Ukraine we say that to write PhD it is only 50%. To fill all the documents is the other 50%! So that's why people who work on PhD or defend their PhD's are heros. Now, back into the question because I want to give my students the best. The universities should be the place where we can give the students the best not only theoretical material, but in the practice. So that is why I try to read articles and speaking to my colleagues who now work in this field or near this field. This is why I try to be in this problem.
35	I: Yes, a great idea and a great way to develop. Can you tell me about the training you have had. Have you had any training to be a lecturer at the university?
36	U3: My specialisation is about some actor acting and rhetorical things, so I have many training in rhetoric subjects. I studied them by myself and with the teacher, not in the institute but in my city. I find the teacher, one of the best teachers in that thing, and I was studying this by myself because I knew that I will be a teacher and I can't be a shy person or a person who can't act with people, who can't speak publicly. So you know, I will break myself my shyness to be the normal teacher.
37	I: So, you did your pedagogical study by yourself? It was your own initiative?
38	U3: In some way yes, because you know I was a sportsman, and so I wasn't engaged in reading different books. And when I decided not to be a

	professional sportsman, I started to work hard intellectually. But it is the same pleasure for me and I like teaching. Maybe because I am near the age of my students and we have a great communication because of this, but I think any pedagogic should work on himself to get better.
39	I: Thinking about that, what is one of your strengths as a teacher and what is one of your areas of development?
40	U3: You know I think my strengths may be in strength. I'm just kidding. You know I am very open to students like a person. I didn't have barriers between me and them in communication. Maybe because of the age, and I am such a person that I think that it is better for us all to be more open without any bad things. And I want to develop and get better in English, get maybe C-level in the future, because my dream is to write the article in two journals. This is why I need to study harder in the subject of science English.
41	I: You mentioned about developing your English and you feel confident in lots of things. Your English is very good, of course, but you don't feel so confident in creating work sheets with exercises or comparing and contrasting ideas in your subject. Do you feel that this is important for your subject or not so important?
42	U3: You know working with sheets and working in papers is important, but it depends on such and such. A year ago I bought a work book about media planning in English, but at first I should study by myself. And because I was making this English programme all this period, I have not got any time to work with that work paper, which I can give to students, but without my personal work and material I can't give that.
43	I: How do you feel about that? How does this effect your feeling of professionalism?
44	U3: You know I don't think that I am 100% professional teacher. I want to develop and I want to develop many skills and be professional when it speaks about English teacher it's level and English language a lot of things. And from time to time, I get bored of that lecturing as every teacher, because you know every group has its own specific. Some groups very smart, very sociable, very creative and some groups they are very boring. They don't want to study, and in that way communication got worse. Look, you understand me as a teacher. You can understand these things, and so from that time I miss my motivation, but from time to time I have strong motivation to rise up my own potential and I working with that.
45	I: Of course, your English is very, very good but is there anything when you are lecturing that you feel you have a lack of English at any point?

46	U3: Yes, of course. I have a situation that when I tried to explain something, because I'm thinking in Ukrainian, it is my native language, because of that. I know such methods as spy, 007 spy used such methods, as thinking on the other language for example in English. And I was using that method and it is the best method of learning something, learning some material. But as you said, I have tried such things and I was losing my English and then I started to explain in Ukrainian and then I went back again to English and explained the material in English. But you know, it is my second year of teaching in English and now I have less such moments as previous year. In previous year, it was a little bit scary for me but now it's normal.
47	I: Tell me about the emotions you had when you first started lecturing in English?
48	U3: You know the first time it was alien because I was not a little bit nervous. I was training in a class without students, working on all my presentation in global. And every slide I was working maybe two or three times, you know to remember everything that I doing when I was preparing this programme in English and special this presentation. Then the first lecture was very nervous for me, and it was uncomfortable for them because they have never tried to learn something in English. Then, second lecture was better I wasn't in so big stress than the first time and now I am more free with communicating with them and I don't try to prepare so detailed because I know what to say and we try to speak more in our classes because they need some talkative level, because if they got some work from international partners, the first place is talking to them, communicating, maybe mailing each other. But I think speaking and talkative level is the main reason which I started this programme in global. To rise up their skills in speaking and maybe in writing essay materials.
49	I: When you changed the slides or you checked the slides two or three times for this first lecture, what were some of the things you changed? What were some of the things that were different from the slides in Ukrainian?
50	U3: You know, as I said, this discipline, Information Management, it was very simple in Ukraine for them, and so it was at a very simple level and they were master's degree students and Information Management was a system of very simple things. That is why I decided to start my English mission, from this discipline and translating this material was not hard for me. It was the most easy. Anyway, when it comes to practice it was nervous.
51	I: Did you have any English speakers in your class or where they all Ukrainian?

52	U3: Yes, you know, native English speakers? No. Native, no. One time I shared opportunity to make a lecture for Arabic students, and they are not native in Ukraine and not native in English. And it was an interesting option, but we had the other language Russian and we could communicate in Russian if they couldn't understand some material. But I have some students who got B2 or higher than me level of speaking, so they really helped me to communicate and it's great to have such students, and you know the younger groups I got, the best levels of speaking they have. So students my age or nearly, they don't know English so well. Younger, 17, 18, 19 years, they are better in times, well not in me, but the other, yes.
53	I: You said that it is a good thing to have the students with a high English level in your class because they help you. Can you tell me how they are helpful?
54	U3: Personally, for me I can train my English with them, speaking with them I can train my own English. For the university to have professional lectures in English is very prestige thing and they think that all master's programmes should be in English. Bachelors can be both in native and English, but master's degree is like level higher so the people should be very professional, because you know in your country master's degree can get even professionals in their field who are 35, 40 years old. But in our country, we don't have such students. Like you finish bachelor's and then you enter the master's degree and then you finish the master's degree and it is like the one level but two different names. And I see this programme different and I think this programme should be harder for students, more disciplinic and totally in English. But I can't do that because I am only a teacher!
55	I: Do you feel threatened at all by the students who have a high level of English?
56	U3: No, no, no it is not a problem. I have transparency with them and at our first classes, I always say I have level B2, 'Who got this level or higher?' I ask them to help me. I really need their help, not because I don't have, you know, professional skills, but I need their help to engage them in the process and maybe other students who are on this process got engaged too. So, we kill two rabbits with one shot.
57	I: You said that having this course was quite prestigious and thinking about your own career development, as a professional teacher, at the university, how does this help you running this kind of course?
58	U3: This kind of courses help me a lot with understanding science English, because I like science. It is my love, I can say. And now I don't know, if you have such level in Britain but you know Poland, Germany and Soviet

	countries have PG and then Doctoral, and so now I am working on my Doctoral. And I like it and I enjoy this process and upgrade myself but without English it's impossible, because global science is all in English and I think it's great because it's always an opportunity to be smarter to learn, not your language, but someone's language. It's always the best way to get better and I think it's good.
59	I: Ok. Thank you. That was a really helpful answer. You also mentioned that the government promised that sometime in the future that if you lecture in English you can get a 20% increase of your salary.
60	U3: Yes, but I don't wait for it because I know I can't trust the government, as you can't trust the government. And it's the problem of every citizen in every country because they speak it and act it like they want to do our life better, but then we have this missing some.
61	I: You mentioned that there is a personal benefit with taking your courses in English and perhaps the 20% payrise. Is there any other benefit to you for running these English programmes?
62	U3: OK. Let's count my benefits. First benefit is to know English better. Second benefit is to integrate it into science English, because the global science is all in English and so it is a great chance to students to rise up their potential and their professional skills and got professional terminology in English. The fourth benefit is like a bonus for my department and some prestigious moments for my university. The fifth benefit is that it is upgrading the education system in some very, very small step for a senior lecturer, but it is the step. So, I have like five benefits which I told you.
63	I: Can you think of any negatives of running English as a Medium of Instruction?
64	U3: Negatives that we have such problems that students have English on a level, in order to understand. Not students understand me, that is why sometimes I must explain some things in Ukrainian. Not every student have been teaching English on the way of their life. Some of them were teaching French or German, that is why they don't understand me. So, it is like the negative moments. Some of them don't want any changes, they don't want to study hard. They just want to get their marks and go away. So, it's really problem, and we have such negative moments.
65	I: Thank you that was a really good answer. Moving on to the next part of the questionnaire, I asked you about different areas of your professionalism. You've talked a lot about these but I just want to check one or two little things. For example, job satisfaction is very important to you. Can you tell me the main things that give you job satisfaction?

