

The End of Language Policy?
English, Capital, and Multilingual Elites in China's
Transnational Higher Education

Honghui Zhu

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Supervisor: Professor Lorna Carson

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences
Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin
2026

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has not been submitted as an exercise for a degree at this or any other university and it is entirely my own work. I confirm that the work has been completed in full compliance with relevant university policies, including the Academic Integrity policy, the Trinity Policy on Good Research Practice, and the guidance on AI and GenAI in Teaching, Learning, Assessment and Research.

I agree to deposit this thesis in the University's open access institutional repository or allow the Library to do so on my behalf, subject to Irish Copyright Legislation and Trinity College Library conditions of use and acknowledgement.

I consent to the examiner retaining a copy of the thesis beyond the examining period, should they so wish (EU GDPR May 2018).

Honghui Zhu

31st October 2025

Summary

This thesis investigates language policy in China's transnational higher education, i.e., Sino-foreign education. It examines how English, Chinese, and other languages are used, perceived, and managed among three Sino-foreign institutions of varying prestige. The study combines theories from language policy in multilingual contexts and the Marxian materialist view, and adopts a qualitative-driven mixed methods approach, linking everyday classroom language practices with economic, cultural or ideological aspects that are crucial to Sino-foreign education. The thesis includes seven chapters.

Chapter 1 outlines the rationale and aims of the study, focusing on language practices in Sino-foreign universities as part of China's broader engagement with transnational education (TNE). It introduces the epistemological and methodological approach adopted in the research and provides an overview of the thesis structure.

Chapter 2 provides background on TNE, including definitions, categories, and incentives. It distinguishes transnational from national initiatives and situates China in the global TNE landscape. The chapter traces the development of Sino-foreign education from missionary roots to present collaborations and identifies institutional and organisational features. Further sections review the geographical distribution, financial arrangements, and tuition systems of Sino-foreign institutions. It addresses challenges such as collaboration dilemmas and inequalities. Chapter 2 concludes with an overview of languages in China, including the roles of Putonghua and English in Chinese society and education.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature and theoretical foundation. It discusses the historical development of the field of language policy, and key concepts such as language practice, language ideology, and language management and governmentality that are central to the examination. English-medium instruction (EMI) policies, practices, and

ideologies in multilingual higher education are reviewed, leading to the problems navigated in the study of language policy. By pointing out the problems of culturalist perspectives and transnational multilingual elites, the chapter proposes the End of Language Policy as a development stage. It then leads to a materialistic class theory of language policy as the study's theoretical basis.

Chapter 4 details the research design. It presents the research questions and outlines a qualitative-driven mixed-methods approach informed by dialectical pragmatism. Three institutions were selected for data collection through archival documents, classroom observations, interviews, and a questionnaire. Research ethics approval procedures, positionality, and analytic processes, such as transcription, translation, and thematic analysis are described, supported by systematic triangulation.

Chapter 5 reports findings from the three institutions. Archival, observational, and questionnaire data are presented around key themes from theoretical orientations. Interview results are presented according to the thematic categories. Chapter 6 discusses the findings. English and Chinese serve as means of knowledge transfer and meaning-making, forming a hierarchical multilingual order. Teachers and students act as language managers within largely implicit English-dominant policies. The role of capital is linked to EMI, Chinese domestic migration, and elite formation. Cultural and identity dynamics reflect the reasons for Chinese monolingual ideology while acknowledging multicultural reality, with institutional differences framed through “wind and viewing” as governmentality.

Chapter 7 contains a summary of this thesis and it concludes by summarising the findings according to the research questions and discussing their implications for understanding language policy, transnational higher education and broader contexts.

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Lorna Carson. Over the years of my study at Trinity College Dublin, Lorna has provided invaluable support, guidance, and encouragement. Her professionalism, positive influence, and trust have motivated me tremendously. As yet another “world wanderer”, I could not feel safer and more secure while sitting in the cosy chair at her office, which made me enjoy every journey more.

My sincere thanks go to Prof. Nathan Hill, who has provided guidance and support throughout my research and the writing of this thesis. My reading in nations and ethnicity, my interests in Marxist economy are the result of our numerous conversations and debates, which greatly enriched my research. Moreover, his humour always brightens gloomy days! Dr Isabelle Heyerick, constantly encouraged me throughout the years and always listening to my doubts and concerns, answering my many curiosities about your expertise in sign language. Our discussions over power and inequalities later became a very important aspect of my research. The coffeeshops we went to, the Belgian chocolates you brought back to me, and knowing you were there in the same building were some of the best memories.

This thesis would not be possible without the support of a group of people who supported me during the journey. Connor McCabe read and edited my many drafts, listened to every version of my conference presentations, and answered every question I had about the Irish language and the then-very-foreign land in which I reside. Thank you for always being my emotional support, key keeper, emergency contact, and a sibling whom I can choose. Katharine Shulmann, I remember the first hug you offered me at Phoenix House when I was having trouble getting an appointment with the Irish Residency Permit. Since then, every time I've been frustrated, you've always been there for me. The philosophical, political, and, of course, emotional conversations, the brunches, lunches, and dinners we had over the years, encouraged me to live my everyday life properly. Besides, thank you for patiently assisting me with my many epistemological

and methodological doubts throughout my research; the diverse worldviews and inquiries have greatly influenced my journey.

Mengqi Zhou, even though we have been apart since your graduation, you always had time to discuss multilingualism with me, share life back home, and encourage me to complete this thesis. The M&H team from BAQONDE¹ should resume! With Fatima Alhossaini, I discussed English as *lingua franca* in different domains. Your openness and kindness are always my motivation. Soraya Afzali introduced me to the readings of connected sociologies, which deepened my understanding of the interconnected world. Ann-Marie Hansen accompanied and encouraged me. Your passion for old books (the Fagel Collection) has reminded me of the beauty of history and art that I have always longed to know better. Yuxuan Zhang directed my attention to the *Philosophy and Theory of Higher Education Society* and to the literature on critical thinking in higher education, which has helped me connect many dots in my reading and writing. Shihua Li kept reminding me of fascinating studies are taking place with ethnic minorities. Thank you for being a good friend who cheers me up.

Scholars based in different parts of the world have also helped develop my thoughts and writing over the years. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to colleagues in the Centre for Diversity and Learning at Ghent University, Belgium, where I had the privilege of having a research stay in the autumn of 2024. I am deeply in debt to Prof. Piet Van Avermaet, who has been an inspiration since my master's studies in Flanders. Thank you, Piet, for leading me to language policy. I shall say, I am enjoying it very much! I am also grateful to Bart Deygers and colleagues for the very constructive research feedback sessions.

During the years I was doing my PhD research, I had the privilege of participating in research projects, seminars, and conferences that laid a strong foundation for my research. The BAQONDE project, researchers, teachers, and friends based in South Africa and Europe: without you all, this thesis would not be the same. I thank Prof. Bassey Antia for his constant encouragement, his high standards of academic quality, and

¹ <https://baqonde.usal.es/>

his humour, which were most precious for a PhD student! The NextGen Literacy Network², especially Dr Sarah McMonagle, the speakers, and fellow participants of the 2024 NextGen Literacy Summer school, deepened my understanding of multilingualism and language policy of Asia Pacific and Europe. Hamburg/Vienna Summer School (2023), its organisers, and the speaker Matti Eklund, allowed me to satisfy my curiosity about the philosophy of language and analytical philosophy as a total outsider. In Vienna, I had the privilege of meeting and later becoming friends with Jonas Raab, who was then holding a postdoctoral fellowship at Trinity. Thank you, Jonas, for allowing me to ask very silly questions over the years, and for introducing me to the world of “conceptual engineering” among many others that I enjoy reading very much and, of course, the Duolingo friend streaks and quests!

With Dr Zi Wang, I had meaningful conversations in her Psychology of Language Learning reading group. She kindly read and commented on some of my work. Dr Ann Vogel shared her insights on transnational education and broader aspects of sociology with me, commented on my work, and gave me invaluable suggestions. Besides, I met many people during years of conference sojourns, some of whom kindly offered office hours so I could talk through my research. It would not be possible to list you all, but I remember all the lovely chats that warmed my heart, shaped my thoughts, and will always inspire me.

During my time at Trinity, I have received invaluable help from colleagues and friends in different capacities. I thank Isolde Harpur, my subject librarian, for your patience in guiding me through every detail of the databases, as well as the excellent staff at the Library. I also wish to thank colleagues and friends from the Centre for Language and Communication Studies, especially: Valentina Colasanti, for always encouraging even I asked the silliest questions during our linguistic seminars; Antoin Rogers, for our lovely academic travels for the BAQONDE and always pleasant conversations; Conor Pyle, for sitting on my confirmation panel and always being supportive; Maria Dimitropoulou, for your kindness and constantly reminds me of the nice things we have

² <https://www.ew.uni-hamburg.de/forschung/fakultaere-forschungsschwerpunkte/sprache-und-bildung/06-internationales/04-next-generation-literacies/connecting/nglsummerschool2024.html>

in life; Catriona O'Brien, for being a nice desk mate during my first year at Phoenix House and for accompanying me when I fell off my bike (haha! Life is not easy). Craig Sailor, for being the best after-seminar social organiser and a lovely person to talk philosophy with!

My warmest thanks go to colleagues and friends from the Centre for Speech Therapy and Language Studies. I will never forget the “lunchtime underground supervision sessions” and the pleasant conversations, which always warmed my heart. Thank you, the late Prof. Margaret Walshe, whose smile and encouragement will always be remembered. My gratitude goes to friends and colleagues at Trinity Centre for Asian Studies, Trinity Long Room Hub, and Phoenix House: Neha, Hairuo, Elena, Agnieszka, Xiaohui, Minyeong, Ruiyao, Afsana, Maria Z., Chaomei, Luca and many, many others! Juris, for tolerating me being grumpier than you ;) Colleagues from the Trinity Race Equality Working Group: Dr Phil Mullen and Prof. Lorriane Leeson; Hamza Bana from BAME advisory group for promoting equity and diversity and making Trinity a better academic space for students, both domestically and internationally.

The development of my thesis is also enriched by a group of students whom I had the privilege to teach over the years, especially students who enrolled in Chinese Language and Culture (2022–2024) electives, for your wonderful questions, discussions, and presentation assignments. MPhil students at the Centre for Language and Communication Studies, with whom I had the privilege to have conversations, you made me feel like a useful person.

The completion of the thesis is not possible without the funding that I received over the years of my study: Trinity College Dublin–China Scholarship Council (TCD–CSC) generously sponsored my 48 months of doctoral research; Trinity Travel Trust and TRiSS (Trinity Research in Social Sciences) Travel Fund supported some of my conferences; the International Society for the Linguistics of English (ISLE) burisarisied my summer school themed *The Empire Speaks Back in a Postcolonial Dialect: Decolonising English Linguistics for the 21st Century* (2022) to Newcastle University, UK. I grew my interest in decoloniality through the seminars, talks, and conversations at this wonderful occasion. I am especially thankful to Prof. Karen Corrigan for her warm

encouragement during the summer school, and Dr Qi Zhang (DCU) for her one-on-one mentorship.

In Ireland, Fiona O'Rourke and friends at Fiona's Sunday writing group greatly helped my mental health. Fiona and Constance Emmett encouraged, read, and commented on my writing. I am indebted to the Irish Writers Centre for granting me funding to attend, first of all, Fiona's courses and then The Northern Road Show (2023), during which I have read and learned from many excellent writers who reside or have connections with this land. Through reading, I get a better understanding of history, people, place, emotion, relationships, among many others that are unique to this land or common amongst us human beings. Thank you, Fiona, for always being so encouraging and for making my connections with Ireland more endearing.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help of the wonderful participants, especially those who served as my gatekeepers and who constantly motivate and encourage me! Thank you all for sharing your expertise and experience with me, and I have learned so much during our conversations. Some of you are transnationals in China, some will be transnationals overseas, and this thesis is devoted to you all, the brave and courageous transnational individuals, and of course, to those who have stayed.

Most importantly, 谢谢我的爸爸和妈妈 [I thank my bàba and māma] who teach me pīnyīn, teach me 汉字[hàn zì], and teach me to be a good person. Thank you, with all my love, for being my parents, my teachers, and my friends. Thank you, my dearest brother Haifeng, for taking care of the family while I am exploring the world. I shall also thank my good friends: Jieyu, Jiajing, Guohao, Weixiang, Weihuan, Willem, and Shane for keeping in touch over the years, sharing old memories and creating new ones from different parts of the world. Cheng Xue, Ruan Xianwei, and friends from Chinese languages and literature, for always having faith in me since we were eighteen. Thank you, chengzi, xianxian, and many little ones, for bringing joy to the world that we now have the strength to make better.