66	U3: You know I don't want to say so, but I say the best part of my work is science. Not lecturing but science. Science got me engaged in English, and so that is why I decided to learn English in the best way, with xxx and to study my students in English but at first it was like more than a bonus for me. Only then, I created the global programme of it. I don't know, it has made me the most bonus and satisfaction and I can't say the salary satisfaction because it is not satisfaction at all. Science, and the second place is teaching and communicating with young people as me. And you know in that spell when you are young, and you communicate with other young people, but they may be five or six years younger, maybe seven but it doesn't matter. You can help them but not like the teacher but like maybe some older friend or some coach, and the level of trusting between young teachers and students are higher than with young teachers and very, very old professors. So, I think it is my second place motivation and satisfaction. Maybe that's all because I can speak on that and got on to some philosophical topic.
67	I: You talked about the students and your professors. I asked in the questionnaire about the respect of the learners, the university management and the respect of your peers, and you said that this is all very important to you.
68	U3: Not respect like personal to me but respect to teachers not like with just materials who can work and teach without any salary and work eight hours or 28 hours. Respect to the profession. Respect to such things like intellectual potential and such things like professor level or PhD-level. I know that English in Germany you don't have problems with such respect, because if someone learns you are a PhD then they say, 'Oh, you are PhD, you are a great person'. We don't have such things. We don't have such respect for smart educated people, but maybe this problem is deep within us in our culture and in our mentality. But this is really a problem and I think it is very important.
69	I: Going back to your own status as a lecturer who teaches both in English and in Ukrainian how does the university management perceive you? Do they have a better value of you because of your English language capability or does it not matter?
70	U3: You know we have such things as ratings of teachers. This rating is filled every year by every teacher, and in the end for the best teacher they got some thanksgiving words from the rector. The president of the university because we call it rector, and in England it will be president of the university, yes?
71	I: Vice chancellor or president. It depends on the university.

72	U3: OK, let it be the president of the university. It is like some thanksgiving letter and then we got such a book in all the university and there we got like ten places and I was in seventh place in all the university.
73	I: Fabulous! So, you are a very valued member of the university, by the university.
74	U3: No, no, no I am not a very valuable member, it was only one time and one time I won like prize of young scientist of the year. And in that way I got my 20% salary bonus for one year.
75	I: Not many of your peers lecture in English, does that change their perception of you? Do they think that you are someone quite special because you have this ability?
76	U3: Half of my peers lecture in English. It is hard to answer because I never ask about that. You know, we have many teachers who are old and they know English and they can teach in English and they say they have a certificate, but then we find out in our department that they have no certificate, and they can't teach English. So, I don't think that I am in some extra view special in my university. I help my department with some ratings, which I told you, and it is always a big pleasure to do the work in the best way.
77	I: Thank you. Again, very helpful. One more question about your place in the university. You have been there for four years. What makes you feel like you belong at the university?
78	U3: I don't know. You know such feeling like you find your place and science, especially science. And it is such a big chance, you know, to defend your PhD in one specialty there. If you want you can take a teacher, for example in maths, and I plan to do so, and to be more in technics field. You can start learning maths or physics or something like that like you train your brain every day and you got better in every field. So, I think it is a great chance to communicate with smart people and great chance to upgrade yourself and great chance to be the person who already finds my own place.
79	I: And now a question about your professional influences. It sounds like if we have the university management and your peers and your students that the most important of these for your professional influence is your peers. Is that correct?
80	U3: Yes of course. I am not in the government of university, I am the teacher and I like that. I like to be a teacher. One thing I dislike to feel very huge number of many documents. It is such a fool's thing you know. Sometimes they are absolutely unreasonable and unnecessary and it is

	one stupid thing. But I think the most important thing is students and lectures. For me I like as a teacher.
81	I: So, would you say number one lecturers, and number two students, and number three the university government.
82	U3: The university government, or for me science. I have never been in the university government I know my elder colleagues and we have good relations but I never managed the personnel, so the government in global is working, but for me it is not so important, because I am only the teacher.
83	I: And so you have those three influences. Are there any other professional influences that you have apart from your science, the university management, your peers, and the students, is there anyone else who has an important influence on your professionalism?
84	U3: We have a good sports programme. Basketball especially. I was playing basketball and I can play basketball now, as a teacher, but it doesn't matter for our university. I can be on competition, so I help my team, but it is not like professional level it is more like for myself.
85	I: Thank you. I have two more questions and we have nearly finished. Do you feel that your sense of belonging at the university is deeper or less or the same because you lecture in English?
86	U3: I think it is deeper because my professional level is higher. I think my Head of Department understands that so they wouldn't fire me. I hope so! And so I think it rise up my potential as a teacher and my skills level, as I told you, knowing another language is very important. Not only English, it can be French, German, Latin if it's about medicine.
87	I: And now my last question and it is about the type of English that you learn. Some people want to speak American English, some want to speak Australian English or just international English. Do you have a preference?
88	U3: I think my teacher told me that I had been studying Canadian English, because Canadian they speak by the rules of the English and it's like Canadian and British people, they have old rules of right speaking in English. But American is not the way, as they don't have such skills. So, we try to use and I try to use, maybe the right variant, but you can say whether it is right or no because I cannot say.
89	I: It sounds fine and very descriptive when it comes to English language use, so I think it is absolutely perfect.
90	U3: OK, thank you.
91	I: That is the end of my questions and your answers have been very full and helpful. But is there anything else you would like to talk about on this subject that you haven't talked about already?
92	U3: No, I think I have told you everything.

| 93 | I: Thank you. |

Transcript: Participant F1

Participant F1	
1	I: Could you tell me about your subject and your context when you lecture in English and when you lecture in French?
2	F1: So, my subject is about Bioinformatics and Evolution and Population Genetics mostly. And most of the time I do my lecture in French except for one course that is in English and this course, that is in English, is about Population Genetics and this is why I put this in the answer. So maybe this is not the core of my work, but it is the part that I do in English.
3	I: And so this is just one course? What percentage of your annual lecturing is that?
4	F1: So, I am in charge of this course and so it is four weeks, and I organise this course with a colleague of mine. And I have four lectures of three hours which I do myself and we also have group projects so the students are asked to work in group, having a scientific paper and reproduce some of the knowledges that are done in the scientific paper, and then discuss them and present them in front of the other. So, I've got twelve hours of course work, and maybe ten hours approximately for the project.
5	I: And you are in charge of this course?
6	F1: Yes.
7	I: How did you become in charge of this course? Did you volunteer for it or were you given it?
8	F1: Yes, I volunteer for it.
9	I: Why?
10	F1: Because now I was lecturer in the university and my main topic is Computer Science, but I do a lot of Bioinformatics and when I became professor, I work now in the Agronomy School and so I cannot, I don't know how to say it. The course I am doing are often, on the side of my main topics. Whereas this one since it is about molecular evolution, it is really related to what I am doing in my research, so I am confident about my ability to organise and participate to this course. So, when the opportunity appeared I seized it, and the fact that it was in English, it was also kind of an opportunity to challenge myself and take the risk to do it in English.
11	I: So, it was for your interest and your challenge?

12	F1: Yes.
13	I: Are you the first person to run this course in English?
14	F1: Yes, because the School asked us to build a semester in English and it was two years ago, and it was when this course has been built. So, this was the first time that we did. We have some previous course but were done in French, in fact were related, but we organise things and put them together so before it was separated course of one week and now we are making things longer, a course of two months. So now we put more things together, and we were also asked to have less lectures and more free time for the students to have to work on their own.
15	I: Who asked you to have fewer lectures and to have more free time for the students?
16	F1: So, this is the direction of the School. Let's say for all the years the students spend in the School they should have at least, I don't remember the exact amount but, something like sixteen hours per week in front of the teachers, and the rest should be of work in free time.
17	I: OK. Were you involved in the building of the course?
18	F1: Sorry?
19	I: When the course was being created, over two years ago, it started. Were you involved in that part or just in the delivery part?
20	F1: Yes, because we did it from scratch and so I was involved in building it from the beginning.
21	I: OK, good. So, your level is upper intermediate, at B2. Why do you think that is your level. Is it your perception or was it an exam you have taken?
22	F1: It is my perception based on the European grading that was provided us, and when I read at C1 level, there are some things that I feel I am not able to do for instance, for C1-level, 'are you able to listen to the tv or a movie without any problem', and for me it is still a challenge to follow on UK TV or to watch movies.
23	I: What do you think is your strongest skill out of reading, writing, speaking and listening?
24	F1: Reading.
25	I: Do you think that your reading is more C1, but your listening is maybe B2?
26	F1: Yes probably. But even for the reading in the C1, it says are you able to make the difference in the level of languages? And so B2 says are you able to read some modern novel, which I do on the regular basis, but if I try some form of work from other books I have a hard time reading them, and I don't enjoy it and often read ten pages and abandon.

27	I: In terms of the level you think you need to lecture, again you have said B2. Why do you think B2 is necessary?
28	F1: Because we ask our students to be B1 at least. I think it is important that I am able to understand the student and the student is able to understand me, and so I must be as good as the minimum level I ask for, and C1 seems a little bit extreme, but I think B2, yes. Maybe you can go on with B1, I don't know but I will not feel comfortable with a lower level.
29	I: OK. And with your students B1 is the minimum level you require from them?
30	F1: Yes.
31	I: Do you find that some students are higher than you maybe a C1 or C2?
32	F1: Yes, yes sure. Because I have a mix of students. Africans are speaking their own African language and French as an official language of their country, but they are a very low level in English. Whereas some other students are from preparatory school in France, which is quite selective and they also spend, for some of them, one year abroad in English speaking countries, and so they are really fluent, and so it is a mix of both extremes.
33	I: How do you feel about students who have better English than you when you are lecturing?
34	F1: It's not a problem. The only problem I had sometimes was last year, I got an American girl on the course and sometimes I have to ask her to repeat because her English was too fast and not pronouncing every word like someone speaking naturally. So, I think it's often easier to speak than to listen. And so maybe when I speak, because it's a topic that I am quite mastering, because it is a course that I am doing, people think that I will understand them no matter what, but it's not true. So, I have to ask to repeat sometime. Actually, it was not a big problem but...
35	I: And this wasn't a big problem it didn't bother you?
36	F1: No, no, no. So I also wonder if I was not influenced at moment when I have to evaluate the students, because for the evaluation we've got a project that is done in group and present orally, and she made the introduction and it was not quite challenging from a scientific point of view but she did it very well because her English was her mother tongue. So she get a good mark and afterwards I wondered if it was fully justified.
37	I: Because you may have been persuaded because her language was good but her scientific skill wasn't really good?
38	F1: Yes, yes, in fact I have the feeling that people seem to be more clever because they master the language and the others seem to be a little bit

	stupid, I don't know how to put it correctly, because they struggle with the language.
39	I: That is a really interesting point. Do you think that you have been affected the other way where you think the student has had a good scientific method but because their English hasn't been very good, you might have marked them less?
40	F1: Yes, probably. We try to avoid this but at the end of the presentation we have a question and answer sessions, and for some of them even answering the question was hard so we got time for less questions, so it was harder to evaluate whether they master or not.
41	I: Thinking about the American girl who you asked to repeat. Her English was better than yours because she was a native speaker. What do you think she feels about your English and the English of the class? Do you have any perception or any feeling about that?
42	F1: No, I don't think maybe I annoy her or the fact that I make her repeat, I think it annoyed me more than it annoy her and in the group work she was embarrassed also, because people ask her to define some terms also but once again I have the feeling that maybe she was asked more about English than about the scientific part. And it is also the reason that people rely on her for the English part of things.
43	I: It is interesting about asking her to repeat because your English is very good and your students' English, many of them have a lower level of English, and so asking her to repeat is really important for the other students, and so that was a really nice thing to do.
44	F1: I prefer to be able to reformulate the question than to ask her to repeat, but that's another point.
45	I: Thinking about your peers, you say the other lecturers in your department have a similar level of English?
46	F1: On average yes. Some are really good because they have spent one or two years of post-doc in English speaking countries, which I haven't done. And some are a very low level of English and are not confident in even doing some course in English, they don't want because they feel that they are not good enough in English to do it. But on average, I think I'm somewhere in the middle. A lot of colleagues have a similar level than mine.
47	I: OK. Let's move on to the part about identity as a lecturer. So, this is very much about different pedagogical points in general not necessarily in English but in general, about things that are important. The things you mention that are important, for example, you say subject specific language, summarising information, etc. Of these things, where did you

	get these ideas from? Did you get your opinions and ideas from a training course that you have been on or from your experience or from a mentor?
48	F1: It's hard to say. I think some come from my own experience as a student and some from my experience as a teacher, from discussions with colleagues and some from watching videos about how to improve your course or improving presentation in conference and things like that. I don't know exactly where the ideas have come from. It is a tough question.
49	I: OK. You've mentioned a number of things which are very important for you as a lecturer. Is there any one thing that you think is absolutely most important or one of the most important skills as a lecturer in these things or in general?
50	F1: I think the most important thing is taking the student into consideration and trying to do your best so that they understand you. And not coming in the course and delivering the course and already thinking that you have research to do, and you already leave to do something else. I try to prepare the course and to think about the best way to transfer the concept to the student.
51	I: That is interesting and there is one here, the only one, that you say isn't important at all which is discussing teaching techniques with peers. This week you've been doing lots of that so tell me a little bit about this opinion?
52	F1: Maybe my point of view will change but I, um, um. Maybe it is kind of over-confident and I see it as a loss of time. Teachers have organised meetings during the lunch break once a month where you can go and talk about the way they are teaching and how to do this or this and I never went to this meeting thinking that it would be a loss of time. So, it's not that I consider it not important, but it is what I have done.
53	I: Thank you. Let's move on to the part about your confidence in doing things in English. Of course your English is very good, but we can look at the things that you are less confident about. Using learners' written work to plan a session. In a previous section you also said that this was not so important. Can you tell me a little bit about that?
54	F1: Why I consider it not really important?
55	I: Yes, and also your confidence as well.
56	F1: There are some courses where I try to adapt to what some student ask but it's really a specific course where I teach programming skills. And in this case, I can give a student a specific exercise to do but he will do it on computer so he or she can go faster than the others or slower if needed. But in general, I prefer to stick to the programme I have in mind, because last year I've got an experience of a master's student, because it

	is an example of a tale and I should not have changed things. I asked her to come for the course and it was an introduction to Bioinformatics and something she will have to do during the training period. And she said, ok but I am not interested in everything and so we just come from this course and this course, and I think, 'fine' you are a big girl, you decide what you want. But afterwards I spend the five months to explain the things that were in the course, and so I think that most of the time in teaching there is a road with one direction and deviating from this could penalise things, so students have the feeling to listen and so you spend one course doing something else but at the end, parts is missing for the next part that is coming. And that's why I think it is not important, and why I am not so confident to do it is because analysing the written answer of the student is, for me, not always representative because I am teaching only graduate students mostly. So, I've got maybe twelve or fifteen students and most of them say nothing and one say, 'OK I would like to do this', but how about the other. And if I ask, then they are influenced by what they have said and also there is a time delay to adapt and create a new course or a new activity that will answer to his or her demands. The course is quite short and I don't know if the course will be good. So, from one year to another it is possible but within the course I find it harder.
57	I: Most things you feel very confident about but let's get down to the last two, assessing learners' contributions and discussion and assessment. And you said that you don't feel so confident about this. Can you tell me why?
58	F1: I think this comes back to the language level, so when the students are working in groups, and at the end they are presenting some things, it's always hard to know what has been done by who. And some of the students, they have worked hard but on a part that is not requiring much comprehension and so during the question and answer session, they are not really brilliant but they have spent a lot of time preparing files so we can see what is expected with software and things like that, arranging data systems, data. And so everytime it is a group work, I have difficulties to assess the contribution. So the way we solve this problem, as I have discussed with colleagues, or the way we try to solve this problem, is that we include in the written exam questions that are related to the group project.
59	I: What about the group project area? How about just in terms of formative assessment, just for example checking to see whether a student has understood something in the class and you might ask them a question to

	see how they respond to see if they have got it on an individual basis. How do you feel about that kind of immediate assessment on learning?
60	F1: You mean while they are doing the project or at the end when they are presenting the project?
61	I: Maybe even before they or while you were educating them or teaching them with the project so, like in the input, the actual lecturing itself.
62	F1: Yes, during the projects we ask them a lot of questions to be sure that they have understood because it is really the end of the project that detects the point, that we didn't have for them to come back with more detailed explanation. But we don't want this to be part of the mark because It's still the learning process and we don't want those who ask questions to be penalised or those we think they quiet have to be penalised.
63	I: If we maybe change this and not say assess a learner's contributions, but maybe to evaluate whether or not they understand something, and if we take it like that and that it is not part of the final mark, those questions, you say you ask lot of questions. Do you feel more or less confident or about the same?
64	F1: A little bit more, but in the project what happened often if the student has four weeks to do it, they sleep most of the two first weeks, then they start to work for the third week. And so, we try to put deadlines in the intermediate line, but still they get the final rush. And during this final rush, we do a lot of work. Because in the way we have been teaching preparatory school, they are able to provide a lot of work during the two days and nights, and this part we have no access what has been done by group.
65	I: Good. Thank you very much. Let's move on to the next part. This is about your professionalism and things which are important. So, job satisfaction is very important. For you how do you get job satisfaction?
66	F1: I think for the teaching, it is mostly during the course. If I have the feeling that everything work fine and the students are interesting, asking questions and coming back afterwards, then it is kind of satisfying. For the research, I think it is doing collaboration with colleagues, when you are researching together and also the moment you find something.
67	I: Yes, and how does this change, or does this change when you lecture in English. or when you work in English, either the teaching or the research?
68	F1: Maybe the first year it has changed. I think the first year, it was mostly relief. 'Ok, I've done it! I've survived the first course in English.' and so satisfaction was about I was able to deliver a course, maybe not a perfect