Note after *viva voce*: I offer my gratitude to Prof. Paul Conroy for chairing my viva, Profs. Iker Erdocia and Nathan Hill as external and internal examiners for constructive discussions during the viva. My heartfelt thanks go to Rowan MacConville for the insightful comments on the thesis and support in improving my academic English writing. Despite all the support I have received, any errors or shortcomings that remain in this work are solely my own responsibility.

Table of Contents

<i>List of Tables</i>	xvii
<i>List of Figures</i>	xviii
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Rationale and Aim of the Study.....	1
1.2 Epistemological and Methodological Approach	2
1.3 Structure of the Thesis.....	3
Chapter 2 The Context: Sino-foreign Education; Languages in China	5
2.1 Introduction.....	5
2.2 Transnational Education (TNE): Definitions and Categories; Incentives and Examples.....	5
2.2.1 Definitions and Categorisations.....	6
2.2.2 Incentives and Examples.....	7
2.2.3 TNE: Transnational or National?.....	9
2.2.4 Recent development of TNE: Economic and Political?	10
2.2.5 China in the TNE Scene.....	11
2.3 Sino-foreign Education: Development, Historical, and Contemporary Incentives	12
2.3.1 Sino-foreign Education: Definition and Representatives	13
2.3.2 Sino-foreign Education and Influence from the Missionary Education	14
2.3.3 Key Incentives from National and Individual Levels.....	16
2.4 Institutional and Organisational Features	17
2.4.1 Categories and Legitimacy	17
2.4.2 Numbers and Geographical Distributions of Sino-foreign Education.....	24
2.4.3 Finance and Tuition Fees at Sino-foreign Institutions.....	26
2.4.4 Written Language Policies and Practices in Sino-foreign Education	27
2.5 Challenges and Critiques in Sino-foreign Education	29
2.5.1 The Collaboration Dilemma of Sino-foreign Education.....	29
2.5.2 Inequality Embedded in Sino-foreign Institutions.....	30
2.6 Languages in China: Written Policies and Language Practices.....	31

2.6.1 The Putonghua Language Practices in Chinese Society	32
2.6.2 English Language Learning in Chinese Education	35
2.7 Summary.....	37
Chapter 3 <i>Literature Review and Theoretical Framework</i>.....	38
3.1 Introduction.....	38
3.2 Language Policy: Scope of Study	38
3.3 What we have Learned from the Empirical Wave?	42
3.3.1 Language Ideology.....	46
3.3.2 Language Management and Governmentality	48
3.4 EMI Practice and Ideology in Multilingual Higher Education	49
3.4.1 Critical EMI, Decoloniality, Translanguaging, and Possible Problems	50
3.4.2 EMI and National Interests in European Multilingual Higher Education	53
3.4.3 EMI and Decoloniality in Global South Multilingual Higher Education	54
3.5 Problems with Culturalist Perspectives and Transnational Multilingual Elites	56
3.6 The End of Language Policy?	59
3.7 Towards a Materialist Class Theory of Language Policy	61
3.7.1 Materialist Class Theory	62
3.7.2 Capital, Cultural Capital, Capitalism and Neoliberalism.....	63
3.7.3 Difficulty of Collective Resistance and the Role of Culture	65
3.7.4 A Working Definition of a Materialistic Class Theory of Language Policy	67
3.8 Summary.....	67
Chapter 4 <i>Research Methods</i>.....	69
4.1 Introduction.....	69
4.2 Research Questions	69
4.3 Mixed Methods Research Design	72
4.3.1 A Qualitative-driven Mixed Methods Research Design.....	74
4.3.2 Dialectical Pragmatism as a Research Paradigm	75

4.3.3 Choice of Methods in the Qualitative-driven Mixed Methods Research Approach.....	76
4.4 Research Sites and Participants	76
4.4.1 Research Sites: Three Sino-foreign Institutions	77
4.4.2 Sampling Strategy	79
4.5 Data Collection Instruments	80
4.5.1 Archival Sources	80
4.5.2 Classroom Observations	82
4.5.3 Interviews.....	85
4.5.4 Questionnaire	88
4.5.5 Research Ethics Application	93
4.5.6 Pilot Semi-Structured Interview and Questionnaire	93
4.5.7 Contact Gatekeeper and Seek Permission to Access Research Site	94
4.6 Data Collection	96
4.6.1 University A.....	96
4.6.2 University B	97
4.6.3 University C.....	99
4.7 Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity	100
4.8 Data Storage	101
4.9 Data Analysis.....	101
4.9.1 Processing Archival Documents, Observational Notes, and Questionnaire Data	101
4.9.2 Interview Data Transcription	105
4.9.3 Data Translation.....	106
4.9.4 Thematic Analysis and Workflow of Interview Transcriptions	108
4.10 Systematic Triangulation	113
4.11 Limitation of Methodology.....	114
4.12 Summary.....	115
Chapter 5 Data Presentation.....	117
5.1 Introduction.....	117

5.2 Overview of Data Collected.....	117
5.3 Archival Data.....	119
5.3.1 Institutional Missions.....	119
5.3.2 Language.....	120
5.3.3 Staff/Student Testimonies.....	120
5.4 Classroom observations.....	122
5.4.1 Online Classroom Observational Data at University B.....	124
5.4.2 In-Person Classroom Observation at University B.....	125
5.4.2 In-Person Classroom Observation at University C.....	127
5.5 Questionnaire	128
5.5.1 Participants' Self-reported Language Backgrounds	128
5.5.2 Language practices.....	130
5.6.3 Language Beliefs	132
5.6 Interview Data.....	138
5.6.1 Data Type and Participant Information.....	138
5.6.2 Themes from Interview Data	139
5.7 Summary.....	169
<i>Chapter 6 Discussion</i>	<i>170</i>
6.1 RQ1: What language practices, language beliefs, and language management are in evidence in Sino-foreign education?	170
6.1.1 English and Chinese as Knowledge Transferring and Meaning-Making Practices	170
6.1.2 Multilingualism as Encountered Repertoire at Sino-foreign Institutions	173
6.1.3 Hierarchical Multilingualism at Sino-foreign Education.....	176
6.1.4 Teachers and Students as Language Managers at Sino-foreign Education	182
6.2 RQ2: In what ways does capital produce and reproduce language practices and management at Sino-foreign institutions?	188
6.2.1 Cultural Capital, Capital, EMI, and Sino-foreign Education.....	188
6.2.2 Capital, Chinese Domestic Migration, and Monolingual Putonghua	190
6.2.3 Capital, Elites, and Sino-foreign Education.....	193