	one but, without too much trouble. And then I was afterwards able to take the pedagogy and the students into account, but not the first course.
69	I: And so, the relief you had with the first course, for the second course it was no longer enough for your job satisfaction, you wanted to give yourself a harder target?
70	F1: Maybe not harder, but I once again wanted to consider the relationship with the students. I don't know how to say it, but it is like the first time you are presenting in a conference. There are a lot of people and it is like you are on automatic mode and you deliver the speech and you say, 'Phew, I did it.' and then next time you say, 'Now I want to deliver it to make sure everybody follow me, or at least for 80% or 50% of students'.
71	I: Good. Things you say that are not important. For example, responsibility isn't important. So, you do not want to have overall responsibility for a course and you are quite happy only lecturing and only researching?
72	F1: But I have to because as a professor, we have to take some responsibility, so I do it. I don't despise it, but I don't enjoy it that much.
73	I: There are three groups here for respecting, your peers, your learners and your university management. So your peers and learners, this is important for you, but your university management is not important.
74	F1: No.
75	I: Tell me about that.
76	F1: I think it is because it is the only group of people who I don't interact with, so the students and the learners are. If there is no respect during the course, then everything will go wrong. And the respect with the peers it is like the same thing. If I don't speak to colleagues, then I will not ask him to be part of the course or do research for me and the other way round. If I have a feeling I am not respected, it will be a pain for me. But from management actually, I think it is not possible because it is the only one who do not know what I do, because they are not attending the course and they are not doing research with me, so I do not know on what basis they can have their conclusions and I don't really care because they have no value. And they have no means to know.
77	I: Thinking about this and how it changes, do you think it changes, the respect of your peers, because you lecture in English? Do you think the respect increases or decreases or is it just the same?
78	F1: No, I don't think so
79	I: And is this the same for the learners, the students?
80	F1: Yes
81	I: Is this because they are used to people speaking in English or English and French and it is normal for them.

82	F1: And also the school has had to do a 'world semester' and so it is not exceptional, as the work was done by everybody in English.
83	I: You mentioned about the value for the university management and about what they know about the value of your work because they don't attend your classes. Do you think you have more value, less value or the same value with the university management because you can lecture in English?
84	F1: I think for them I have more value because I can do it in English, because the school want to add a lot English course to improve the attractivity of schools.
85	I: OK. And you mentioned about presenting at conferences, and that this is not so important for your professionalism. Is this because you don't enjoy it, or you don't think it is necessary for your role?
86	F1: I have colleagues that say it is important because it is the way you disseminate your work and your work. You just publish your paper and then nobody knows about the paper. But I have a feeling that the audience is very limited, even in a conference, and I am thinking about doing a small video on Youtube to discuss the main reasons of the paper, and I think this could have more impact. Maybe there is a point in presenting at conferences. It is kind of just teasing you, and you don't really explain what you have done, you just say, 'I have done this and if you are interested come to me later'.
87	I: Yes, it can be a little bit like that. The being good at teaching is very important for you.
88	F1: Yes.
89	I: Thinking about your skills in English and French do you feel there is a big difference in teaching between your teaching in French and English?
90	F1: Yes, I think am much better teaching in French. Mostly I think because, as I said, it is a free text area. It is easier for me if someone didn't understand or if I want to present some analogy or text or some new example, whereas in English, I tried sometime to do this, but every time I tried, or almost every time, I am lacking some of the key words that I want, because doing an analogy you are going into a different domain. And I don't master the vocabulary of this different domain, so I have my English for conversation and for my speciality topics vocabulary, but the other speciality I don't have.
91	I: Yes, and you mention here about the free text area and exactly that. How often do you get your slides read or proof-read by an English specialist?

92	F1: So, I don't change my slides every year, or just a little bit. So, I have all my slides in English that have been proof-read by an English teacher, which I should probably also do when I do my slides in French, because I have some mistakes. But I wanted to be sure at least that there are mistakes in the way I put things in my slide in English.
93	I: And you suggested that because you are a little less able in English than in French when you are lecturing and how there is a difference in confidence. Do you think that difference in confidence has an effect on your students or for your students?
94	F1: So, the confidence, I don't think so because I feel quite confident about the material I deliver, and I think they feel it. It is more when I need to read something, I have the feeling that I am not so good in English because I may find one way, two way, but then I have no other solution to it, to explain what I mean. And this is something that I think is not productive for the student who is troubling to understand one concept. And I have another thing in mind but it goes out.
95	I: What about this change in confidence do you think it effects your relationships with your peers and your colleagues?
96	F1: No, I don't think so.
97	I: And the same for the university management they don't know so it doesn't matter?
98	F1: Anyway they are not here during the course, and so we don't know. It is a strange thing in lecturing because I can say, 'Oh my course was really great.' and everybody will believe that you are a good teacher, because nobody is here to check.
99	I: Now we have been talking a lot about the relationships with management, with peers, and with students. For you, the peers and students are two key relationships. Are there any other key relationships for you professionally?
100	F1: Some of the administration staff are important because we are in interaction with them and they are helping to organise things, but still they are less important than students and colleagues.
101	I: OK. Thank you. As well as the interactions with peers, I'm interested in your feeling of belonging to the institution. I think you said that you have been working at the university for 6 years?
102	F1: Yes.
103	I: What is it that makes you feel like you belong there?
104	F1: Not so much actually, so maybe I am an exception, but I don't have a strong feeling of belonging to the school. And I think for two reasons, because I arrive quite recently, and have been here only six years and

some of the teachers have been here 20 years and have made their study in the school and so, they know each other very well. Also the lecturers disseminate in different research club, and so we don't meet each other very often and I don't know all the teachers, for instance. I know some of them because I have course with them, but we don't have a lot of location where we can meet and discuss. And the final point, and so there are three reasons, I have the feeling to be a little bit on the side of the main topic of the school, that is Agronomy, and this is clearly not my main topics.

105 | I: OK. And what would give you a greater sense of belonging?

106 | F1: Mmmmm. I don't know. Maybe time to discuss the first point, but maybe having research done together would increase this feeling of belonging to the same things. For instance, xxx who is working in a different school, they are not in separate laboratories but they are in their own laboratories with the teachers of the school and they are working together for the research and their offices are near each other and they are meeting almost every day. Whereas in my school, we are three teachers in one lab and two teachers in another lab and so on. And it is really hard to have the feeling that we are belonging to the same things.

107 | I: Would you like to have a greater sense of belonging?

108 | F1: Not necessarily. So, I think we have more the feeling to belonging to the lab than we do to the school. And maybe this could be a problem for the teaching, it's true.

109 | I: Why do you think it could be a problem for the teaching?

110 | F1: Because when we have to design the programmes, people are not used to talk together, especially when it is different disciplines. So as long as it is for one course, it's fine because we know each other. We are working on the same topics and we are doing course together and it is OK. Some years ago, we had to define and reorganise everything, because we change the way the courses were arranged during the three years of studies, and it was complicated because we don't know each other and some say, my topics is more important and I have to keep some hours, and discussions were quite hard.

111 | I: I can imagine, yes. And my final main question. Of course your English is very good, but some people want to have like an American English or a British English accent or just an international English. Do you have a type of English that you are interested in acquiring?

112 | F1: I would like to approve my accent, even if you say it is not really important for teaching, but it is something I would like to work on. And the fact that there is different English is a problem, because I am watching

	movie with American accent and listening to BBC, for instance, which is a different accent and it is kind of a mix and even if you are trying to get things to improve your accent, you are aware that there is British and American, and I don't know which one to pick.
113	I: If you had to choose one which would it be?
114	F1: I think that I would pick the British one because, as a thing it is the one that is a little bit classier and is easier to understand international student.
115	I: That is the end of my questions but before we finish is there anything you haven't spoken about with regard to English Medium of Instruction that you would like to say for this interview?
116	F1: No. Thank you.
117	I: In that case, thank you very much.