6.3 RQ3: What cultural or identity factors influence, and are influenced by, language practices and management in Sino-foreign education?	194
6.3.1 Monolingual Chinese Language Ideology and Multilingual Chinese Cultures	195
6.3.2 Chinese Culture, Language, and Economy	196
6.4 RQ4: Do Sino-foreign institutions differ in their language practices and management strategies? How and Why?	197
6.4.1 Wind and Viewing by Different Sino-foreign Institutions	199
6.4.2 Viewing Among the Sino-foreign Institutions	201
6.5 Summary	202
Chapter 7 Conclusion	204
7.1 Introduction	204
7.2 Summary of Findings	204
7.2.1 RQ1: What language practices, beliefs, and management are in evidence in Sino-foreign education?	205
7.2.2 RQ2: In what ways does capital produce and reproduce language practices, beliefs, and management at Sino-foreign institutions?	207
7.2.3 RQ3: What cultural or identity factors influence and are influenced by language practices and management at Sino-foreign institutions?	208
7.2.4 RQ4: Do Sino-foreign institutions differ in their language practices, beliefs, and management, why and how?	208
7.3 Contributions and Implications	209
7.3.1 Practiced-based Examination of Language Policy	209
7.3.2 Theoretical and Methodological Contribution: Towards a Materialistic Class Theory of Language Policy	211
7.3.3 Contribution to the Field of Transnational Education	213
7.4 Limitations	214
7.5 Future Research Orientations	217
7.6 Summary	217
References	219

Appendix A

Appendix B

Appendix C

Appendix D

List of Tables

Table 2.1 Six Types of Sino-foreign Education.....	18
Table 2.2 Six Independent Sino-foreign Institutions	20
Table 4.1 Overview of the three Sino-foreign Institutions selected for the study	78
Table 4.2 Overview of the Questionnaire	92
Table 4.3 Two Examples of Student/Staff Testimonies at Universities A and B.....	103
Table 5.1 Overview of Data Collected from Three Sino-foreign Institutions	118
Table 5.2 Tallied number of teacher's switch of languages and students' language practices during online classroom observation at University B.....	124
Table 5.3 Participants' self-reported first language(s).....	129
Table 5.4 Participants' Reported Language Practice	131
Table 5.5 Participants' responses to the open-ended question on language practices.....	132
Table 5.6 Participants' language beliefs (Q13, Q14, Q15).....	134
Table 5.7 Participants' language beliefs (Q16 and Q19).....	136
Table 5.8 Participants' language beliefs (Q17 and Q18).....	137
Table 5.9 Student Participant Information.....	139
Table 5.10 Teacher Participant Information	139

List of Figures

Figure 2.1 Map of China (J. Shen, 2025).....	26
Figure 3.1 Spolsky's Language Policy Model	44
Figure 3.2 Chibber (2022b) Model 1: Cultural intervention as causal mediation	63
Figure 3.3 Chibber (2022b) Model 2: Cultural intervention as causal transmission	63
Figure 4.1 Research Design of Data Collection Instruments.....	80
Figure 4.2 Design of Observational Protocol	84
Figure 4.3 Data Collection at Three Sino-foreign Universities	96
Figure 4.4 An Example of Coding the Observational Data in Word.....	104
Figure 4.5 Example of Translation from Chinese to English with Microsoft Word	107
Figure 4.6 Three Cycles of Coding with Interview Transcriptions	110
Figure 4.7 Example of the First Cycle of Coding the Interview Transcriptions in NVivo 12.....	111
Figure 4.8 Example of the Second Cycle of Coding the Interview Transcriptions in NVivo 12.....	112
Figure 5.1 Themes from Interview: Students' Language Practices	141
Figure 5.2 Theme 1 of Students' Language Practices	142
Figure 5.3 Theme 2 of Students' Language Practices	145
Figure 5.4 Themes from Interview: Teachers' Language Practices	149
Figure 5.5 Theme 1 of Teachers' Language Practices.....	150
Figure 5.6 Theme 2 of Teachers' Language Practices	151
Figure 5.7 Themes from Interview: Students' Language Beliefs.....	154
Figure 5.8 Theme 1 of Students' Language Beliefs	155
Figure 5.9 Theme 2 of Students' Language Beliefs	157
Figure 5.10 Themes from Interview: Teachers' Language Beliefs	160

Figure 5.11 Theme 1 of Teachers' Language Beliefs	161
Figure 5.12 Theme 2 of Teachers' Language Beliefs	163
Figure 5.13 Themes from Interview: Language Management.....	166
Figure 5.14 Theme 1: Teachers' Language Management	167
Figure 6.1 Wind and Viewing Governance at Sino-foreign Institutions of Varying Prestige.....	201

Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the purpose and significance of the study. It outlines the research's rationale, clearly stating its objectives and importance within the broader field. Additionally, the chapter briefly describes the epistemological stance and methodological approach adopted, setting the stage for the detailed discussion that follows.

1.1 Rationale and Aim of the Study

This study responds to the growing interest and concerns in the field of China's transnational higher education, i.e., Sino-foreign education. Established through collaboration between Chinese and foreign higher education institutions, Sino-foreign education embodies economic, political, cultural, and linguistic aspects both domestically and globally. Language Policy, a field that emerged in the 1940s, started with the examination of language problems in developing nations. As it developed, the study of language policy came to encompass language practices, beliefs, management, and related elements within a broader sociopolitical arena.

This study is one of the first studies to investigate language policy in three Sino-foreign institutions of varying prestige, paying particular attention to the practice, belief, and management of English, Chinese, and other languages. The research is driven by four core questions:

1. What language practices, beliefs, and management are in evidence in Sino-foreign education?

2. In what ways does capital produce and reproduce language practices, beliefs, and management at Sino-foreign institutions?
3. What cultural or identity factors influence and are influenced by language practices and management at Sino-foreign institutions?
4. Do Sino-foreign institutions differ in their language practices, beliefs, and management, how and why?