Transcript: Participant F2

Participant F2	
1	I: You lecture in Plant Pathology, and you've been lecturing in English for three years. Can you tell me more about your context and how you started lecturing in English?
2	F2: Because of the Erasmus exchange, we have a problem here in xxx because we have more students going outside to other countries and we needed to have more students coming in. And so it was decided two or three years ago we needed to have more courses all in English. So, we've created a semester in English and so we decided to all try to do something together, because we were hoping that we would have more foreign students during this semester. In fact, this is not the case. Maybe we need to examine our communication, I don't know, but we only have some foreign students, but they are not English-speaking students, so the objective is not really what we were expecting but, so we have a semester in English. And so, I have just two hours in English, but at least I have these two hours. And because it was OK, I decided to make some other courses, also in English, in my modules just to try it, you know. With no good reason you know.
3	I: Was it a personal reason for you to change some of your classes from French into English?
4	F2: It's because, since maybe six years ago, the oral exam is in English. The final evaluation is in English, and I wanted to make the final evaluation in English, but the courses were in French. It was just the final

	evaluation, and so I realised that why not try to do everything in English, so just this year I decided to try to do it in English. The problem is that I am not the only one to teach, so I made my courses in English, because there was one foreign student, in fact, that was why I decided to make the effort because this student was the only one who was not French speaking. But the course was sort of a mixture of French and English, and it's not exactly perfect at the end.
5	I: It sounds really interesting that your university has decided to do this. So, xxx decided to have their courses in English to attract more students, and you said that the objective wasn't what you expected. Can you explain a bit more about that?
6	F2: Because we don't have more European students, we have more African students, yes mostly African students. So, it is ok for the African students, and we are famous for that, and we know how to do the communication for Africa, and the problem is we have students from West Africa, so French Africa and they do not speak English, or they have a poor English. We were expecting that we would have more European students, but after this semester, all students have to leave, and we don't have them in the classroom. But the Erasmus is an obligation, but we don't have any students, and so we need to have, for instance, we will close the classroom. And we couldn't find any European students, in fact. I think they do not come, for example I was speaking with xxx in London, and they do not send the students for their master's, something like that, maybe, or it is not a good semester.
7	I: Maybe not so many. It depends on the university a little bit, yes this is quite interesting.
8	F2: It is not enough to speak English, I think. This is my conclusion. It is not enough to just say, 'Come we have a semester in English,' but it was a big effort for everybody and so it was a bit disappointing. We were thinking that this was a solution. We just needed to have a semester in English, and everybody would come, but this was not the truth.
9	I: Thank you, that's really interesting. I guess the partnerships of other universities is going to be really important. Thinking about your English level, you have described yourself as a C1 advanced.
10	F2: Yes, I don't really know the different levels.
11	I: That's ok. Did you get a certificate for your English or is it your perception?
12	F2: No, it is my perception. I think I had a certificate when I was a student, but it was ten years ago, or fifteen years ago. I don't have any certificate for that.

13	I: You also said that a lecturer needs to have advanced English. Why do you think advanced is the level needed?
14	F2: Because when I teaching French, the type of pedagogy is something that I care and I need to have some courses that are very interactive, and I can make some joke. And I think I am better for the pedagogy in French, because it is my language and I lose all these aspects when I speak English. I am not confident enough or fluent enough to be able to do the same in English than in French. Well, it is not completely true, because I have French and English students so when they are in small groups, I find it is very easy to speak in English with a few students, and it is much easier than with all the classroom. So, I don't know if it is true or not that I am less good in English, but I have a feeling that I am less good in English for the pedagogy.
15	I: OK. So you say that it easier to speak with a small group than with a larger group. Why is that?
16	F2: I don't know but I think that my English is not sufficient. I can see in the eyes of the students that they couldn't understand my English so I can change the sentence and try to be more clear. If you have a lot of students, you can't see like that. And there is a problem with the perception of what you say.
17	I: That is a very good point about checking students' understanding whilst you are lecturing. Looking at students' eyes is a really good way to do this, of course. Do you have other techniques that you use?
18	F2: Yes, I've tried to use some small companies in France, we have different ones. There is one that is not in France, where there are small techniques and the students use the Smartphone, and they can answer some questions during the course and you can see the answers. You can do cloud-words, and different kinds of games like that. But I didn't try this in English, I use that only in French. In fact, yes, there are many things that I am doing in my French classrooms, that I don't use in the English one.
19	I: Looking at that further. You say something that you do in your French classes is more interactivity and joking. What other things don't you do in your English class that you do in your French class?
20	F2: In the French class, for instance, my courses are flipped. Last summer, maybe the summer before, I decided to translate all the courses into English. So, in the beginning I only had a flipped classroom for the French, but now I have both French and English. I think it was last summer that I did that. So, I have decided that I will do this for both now, but at the beginning it was only for the French course. And I have some

	games that I was using only for the French course, like Monopoly, but maybe because I don't have so many hours in English. So, I don't have the time to use all the games that I can use for the other course.
21	I: Do you think that creating these games for your classes in English is to do with time or is it to do with your confidence in English or something else?
22	F2: I think it is due to not having so many hours with the students, because the games that I have are in English and so I don't need to translate the games and I have a problem with my French students because everything is in English. So, I could use a game if I had more time during the semester in English. Maybe I will do that.
23	I: OK. Do you think there is a difference in the quality of lecture when you use the games compared to when you don't use the games?
24	F2: Yes, clearly what I need to be sure of is that the knowledge will go deep in their mind and I know with classical courses, at the end of the course if I ask questions or make a quiz, it is OK, and they understand the thing. But one week later, there is nothing in their mind and with the game it is better. It's not perfect but it is a bit better.
25	I: The game is a way to help deepen the learning?
26	F2: Yes.
27	I: OK good, thank you. Do you think it is easier or harder or the same to get this deeper learning if your students are learning in English or learning in French?
28	F2: Most classical French students, they are very, very good students, so we are very lucky, so for these students I think they don't care if it's in English. It is OK, they are good students. For the African students, it is a disaster. They really need to have everything in French because they say, well one of them told me that it could be OK, if she is speaking in English, but it is longer for her to understand because she needs time to understand because it is in English. Then she needs time to understand because it is a new knowledge, and she says she'll lose too much time and it is too difficult for her. The problem is that we have both students together in the same classroom.
29	I: Yes, I can imagine. You said that English isn't good for your pedagogy. Can you just explain a little bit more about that?
30	F2: That's because I feel, I don't know, with less French, I like to make jokes and then at some point, to speak about something else which is in the thematics, but it can be controversies that we have in GM or about pesticides, and so it is easier for me to speak about these controversies in my own language. Because I didn't prepare something special. I don't

	know what I want to say, and so it will be better in French because it is easier for me to interact.
31	I: How does that make you feel as a professional when you can't do this so easily?
32	F2: It is a frustration. I don't need to be a good professor or to be the professor in the classroom, so for this I am ok and I explain that my English is like yours, and maybe less good than yours, but we will all try to do it together. So, I don't feel bad for this. Just that I want it to be much better for the pedagogy and that is my problem, and I was thinking that I could do better than what I am doing.
33	I: Is there a particular part of the pedagogy that you feel you could be doing better at?
34	F2: I think that it is with the interactivity. But it is OK when I am in small groups, so it is only with the interactivity in the large groups.
35	I: OK. Thank you. I gave you a list of things which I asked you to indicate which was important for your identity as a lecturer. Lots of teaching ideas or areas about teaching. You said the interactivity is important. What other areas do you think are really important for teaching?
36	F2: The fact that we change our posture, and we are not any more just the professor and we are changing together with students, so that is one of the key points. And I don't know what else, and also what I like with students, is to work with projects. I want them to find what they want to learn, so we have created a 'fab lab', and the idea is to create the curiousity to find what they want to learn or explore the knowledge by themselves, and I am just here to help them to find a good way to the knowledge. I want them to be curious because most of the students are very good to do things, and they are good in general, but they are not so curious.
37	I: Thank you. You said that sometimes you or other lecturers are less good in English than the students. Tell me about that?
38	F2: Yes, because the students have to live and spend one semester in other countries and they improve their English, and most of the students, could be 80%, decide to one year take off for Erasmus, and so they spend a year and a half in a foreign country, and they come back for the last year. For me, the last time I was one year in the university, it was ten years ago. So, I remember ten years ago, I was much better in English than now. And that is why I have the feeling that they are much better in English than me.
39	I: How does that make you feel as a lecturer, as a professional, when your level of English may be lower than that of some of the students.

40	F2: It's OK, because maybe at the beginning I will tell them that maybe we don't have the same level and they are very nice. There was one case that was difficult because we had a group of only foreign students, it's an Erasmus group. And so we don't have any French speaking students and there are only foreign students which are not French speaking. And they pay a lot to study this Erasmus and it is learning about wine. Some students were saying we are paying a lot for this course, and we are expecting more and we are expecting to have teachers with good English, so for that, yes. It is a bit difficult. Even for the students, I was just explaining that yes, you are in France and the course is in English but you will have someone with a French accent like me. If you wanted someone with an English accent you should have been in England, but to learn wines it is maybe less exciting. Sometimes we will have students like this, but most of the times they are nice.
41	I: Yes, that's good. It is good that the students and you have this professional understanding. Do you think that the students are more interested in your professional ability as a teacher or in your language ability?
42	F2: As a teacher. They know that we are not that good with English, but they don't care. They are very good students and we are lucky. I don't know how it is for other universities, but I know that we are very lucky.
43	I: It sounds like your students at xxx are very nice, speaking to other people in your institution. Thinking about different things that you feel confident in when lecturing in English. You said that you don't feel very confident in using learners written work to help plan your classes. Can you tell me a little bit more about that?
44	F2: I was not sure about what was the meaning of the question...
45	I: OK, so basically, you have your plan for your teaching, but sometimes if you get some work from your students you might see that they don't understand something and you have to re-teach something. Do you feel confident about understanding your students' written work?
46	F2: Yes, there is a problem in English when you do this. In French, when you are not sure of what they couldn't understand, like there are notions that are not a problem for me, and it is difficult to know why they don't understand. When it is in English, I don't know why they don't understand the notions, and I think maybe it is because of the English, and that is one of my difficulties. I don't know if it was because of the English, because I couldn't explain clearly the notion, or the notion itself. So now for this, I ask them to work together by pairs and I hope it is better.