By addressing these questions, the thesis aims to illuminate the interplay between language, capital, culture, ideology, and policy in shaping and being shaped by the social realities of the transnational education scene in China, offering insights for relevant studies in socio- and applied linguistics, transnational education, and sociology.

1.2 Epistemological and Methodological Approach

This research adopts a qualitative-driven mixed methods approach, informed by the theoretical foundations of language policy and multilingualism studies. The epistemological stance is rooted in dialectical pragmatism, which acknowledges the layered, negotiated, and context-dependent nature of language practices and policies. Methodologically, the study combines:

- Archival research, gathering institutional documents that reflect policy orientations in institutional-specific contexts.
- Classroom observations, documenting language practices and interactional patterns in Sino-foreign classrooms.
- Questionnaires, providing quantitative context for patterns and perceptions at Sino-foreign institutions.

- Interviews with teachers and students, exploring in-depth lived experiences, beliefs, and agency within the Sino-foreign educational field.

Systematic triangulation is employed to strengthen the validity of findings, while reflexivity and ethical considerations are maintained throughout the research process. The approach acknowledges the researcher's positionality and seeks to capture the complex interplay of language, power, and identity in practice.

1.3 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured as follows: Chapter 1 introduces the study by outlining its rationale, aims, epistemological and methodological orientation, and the overall organisation of the thesis.

Chapter 2 provides the contextual foundation. It begins with an overview of transnational education (TNE), outlining key definitions, categories, and incentives, before examining distinctions between transnational and national initiatives and recent economic and political developments in TNE. The chapter then focuses on Sino-foreign education, tracing its historical development, links to missionary education, and incentives from national and individual perspectives. Institutional and organisational features are reviewed, including institutional categories, legitimacy, finance, tuition, and geographical distribution. The chapter also discusses language policies in Sino-foreign institutions, challenges in collaboration, and issues of inequality. It concludes with an overview of language policy research and language practices in China, including the roles of Putonghua, minority languages, dialects, and English-medium instruction.

Chapter 3 reviews the literature and the theoretical framework underpinning the study. It explores the development of the field of language policy since the 1950s. The chapter reviews key concepts that are examined in language policy, such as language

practice, language ideology, language management, and so forth. Furthermore, it reviews EMI practices and ideologies in multilingual higher education in both the Global North and South. After navigating the problems of culturalist and transnational multilingual elites, this chapter proposes a materialistic class theory perspective of language policy, marking a development stage that I call the End of Language Policy.

Chapter 4 outlines the research design and methodology, presenting the research questions, qualitative-driven mixed methods approach, and dialectical pragmatist paradigm. It details research sites, participants, data collection instruments, procedures for data analysis, and considerations of ethics, reflexivity, and methodological limitations.

Chapter 5 presents the findings from archival material, classroom observations, questionnaires, and interviews, organised thematically across the three institutions. Chapter 6 discusses the findings in relation to the research questions, addressing language practices, beliefs, management, the role of capital, cultural and identity influences, and institutional differences. The thesis concludes by summarising the study's key insights and implications in Chapter 7.

Chapter 2 The Context: Sino-foreign Education; Languages in China

2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the context of this thesis, namely: Sino-foreign education (中外合作办学, *zhongwai hezuo banxue*). Sino-foreign education, as a form of transnational educational collaboration, presents unique characteristics under the globalised world economy. Its regulatory governance, economic incentives, and linguistic and cultural engagement are of interest to various fields, including applied linguistics, education, political science, international relations, etc. This chapter aims to present a comprehensive overview of Sino-foreign education. It begins with a definition and categorisation of transnational education, including its background and some examples. It then discusses Sino-foreign education and its development, as well as historical and contemporary incentives. It further examines the institutional and organisational details of Sino-foreign education. The chapter also explores challenges and critiques of Sino-foreign education, followed by an analysis of language policy within the Chinese and Sino-foreign contexts.

2.2 Transnational Education (TNE): Definitions and Categories; Incentives and Examples

This section first presents definitions and categories of transnational education (TNE), followed by its incentives and examples.

2.2.1 Definitions and Categorisations

Published under the *Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education*, the Council of Europe Directorate General IV (2002) provides a definition for transnational education, which is:

All types of higher education study programmes, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based. Such programmes may belong to the education system of a State different from the State in which it operates, or may operate independently of any national education system.

The definition adopts the dichotomy of different states for studying and qualification awarding, serving as a main reference point for TNE. To elaborate the specific types of TNE collaboration, Knight and Lee (2012) define three types of TNE programmes: joint, double, and consecutive:

- A joint degree programme awards one joint qualification upon completion of the collaborative programme requirements established by the partner institutions.
- A double degree programme awards two individual qualifications at equivalent levels upon completion of the collaborative programme requirements established by the two partner institutions.
- A consecutive degree programme awards two different qualifications at successive levels upon completion of the collaborative program requirements established by the partner institutions. A consecutive degree programme normally requires study abroad, with the first year(s) studying at the home institution and completing the degree abroad in foreign collaborative universities.

All three of the programmes can host bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees. Among the three types, double degree programmes are the most popular type of international collaborative programme, largely because “the legality and recognition of the qualifications awarded by double degree programs are more straightforward than for joint degrees” (Knight & Lee, 2012, p. 417).

When discussing TNE framework, Knight (2015) further points out another two overarching categories: the first being collaborative, which exists between local and foreign providers. Programmes such as twinning, joint, double, and locally supported distance education can exist in the form of collaborative. The other category is independent (foreign) provision, which means the foreign sending provider operates without any formalised academic collaboration with local higher education institutions. Representatives of the independent provision are international branch campuses, franchise universities, distance education providers, and foreign private institutions. In Section 2.4, I will elaborate that the international branch campuses in China also have ties, legally and culturally, to Chinese public higher educational institutions.