47	I: Do you think that this technique of getting the students to work together in pairs is a helpful technique to understand the content or the language?
48	F2: I think it's helpful. For the content, it is better because that is what I am doing in French. And it is better when they explain to each other than when I explain the notion. So, I hope that it is the same in English and maybe I don't remove the problem of English because between students it is not better than me and students, but at least I am hoping that the first ones are OK.
49	I: You also said that you were less confident about explaining concepts, for your subject, simply in English. When you have this deficit in your language, when you are used to it in French, how does that make you feel?
50	F2: I know that I should spend more time. We are always running to find more time to do better courses, and here we have English teachers and they are available to help us look through the course and to correct our English. We can spend time and do the course in English for them, and they will correct this course. I never take the time to do that, and so I know that I should and I don't do that. That is why I am feeling bad, because I know that I can and that I have a solution, it is a free solution, just that I need to take some time for that. And I am not doing that because I have other priorities, so I am not doing my job, in fact.
51	I: It sounds like you have lots to do anyway, so it is like another thing on top. But it also sounds like any little errors or problems are not preventing you from lecturing and your students do understand. Maybe this is why it is not such a high priority. Another question about English. I want to ask you about understanding different accents. You said that you have students from West Africa. How is their English accent or other students' accents?
52	F2: It depends if your ears are used to the accent. I am used to African accents because we have a lot of African students. I am uncomfortable with the Spanish English accent. I don't know why, but I find this very difficult. Maybe because I am used to the Spanish accent in French but when it is in English, it is a disaster. Sometimes I want them to speak Spanish, probably it would be easier for me! The Adriatic and Asian accent is difficult for me. Not all, as the Indians that I know are speaking with the British accent.
53	I: When there is a misunderstanding because of accent, does it make you or the students feel embarrassed?
54	F2: Yes, because sometimes with some Chinese students, we were not able to understand like we couldn't get to the point we wanted. We tried

		and we couldn't, so the solution in that case for me, was to get the PhD students who were Chinese. And I asked for them to send me a course in Chinese, and I explained that I needed to explain this, this and this notion, and I asked if they could send me something in Chinese because I can't give the notion to the students. And so I did it in Chinese. I gave it to them in Chinese.
55		I: That was a really nice thing to do, to make that extra effort to help your students. I'm sure that they really appreciated that. Apart from embarrassment are there any other emotions that you think that are felt in that kind of situation?
56		F2: There is frustration because it is like when you are a baby, and you would like to speak and understand but it is not possible at first. Usually at the end you can find a solution, but it is just sometimes you can't find the solution.
57		I: OK, good. Thank you. Moving on to the topic of professionalism. You said that job satisfaction is very important to you. What gives you job satisfaction?
58		F2: It depends, if it is for research or for learning. So, what gives me satisfaction is that I am proud of what I made, so at the end of the course, I need to be sure to be proud of myself. Sometimes students say, "Oh, it was great", but it may not have been exactly what I wanted to do. And maybe I was not clear of what I wanted to do, but I know it wasn't exactly what I wanted, but I will have some satisfaction because the students are happy. But it is not complete because I need to be in myself satisfied. And yes, also, I need to see my colleagues, I don't know if I need the satisfaction of my colleagues. I need a bit, but I am someone who can go in a different direction, so I don't really need absolutely. If I have some colleagues that are telling me, it was a good idea, I don't need to have all my colleagues satisfied.
59		I: Thinking about this point about your colleagues and your learners. You say the respect of your learners is more important than the respect of your colleagues and also the respect of the university management. Tell me more about that?
60		F2: So, the university management we don't see them a lot. They are not so important for our career. But if I want to have some change in my career, it will not be my colleagues but colleagues from other parts of France. Every four years they look to see what I've done for the last four years and they will give some advice. So, this is not my direct colleagues but colleagues from everywhere in France. And I don't see them. They do this in Paris and they send a report. It is like a virtual colleague that will

	give some opinion. But it is interesting to have their opinion because in some occasions they will say, 'OK, she can be a professor or stay as an associate professor'. And I have to take care of their opinion. And my direct colleagues, it depends. The pedagogy is the most important thing, and so way we see the students and the pedagogy. The problem is that most of my colleagues say that we don't have the same vision. So, what I am doing with the pedagogy, I am working with other colleagues from other departments and I am never teaching with them. We speak about pedagogy, but we don't teach together. We are not in the same team.
61	I: Thinking about pedagogy. Did you do any training to help you become a teacher?
62	F2: Yes. For all xxx in Agronomy, before we start we have training in Paris at the start of our career and it is four weeks. I did it xxx years ago something like that.
63	I: And what do you cover in this four weeks roughly, broadly?
64	F2: Yes, what you discover is the notion of alignment. That is something we were all shocked by because we all discovered that we are not aligned at all.
65	I: When you say alignment do you mean aligned with each other in different colleges?
66	F2: The alignment between your objectives, what you are really teaching, and how you evaluate at the end.
67	I: Ah, yes that alignment.
68	F2: And I was worrying because I was not aligned at all.
69	I: It is a common thing for teachers to be shocked when they discover this.
70	F2: Yes, it is a shock. There are many things about evaluation and how to be more active in teaching, what are and the competences… And so we were supposed to work on all the modules and to propose a new module taking into account what we learnt in the four weeks. It was great because, for me, it was the occasion to create a new module. When I came back home, I tried to do the module and I had a coach that came into my classroom and I told him what I will try to do and he asked me to change some things to go in the good direction. And so it took several years, I think, at the end to make what I wanted.
71	I: It takes a long time doesn't it to develop these skills. You have talked about your colleagues and your coach and maybe the students as influences on your work. Are there any other influences on your teaching or your research?
72	F2: Now, just since this year, the university has something a bit complicated. They decided to put together different universities and

	schools and things about pedagogy resources. So, there are some people who are trying to give some courses to do some workshop in pedagogy. So, I went to this workshop and for me it is great because they are absolutely not in my domain. They are not in agriculture. They are in medicine and law and things like that. But it is great because there were lots of ideas. It's not the same problem because they were already at a university, so they have 1,000 students, and so how you teach to 1,000 students? So for me at the beginning, I went to one workshop and I think there was a new connection for me with them.
73	I: Ok. Good. Thank you very much. We have talked about your colleagues and the university management. I would like to ask you a question about belonging. Do you feel that you belong at your institution?
74	F2: I don't know if you know that at the school where I am, a Minister asked us to make a fusion with xxx. They told them you, are like a functionary, you understand?
75	I: Yes, a functionary, and an adminstrator, and like a coordinator.
76	F2: Yes, so you don't have to give your opinion you are a functionary, and you have to do this fusion and this is what they say. So, I realise that we are supposed to belong to the Ministry, so I don't know. For me effectively, I do not belong to the Ministry of Agriculture, but to all the Ministry. And I belong to France, and to French people, but not especially to my school.
77	I: Is there something that would make you feel you belonged more? For example, if you had a promotion or you had a different title or a higher salary or something like this?
78	F2: Yes, I don't need to have this feeling of belonging to something. So that is my answer.
79	I: Thank you. Do you think that your colleagues' perception of you is different because you are able to lecture in both French and English?
80	F2: When you are a young teacher, you are expected to teach in both French and English, so they don't have a better perception of me. If I was not able to do this, maybe they say "Ah, you are young you should be able to speak in English". The older teachers, we not ask them to speak in English, it's OK. But if would not be nice for me if I didn't do it.
81	I: Do you think this is the same for the students' perception of you? They just expect you to speak in both English and in French?
82	F2: I don't know. I really don't know. I'm not sure that they expect me to speak in good English.
83	I: Do you think their perception of you is higher because you do speak in English?

84	F2: No. I'm not sure that the language is important. There are other elements, such as the pedagogy and the notions that I teach. And so English is just another element.
85	I: And how do you feel when you are able to deliver a lecture in English?
86	F2: Oh, the first time I was happy to be able to do it. 'I made it! I survived!' But I was unhappy because I was thinking if this was in French, I am sure that I would have done something better. So I have this frustration.
87	I: Ok thank you. My final question. Some people, when they speak English, want to have a British accent or an American accent or Canadian accent. Would you like to have a particular type of accent or are you happy with an international accent?
88	F2: I am happy with an international accent because it is too much work to change for another accent and I do not know how to do it. It will be better, it will be more beautiful, and maybe my students will better be able to understand the course. But I am not able to do this, as it is too much effort.
89	I: That is the end of my questions. I don't have anything else, but is there anything else you would like to say about this topic of English Medium of Instruction?
90	F2: I think that's all and I think it will be interesting to see the results and to compare between the different countries. Do you have people from different countries?
91	I: Yes, I have people from Ukraine, China, Italy, Spain and from France. A nice mix.
92	F2: That sounds really interesting. I would like to hear the results.
93	I: Yes, I will send the summary and the whole study to you. Thank you very much for your responses this afternoon.

Transcript: Participant F3

Participant F3	
1	I: So you are lecturing Evolution and Ecology. Is this correct?
2	F3: Yes, it is, for masters' students and also the last year of the Bachelor course.
3	I: You have been lecturing for two years in English?
4	F3: Yes, that is correct.
5	I: How did you get into lecturing in English?

6	F3: Actually, we are in need of international students so we can make our programmes for Erasmus keeping to go, and in this context we had to set up a master's programme where all lectures would be in English, so we can make people for many nations to come, and that is the context. As I did my PhD in the US, I was quite happy to training with my English, because we don't have any opportunity to talk in English. So, it was both a need from my school and both from my volunteering to do it.
7	I: So, this was partly an opportunity to use your English?
8	F3: Yes
9	I: Were there any other benefits to doing this apart from using your English?
10	F3: If I can think of any benefit, it allows me to make probably conceptual aspects of my lectures clearer because also, the vocabulary I am using is in English, and sometimes translating it to French makes some approximations in the concepts. And so I was happy to be able to use my English for the full lecture because usually when you give your talk and lectures in French you have to use the English words anyway.
11	I: And is this because a lot of the journals that you work with or the research papers in evolution and ecology are in English?
12	F3: Yes, exactly, and also it allows me to connect with students from many different countries and not only with French speaking countries. So, it enlarges the number of students and original students that I can mix with.
13	I: You see this as a good thing?
14	F3: Yes, absolutely. Even if my English is not that good.
15	I: It's very good. What are the benefits of having this wide population of students?
16	F3: Because in the disciplines that I am teaching, the countries have very different cultures and having such a heterogeneous group, there are a lot of different ideas arising from the heterogeneity of the group, but also the group dynamics benefits from having students from many different countries and many different cultures. For example, we have students from Africa, from Asia, and from Northern Europe. And so this gives the group new dynamics.
17	I: Can you tell me a little bit more about that dynamic?
18	F3: OK. It is not linked with English by itself, but because all those countries can be gathered in one single space. When I teach about biodiversity for example, people from the south countries, from Africa in particular, have very different views of biodiversity than students from Northern European countries, for example. So, it makes for a good

	discussion and debate going on because of the difference of these cultures. And I think it is good for the group by itself.
19	I: With your lecturing, you said that you teach the master's course in English and the final year of bachelors. What percentage of your teaching is in English and what percentage is in French overall?
20	F3: Overall during the year, I would say that one third is in English, and two thirds is in French. But for this particular curriculum, plant science, it is a full semester as a master's, it's fully in English and so it is about one third of my total number of lectures.
21	I: Excellent. When you do a course completely in English, what are some of the difficulties you encounter?
22	F3: Finding the vocabulary, especially if it is not technical or conceptual vocabulary that I am used to use everyday in the ongoing work or discussions with colleagues. When it goes outside this scope of scientific ideas, sometimes it is difficult to find the vocabulary. And as I want to keep my lectures as dynamic as possible, sometimes it is difficult to find the good term that I would find in French very easily, of course. So being able to present without any preparation for students is probably the most difficult part.
23	I: You describe your English as being B2, upper intermediate level. Do you have a certificate for that or is that your perception?
24	F3: No, at the time I was doing my master's and my PhD, there was probably the certificate was existing already, but it was not used my university. I kind of feel that I correspond to B2.
25	I: As part of my job, I am an English Language teacher and I feel you are more C1. I think you are being very modest. You believe that the minimum level being needed to lecture in English is B2 as well?
26	F3: Yes.
27	I: Can you explain why you think the minimum of B2 is necessary?
28	F3: I think this level is very necessary because I believe that active learning is very important and in my opinion you can't really do active learning with your students if you are not able to interact with them. And I believe that you may be able to give a lecture or are a formal lecture if you are below a B2, but if you want to provide an activity, I am not sure you will be able to if you are below this kind of level, let us say.
29	I: Ok, yes, and it helps you deal with the unpredictable nature lecturing?
30	F3: Exactly.
31	I: You mentioned earlier that you like to make your sessions as dynamic as possible. How do you do this?

32	F3: It depends on the situation and the concept I am willing to provide. But it's not just me but it is the whole organisation that promotes having diversified practices when teaching and engaging as much as possible with the students. So, your question was 'How do you do that?' I try to do it as often as possible to begin with, and using as many diversified ways I can find. This means that sometimes because it is more efficient, I will probably give a lecture in a formal way but as much as possible, I will enter my lecture, ask questions, do a little exercise and question the audience and this kind of thing.
33	I: Is this something you do for the same amount in French as in English, or do you do it more in French than in English?
34	F3: I try not to change anything in my practice when I shift it to English and I believe I don't change anything.
35	I: OK. You said that engaging the students was an approach that your school has. Why do they have this approach?
36	F3: I think we have this approach because a couple of years ago, we realised that the students are not the same from the last century, and they have changed. The 'Y generation' in particular made us change our practices because the evaluation by students indicated that our lectures were traditional lectures and were not very effective at catching the attention and teaching them anything. So, as a collective organisation, we changed our way of thinking about that and tried to innovate as much as we can, even if we are not discovering anything. We are changing our ways of interacting with students to make their approach of learning as interactive as possible, and it is important in particular, because our students are selected. They are not from the traditional way we have students that are in France. So we select them and, because they are select them, they are trained before our school, and they are trained to be the best ones in mathematics, French, English maybe, Science in general, but with all the disciplinary aspects. But they are not trained to interact with others, and they are not trained in critical thinking, for example, so it is part of our mission to bring them from where they are when they enter the school to professionals at the end. Because it is something that is quite different in France between universities and schools like us. We have very specific aims and objectives as training professionals, and so making them active in their learning is very important in this respect, I think.
37	I: Do you think that using English as a medium of instruction helps those overall goals or is it not important as part of the school's philosophy?

38	F3: If I refer to the surveys we have, maybe half of our students they will find jobs at the international levels, so being able to interact in English is important. But what you have to understand that during the time I teach in English, most of the students have left doing the Erasmus programme, and they are not here for most of them. In a group of 20, let's say, we have only five students from the school itself and the other ones are from around the world. So, I believe that our students should master English, and showing them that even if you are not fluent with English, you can interact and even teach in English is important in my mind.
39	I: Thank you very much. Speaking about the kind of techniques that you use in the classroom I asked about how important it was for your identity as a lecturer to be able to do a number of things. And you said that most of these things were either very important or quite important. Is there something, in particular, you think a good teacher needs to be able to do in terms of skills as a teacher?
40	F3: To be able to adapt to your public. What I mean by adapting is especially with the kind of public that are very diverse. You may have to change completely the way you are teaching right in the middle of your session, because you can feel very quickly that the material is not adapted to the students that you have in front of you. To give you an example, some students, they are expecting that you give very precise details of what is important and what is not, and for others, they want the general idea, but they don't really care about the details. And it is sometimes difficult to deal with this interaction and public. So in my opinion, the most important thing is to find what your position as a teacher is, between the knowledge and the abilities you want to relate and transfer and the students. And to find where you should be in this kind of triangle between the knowledge, of you, and the students.
41	I: Thank you for that very eloquent and very precise answer. I think that sums up a very important element of teaching, so thank you for saying it so clearly.
42	F3: I am teaching for fifteen years now, but it is only this year that I took the time to do a training as teacher, and it was very helpful, I think. And so I kind of thought about this because the training is four weeks, and four weeks is a lot of time, and you have some times to think. And that is what I found in myself when I asked myself, 'Why are you doing this training this year and not doing it these last fifteen years?' What really changed in myself this year, was that I was feeling my position in this triangle was not in a good place.

43	I: Was this four-week training the first time you had any formal teacher training?
44	F3: Yes, this is correct.
45	I: Before this training where did you get your ideas about teaching from?
46	F3: Mainly colleagues, I think. Attending other lectures. I was not aware that such a huge culture and field of Science and Engineering Science was existing. And so I think mainly looking through the eyes of the student for other lectures was my main source of inspiration.
47	I: OK. Thank you. Going back to your idea about the triangle and positioning yourself in the right part of the triangle between the knowledge of the students and your knowledge and trying to making sure the students have the right knowledge. Do you find this harder to do in English, in French, or is it the same?
48	F3: For me it is the same. What really changed, is when you teach in English, is that it takes more time to explain the same things or maybe to find your ideas. But what it changed also for the students, because most of them are not native English, and so we didn't talk about this, but still it is part of the interaction. It changed also their interactions, because there could be an issue with the teaching in English, but they are constrained to the vocabularies they know. And sometimes they are not willing to interact because they are afraid, they will not be able to express their concerns or their ideas. So that is something that may be difficult also in teaching in English or learning in English.
49	I: When you have a student within a group of several students who have this difficulty to interact in English, how does that make you feel as a lecturer?
50	F3: It is something that I question as why is the student in the group because there are so many different options and they could have chosen a different situation where they wouldn't have to be in an English class. So, I get that for themselves they want to be able to interact more, because they were not forced to be there, anyway. So, because of that, I try to put them as much as possible in a situation where they can express themselves and interact. And sometimes they don't like that. But I try to do my best to mix the groups because we often work with project-based teaching, so they are very often working in small groups, and so I try to put them in groups where they will have people who are the most willing people in terms of interaction. So, they will get into the group dynamics hopefully.