2.2.2 Incentives and Examples

There are mainly two incentives of the TNE. One is the free movement represented in institutions in the European Union (EU). Ever since the Bologna Declaration emphasised citizens' mobility and employability (European Ministers of Education, 1999), initiatives such as the European Universities Initiative (EUI) have attempted to solve the common European problems, such as a lack of competitiveness, a lack of mobility, and the need to reinforce common “European” values in higher education (Pagliarello, 2022). In 2019, eleven leading European universities created an alliance called Una Europa that offers

joint degrees. Their 2030 strategic plan claims that Una Europa successfully pioneered Europe's first truly joint bachelor's degree (UNA EUROPA, 2023). The plan further emphasises that this joint degree programme commits to "finding new pathways to seamless transnational collaboration together" (p. 4).

The other main motivation of TNE collaboration has to be the economy and the so-called knowledge economy. Guimón and Narula (2020), in their cross-case examination of four developing countries that host transnational universities, observe that:

The relationship between foreign universities and governments is often complicated by fundamental differences in their objects...the foreign partner measures the outcome much like any multinational corporation, and these interests are primarily economic and/or strategic. On the contrary, the host government seeks to maximize the return for their stakeholders, which may relate to social welfare, equality and political objectives (Guimón & Narula, 2020, p. 332).

TNE collaboration is often portrayed by both the sending and receiving countries as a win-win strategy, with the sending countries—mostly in developed countries—seeking revenues and the receiving countries—mostly developing countries—for a developed economy through the development of knowledge. In Vogel's (2020) study, GÜtech, a privately funded university under the collaborative agreement between the university-owning company and the RWTH Aachen, is believed to share compatible interests for both the German and Omani sides. The German government wants to remain globally competitive, and Oman wants to leapfrog to a knowledge-based economy. However, as Vora's (2018) study points out, TNE in the Gulf countries and this knowledge economy, in fact, "reproduces statist interests and the products of previous and ongoing imperial entanglements" (p. 32). This highlights the complexity of TNE incentives and outcomes, especially for the receiving party. With the sending party bearing economic incentives in mind, recipients from the receiving parties normally pay higher fees to be admitted to

such institutions. While education commodification might be irresistible, for developing countries, such practices may accentuate social inequality.

2.2.3 TNE: Transnational or National?

A major issue in the TNE industry is its entanglement with the market and the state. As X. Xu (2023) states, the internationalisation of higher education is “about not only education, research and knowledge; political, diplomatic and ideological powers; international markets, cross-border educational services, economic development, the labour market and neoliberal competition; and cultural colonisation, hegemony, communication and exchanges” (p. 378). The transnational space, like internationalisation efforts in higher education, is often “highly market-oriented and state-driven, with the eye of rulers on demographic and economic problems that have to solve within relatively short time because of macroeconomic and political conditions” (Vogel, 2020, p. 159). Although being market-oriented is a legitimised motivation for TNE, it is not always the case that TNE programmes state their strategies and how it understands such transnational collaboration. Fehrenbach and Huisman (2022) conclude that “the scarcity of definitions for transnational strategic alliance, engagement with theoretical anchoring to explain rationales, and the limited number of studies with a combined “why”, “how” and benefits approach were significant gaps” (p. 45).

The lack of definition of transnational strategies means that the term transnationalism is misleading. In fact, the state still plays an important, if not a leading, role in TNE collaboration. Recently, researchers have tended to analyse country-branded TNE, for example, perceptions of TNE institutions and individuals based in and of a specific nationality (Wilkins & Huisman, 2021, 2025). TNE is often associated with the similarly floating concept of internationalisation (Yang, 2014; X. Xu, 2023). The

motivation for internationalisation is often taken for granted, whilst the aims, purposes, and strategies of TNEs are left vague. The result is that analysis of transnational higher education mostly ends up discussing the collaboration between or among nation-states.

2.2.4 Recent development of TNE: Economic and Political?

The main trend in the current development of TNE is their globally uneven fortunes: in some contexts, TNEs flourish, while some initiatives close their doors. The growth is mainly in areas with booming economies. For example, in oil-rich Gulf nations and economically developing Asian nations. Since its establishment in 1995, the Qatar Foundation has hosted seven branch campuses from Ivy League universities in the United States. Also named Education City, EduCity Iskandar in Malaysia established Newcastle University Medicine Malaysia and Netherlands Maritime Institution of Technology in 2011. As stated on their website, the EduCity plan is an integral part of the success of Malaysia's Economic Transformation Programme (EduCity Iskandar, n.d.).

However, these success stories are balanced by failures elsewhere. The collaboration between Yale University and the National University of Singapore (NUS), which opened in 2013, closed its doors in 2025 (Branch, 2021). In January 2025, according to the Select Committee of the CCP (Chinese Communist Party) in the United States (2025), the University of Michigan announced its end of collaboration with Shanghai Jiao Tong University after almost 20 years of joint³ degree collaboration (Select Committee on the CCP, 2025). A complex interplay of economic and political factors contributed to the end of the partnerships. The latter case was a direct response to the

³ Note that the Shanghai Jiao Tong University and the University of Michigan collaboration offered double degree, instead of joint degree, according to Knight and Lee's categorisation (2012). It also reflects the complexity of such generalisations of TNE.

increasing tension over the trade war between the U.S. and China. While economic incentives are important to the transnational collaboration in higher education, such collaboration is always under the balance of (geo)political tensions.

2.2.5 China in the TNE Scene

As a fast-growing economy, China is actively participating in both the receiving and sending activities of transnational universities. China is one of the largest receiving countries of TNE (Montgomery, 2016; Yang, 2008; Yang & Xie, 2015). Officially entitled Sino/Chinese-foreign collaborative education, China's Sino-foreign education presents distinctive features. Unlike education cities that aim to develop into hubs for the knowledge economy, TNEs in China are closely aligned with the public Chinese higher education system.

Besides receiving foreign institutions, China also sends its higher education abroad. Under the general “going out strategy” (走出去战略, *zou chu qu zhan lue*) which began to be implemented in 2000 (中国国际贸易促进委员会经济信息部 *zhong guo guo ji mao yi cu jin wei yuan hui jing ji xin xi bu*, 2007), going-out running schools (境外办学, *jingwai banxue*) were established whereby Chinese universities collaborated with overseas universities in setting up institutions outside of China. As reported in Ngeow (2022), there are roughly 128 “going-out” projects, mainly in southeast Asia, though the list is not publicly available and there is no exact source for tracing the number of projects.