51	I: Do you think that you need more pedagogical skills when working in an EMI class because of that, or are these the same skills that you would deploy in a normal French class?
52	F3: For this particular reason, I think I need more pedagogical skills than for a regular class, yes. You have to explain everything very explicitly, because you can be afraid that some aspects of your explanations and some aspects of what you are talking about won't be clear, and they may not give you the feedback that you are expecting.
53	I: If it needs better or more informed pedagogy, does this have an effect in terms of your preparation time or is the preparation time about the same?
54	F3: I think my preparation time is about the same. I'm maybe more careful during the session doing certain aspects, but in terms of preparation, it is about the same for me.
55	I: Thank you that is really helpful. I want to ask about accents and how you feel about understanding other accents, international English accents?
56	F3: So the worst is North Carolina, from the USA. Number one. And number two is New Zealand, and I can say that because I work with many people from New Zealand and the accent is just very difficult for me to understand. Otherwise British are the best ones. It is so easy to understand.
57	I: I am relieved to hear that as a British person, at least! Can you give me some examples of the issues of understanding accents, be it from someone from North Carolina or from New Zealand or from a country that doesn't have English as a first language?
58	F3: Usually when we have people who do not have English as their first language, it is easier to understand, because there is this kind of international accent, not the French one, the other one, the good one, where everyone is able to understand you pretty much. I have more difficulties with people for which English is their native language, like New Zealand people in particular. At least from the ones I know, the way of saying names and words is not exactly the same, and the accent is different and sometimes you don't recognise the vocabulary they are using, just because of the accent, not because of the term itself.
59	I: How does that make you feel as a professional when you have difficulty with this accent? Does it matter or is there some effect?
60	F3: It is a bit frustrating of course, but overall, I think I can understand them, and understand their message at least. At least with the people I work with, I feel free to make them repeat and they are very kind and willing to understand that English in not my first language, anyway. And so

	there are no professional issues with that. For example, for today I was at lunch with people from Australia and it was fine, and I think what matters is not maybe understanding all the sentences and all the different aspects of the language, but at least the majority of ideas. When I was doing my PhD about fifteen years ago now, it was very frustrating at the beginning because I was in the US and I didn't speak very well sometimes, and it was very frustrating because I could only understand 3% of what was said. But in terms of professional experience today, it is very different because I think I can understand all. Maybe I am missing some details but it is usually not a problem. So it is a bit frustrating, but it is not a professional problem.
61	I: That's great. Thank you very much. Moving on to the questions about your own professionalism you said that job satisfaction is quite important. What gives you job satisfaction?
62	F3: Finding jobs for my students, it's probably the most. Seeing students who don't like the disciplines of ecology and genetics and finally, when the lectures are done and the year is done, they will move to master's in ecology and evolution. That is satisfying to me because it means that I changed their mind and it means that in ecology and evolution we are very useful for areas of our career, and it is very satisfying. So, in general when I can translate my passion for biodiversity and ecology, and to show them how it is useful for them for normal daily life, I am happy.
63	I: OK. That's great. Thank you. Going back to the point about helping your students get jobs or finding them work placements is this easier when they are using English to a certain level, or is it pretty much the same for your English language students as it is for your French language students?
64	F3: Our students, as I said before, are finding jobs at the international level, so it is easier for them to speak English yes.
65	I: How about with the MA study? The students who go on to do the MA study, do they do your MA in English or do they go on and do an MA in French perhaps?
66	F3: I don't know really. I am not sure I understood the question.
67	I: When your students have this passion for your subject, is it easier for them to go and do an MA in English or is it just the same in English or French?
68	F3: I think it is the same. They have a goal in mind, and they choose the best option for their goal to be the most efficient. I don't think for our students at least, that learning in English is a barrier. They go where it is most efficient.

69	I: Thank you. Let's go on to talk about the respect of your peers, of your learners and the School management. You say that the respect of the learners is more important than the respect of peers or management. Can you tell me about that?
70	F3: As I said, I find it very satisfying when the students find what I am teaching useful, so this respect I guess it's getting respect from the students. I answered this like this because of the way our school is. The question doesn't really make sense for us, because what is important is whether it helps students or not actually.
71	I: OK. Thank you. Do you think your peers' perception of you as a professional is different because you are able to lecture in both English and in French?
72	F3: I wouldn't say so. Yes, maybe for some of them. Maybe for the ones who are not able to teach in English, or who have said they don't want to teach in English, I think they could be, but they don't want to. So for these people maybe, the perception is different but not for the majority of them.
73	I: Do you think if you didn't lecture in English their perception might be different?
74	F3: I think so.
75	I: In what way?
76	F3: Especially as I did my PhD in the US, I am supposed to be able to do this kind of thing. So, if I was not able to teach in English, it would be considered as laziness because if I can't do it, who should?
77	I: What about your students? When you changed from initially lecturing in French to lecturing in English do you think the students were surprised at your ability to do this?
78	F3: It is difficult because the students I have at the bachelor's are not the same as the students for the master's, because the students doing the masters, most of them are the Erasmus students, and so they are not seeing me both in English and in French for most of them. But for the ones that I use both languages, they are not really surprised. I think they are expecting that associated professors can give talks in French and in English. That is their expectation I guess.
79	I: If we look conversely the other side, how do you think their perceptions of you would be if you didn't speak English as well as you do?
80	F3: I am sure they will be disappointed because their expectation is that I can do both and I see that with colleagues who are not able to teach in English fully, which means they are giving their lectures in French and use their support in English. And they are not happy with that.

81	I: OK. That's really interesting. Can you tell me a bit more about the students not being happy with that?
82	F3: Well, most of the time they chose this semester because it was in English and they want to improve their English, or because they don't speak French at all, like the ones who come from foreign countries. And they are expecting that we are giving our lectures in English because it is what is written on the documents that we have available publicly. When it is not in English, even if it is only for a couple of hours, they are very disappointed, and they are not very happy with that.
83	I: OK. Thank you very much. We've talked a little bit about your peers, the students and also a little bit about the management system, maybe there isn't a management system per se at your institution. Are there any other professional influences on your work as a lecturer at your institution.
84	F3: Not really. I can't think of anything else. In terms of management, you have to understand that the professors in France have a very special status. My boss is the Prime Minister, and there is no one between the Prime Minister and me. And so I am not expecting any management from him, which means yes, we don't have any management. But do you have something in mind?
85	I: No, I was just thinking whether you have any family who influenced your professional decisions, or if you had any international colleagues in particular, or anything online that influenced you as a professional?
86	F3: I don't think so. Maybe it is in my consciousness, but I don't think so.
87	I: This is fine. Most people haven't it was just in case. A question to explore your context a little more. I've nearly finished. I just have two more questions just to let you know we are nearly done.
88	F3: No problem.
89	I: My next question is about your sense of belonging. What makes you feel like you belong at your institution?
90	F3: Probably because we are working as teams around projects and working as teams for which the outcome, as already stated, is to provide the best education possible in our fields, so our students are able to be good professionals. So, my feeling of belonging to this team is probably the most important thing.
91	I: OK. Thank you. Is there anything that would give you a greater sense of belonging at your School?
92	F3: Mmm. Let me think for a second. I don't think so.
93	I: OK. That's fine.
94	F3: As I said, yes, we are belonging to the School, but what is most important is our students.

95	I: Thank you. My final question is about accent and you talked a little bit about this before. Some people try to have a British accent, or an American accent, or even a New Zealand accent, for example. Or just an international accent. Is there any particular type of English accent that you are trying to use or are you happy with an international accent?
96	F3: I am not happy with my accent, but I am not particularly working on changing my accent.
97	I: OK, that's fine. That's brilliant. Thank you very much. As a British person I find a French English accent very easy to understand, and so I am very happy with your accent. All of my questions are now finished, but do you have anything more you would like to add about English as a Medium of Instruction that I haven't asked about already.
98	F3: I don't think so. I had something in mind during the questions but I didn't note it and if it comes back to my mind I will send you an email. It was not very important, but it was about the students using English, but I can't remember what exactly so, if I find it, I will send you an email.
99	I: Thank you very much.