China's educational outreach faces some resistance. In Europe, Fudan University's plan for a campus in Budapest, Hungary, caused a massive protest (BBC, 2021). Opponents believed the opening of a Chinese university in the EU would increase the influence of China's Communist authorities. Political concerns about China-initiated educational and cultural programmes are not new. There has long been concerns that the Chinese academe harbours illiberal ideology in US-China bilateral programmes, such as Confucius Institutes (CI) (Stambach, 2014, p. 34). Similarly, the UK Parliament identified UK universities as at risk of influence by autocracies due to the increasing number of Chinese students and funding from their overseas partnerships (UK Parliament, 2019).

Despite concerns about academic freedom, especially in the US and Europe, an African-based academic, Gukurume (2024), observes an increasing enthusiasm for CI and the Chinese language, the latter of which is believed to provide linguistic capital and improve employability. As elaborated above, the market and state are the two main aspects for consideration in TNE, and China is no exception to this fact. Notably, the smooth collaboration of TNE is often closely related to satisfactory economic incentives; however, the retrieval of such cooperation is often a direct political response.

2.3 Sino-foreign Education: Development, Historical, and Contemporary Incentives

This section introduces Sino-foreign education, transnational education received in China. It goes through the development and representatives of Sino-foreign education, as well as its historical and contemporary incentives.

2.3.1 Sino-foreign Education: Definition and Representatives

Sino-foreign education refers to “the activities of the cooperation between foreign educational institutions and Chinese educational institutions in establishing educational institutions within the territory of China to provide education service mainly to Chinese citizens” (Article 2, the Regulations of the People’s Republic of China on Chinese-foreign Cooperation in Running Schools⁴, State Council, 2003). Emerging in China in the mid-1980s with the gradual economic opening (Yang, 2008), Sino-foreign education has experienced fast growth since China joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO). The first two Sino-foreign universities are the University of Nottingham Ningbo China (UNNC) (2004) and Xi’an Jiaotong–Liverpool University (XJLU) (2006). From 2021 to 2025, there were 13,100 and 30,000 registered undergraduate and graduate students at UNNC and XJLU respectively (Ministry of Education, n.d.).

Xi’an Jiao Tong-Liverpool University (XJTLU) is one of the largest Sino-foreign institutions. It is located in Suzhou, Jiangsu Province, around 1,303 kilometres away from the Chinese collaborative university in the city of Xi’an, Shaanxi Province. Its stated institutional aim is “transforming higher education in China” and “cultivating global citizens”. One can pose several important questions about such an institution. First, what is the role of the Chinese collaborative university? Why was Xi’an Jiao Tong University, a Chinese public university that excels in engineering and science, selected and understood to be compatible with the University of Liverpool? The second question is: what are the incentives of this partnership? According to the UK parliamentary data from the period when XJTLU was established, “the official registration number of Chinese

⁴ Hereafter referred to as the Regulations unless otherwise specified.

students is around 43,000 within the UK higher education system during 2003–04 and over 90% of them are self-financed” (UK Parliament, 2006). The tuition fee and the income generated by Chinese students total £779 million GBP to the UK economy in just one year (UK Parliament, 2006). The domestic revenue generated by Chinese students who studied in the UK has been significant, and was a key motivating factor bringing these institutions into collaboration with their Chinese counterparts. However, receiving Chinese students in the UK higher education has raised concerns about the risk of autocracy (UK Parliament, 2019). How come setting up branch campuses in China is not a concern for the sending institutions? It is either that the TNE revenue is too high in China so that possible ideological concerns can be set aside, or the accusations of ideological concerns for hosting Chinese students are a scapegoat for whatever the domestic issues are.

2.3.2 Sino-foreign Education and Influence from the Missionary Education

Bertelsen (2020) reminds us that the new transnational universities in East Asia and Middle East regions have their roots in missionary education starting from the mid-1800s. Two groups of missionaries were principally involved in setting up universities overseas: Anglophone American protestants and Francophone Jesuits. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, missionary education began to focus not solely on proselytising in China, but also on educating locals to become professionals in engineering, law, medicine, dentistry, and commerce, and to become future elites. There were more than 20 American missionary higher education institutions in China before the Korean War (Bertelsen, 2020).

The connection between historical mission work and contemporary Sino-foreign education is vague and may exist only in cultural sentiments. Perry and Tu (2020) examine two contemporary examples of Sino-foreign institutions that received different

receptions from the Chinese populace. The opening of New York University Shanghai was welcomed for its commitment to global education; on the other hand, Peking University's Yenching Academy was accused of being a symbol of American cultural imperialism. Interestingly, the host university of NYU, East China Normal University in Shanghai, was formerly part of St. John's University, with a more pro-western stance during the Chinese Republican Era (1911–1949) than Yenching University, which was more nationalistic.

The geographical distribution of missionary education coincides with that of contemporary Sino-foreign institutions. As shown in Perry and Chen (2019), besides Beijing and Shanghai, the main locations of the Republican Era missionary schools are in:

- Hangzhou (Zhijiang University)
- Nanjing (Jingling University, or University of Nanking)
- Guangzhou (Lingnan University)
- Shandong (Qilu University)
- Wuchang (Huazhong University).

It is not surprising that the locations include the five treaty ports that were signed with the British Empire after the Qing Dynasty's loss of the First Opium War. The five treaty ports, which all lay on the prosperous southeast coast, were Guangzhou (now in Guangdong Province), Xiamen, Fuzhou (now in Fujian Province), Ningbo (now in Zhejiang Province), and Shanghai (now a municipality), spanning the prosperous southeast coast since the Ming Dynasty. I will elaborate in 2.4.2 that the geographic distribution of Sino-foreign education is concentrated in the economically developed areas in China.

2.3.3 Key Incentives from National and Individual Levels

There are a few layers to understand the key incentives of Sino-foreign education. First, the Regulations prescribes that “Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools is an undertaking beneficial to public interests and forms a component of China's educational cause”(中国教育事业的组成部分, *zhongguo jiaoyu shiye de zucheng bufen*) (Article 3, the Regulations, State Council, 2003). As displayed on the official website (Ministry of Education, 2003), most Sino-foreign institutions do not request revenue.

Internationalisation has been an overarching aim of Chinese higher education in recent years (X. Xu, 2023; Yang, 2008; Yang & Xie, 2015). The presence of Sino-foreign education adds to the intended internationalisation of Chinese HE. However, Yang (2014) points out that “[r]ather than viewing [foreign higher education activity in China] as an integrated part of China’s higher education system, the Chinese have tended to see it as supplementary during certain stages of their higher education development” (p. 156).

The incentives for Sino-foreign education are not restricted to the national level. A few studies cover individuals’ motivation towards Sino-foreign education. From a Bordieuan perspective, Wang and Liu (2023) highlight the Chinese middle class pursuit of globality, cosmopolitanism, and entrepreneurialism via Sino-foreign education. Using a critical lens, Yu (2021, 2022) finds that Sino-foreign students “voluntarily participate in the reproduction of symbolic power of UK higher education” (2021, p.222), and “develop transnational imagination and cultural bonds with a country which they have never visited” (2022, p. 8). Whereas national motivations are typically articulated through strategic frameworks, individual motivations remain relatively ambiguous.

2.4 Institutional and Organisational Features

This section presents the institutional and organisational features of Sino-foreign institutions, focusing on three perspectives: categories and legitimacy; numbers and geographical distribution; and finance and tuition fees.

2.4.1 Categories and Legitimacy

According to the Regulations website (State Council, 2003), there are two major types of TNE: Sino-foreign institutions and Sino-foreign programmes.

The number of Sino-foreign programmes exceeds the number of institutions because achieving legitimacy is relatively more straightforward. In Shanghai alone, at the undergraduate and post-graduate levels, there are 82 programmes and 22 institutions. Among the 22 Sino-foreign institutions, there is one independent/stand-alone Sino-foreign institution and 21 dependent ones. The Sino-foreign programmes are educational exchanges with Chinese and foreign institutions, and typically, no degrees are offered. Independent Sino-foreign institutions typically offer joint degrees, while dependent ones generally offer double or continuous degrees. Table 2.1 presents the main types of Sino-foreign education. I explain them in detail in the subsequent sections.

Table 2.1 Six Types of Sino-foreign Education

	Type	Dependency on Chinese public universities	Degree	Foreign degree	Chinese degree	Sit in Chinese <i>Gaokao</i>	Attend university-level exam	Study abroad	Years of study in China and abroad (China year + foreign year)
Sino-foreign institution	1	Independent	Joint degree	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Not compulsory	4 (Year 3 exchange abroad)
	2		Single foreign degree	Yes	No	No	Yes	Not compulsory	4+0, 3+1, 2+2
	3	Dependent	Dual degree	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Not compulsory	4+0, 3+1, 2+2
	4		Single foreign degree	Yes	No	No	Yes	Not compulsory	4+0, 3+1, 2+2
	5			Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	3+1, 2+2, 1+3
Sino-foreign programme	6			Some, with some requirement such as study abroad	Yes	Yes	No		Similar to Erasmus Exchange

Source: Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools: <https://www.crs.jsj.edu.cn/index/sort/10>

Note that in this chapter, the data presented are mainly for the bachelor's level and above, unless otherwise specified. This study collected empirical data from both bachelor's-level and vocational-level Sino-foreign institutions. In China, bachelor 's-level education is four years, and vocational-level higher education is three years. The categorisation and organisation at the vocational level are similar to those of the undergraduate and graduate levels of collaboration. In the context of Chinese higher education, vocational education is often industry-oriented and less well received than degree level of higher education (W. Shen & Ma, 2023).

2.4.1.1 Independent Sino-foreign Institutions

Independent Sino-foreign institutions (Type 1 and 2, Table 2.1) share a similar naming system: Chinese place name/Chinese university name + foreign place name/foreign university name + *da xue* (大学, university)/ *xue yuan* (学院, *xue yuan*). The University of Nottingham Ningbo, in Chinese 宁波诺丁汉大学 (*Ning bo Nuo ding han da xue*), is a typical example of this pattern. Ningbo is a Chinese place name, Nottingham is a foreign place name, and *da xue* means university. Such is the case for all six independent/stand-alone Sino-foreign institutions. Table 2.2 presents the six independent Sino-foreign institutions' names in Chinese and English, along with the year of their establishment. All are located in southern coastal areas of China, with a leading economy.

Table 2.2 Six Independent Sino-foreign Institutions

Independent Sino-foreign University: Chinese name and Pinyin	Pinyin name	Independent Sino-foreign University: English name	Established Year
西安交通利物浦大学	<i>Xi'an Jiao tong li wu pu da xue</i>	Xi'an Jiao Tong Liverpool University	2006
昆山杜克大学	<i>Kun shan du ke da xue</i>	Duke Kunshan University	2013
宁波诺丁汉大学	<i>Ning bo nuo ding han da xue</i>	University of Nottingham Ningbo	2004
上海纽约大学	<i>Shang hai niu yue da xue</i>	New York University Shanghai)	2012
温州肯恩大学	<i>Wen zhou ken en da xue</i>	Kean University-Wenzhou	2014
广东以色列理工学院	<i>Guang dong yi se lie li gong xue yuan</i>	Guangdong Technion-Israel Institution of Technology	2015

Zhang and Kinser (2016) examine the legitimacy-achievement strategies of independent Sino-foreign institutions. These methods can vary from complying with Chinese regulations and laws, especially paying attention to ideological control in Chinese higher education, to pragmatically meeting the needs of immediate audiences, such as parents and students. In the legitimacy-achieving process, different institutions share similarities and exhibit some distinctive features. For example, XJTLU claims a new form of university management: harmony management which is a combination of Western and Chinese ideals, values, and norms that both emphasise the western way of experiments analysis and quantity formula and the Chinese way of harmony and cooperation (p. 335). NYU Shanghai has three distinctive elements according to Zhang and Kinser (2016):

- International student body. Half of the undergraduates come from China and half come from the rest of the world. Students are supposed to experience an intense education by living and studying in a multicultural world (p. 336);
- International mobility. NYU Shanghai students spend their junior year (third year) of undergraduate studies at other NYU campuses in New York and Abu Dhabi, or global academic centres in eleven other cities in the world (p. 336);
- Selection process. NYU Shanghai has a different student selection process than Chinese College Entrance Examination (hereafter *Gaokao*). Their admission evaluations comprise three parts: online application, high school transcripts, and English-only campus day. After all that, they are also required to sit the *Gaokao* with a score higher than the cut-off points for first-tier universities (p. 336, Academic Bulletin, NYU Shanghai, 2023).

2.4.1.2 *Dependent Sino-foreign Institutions*

Dependent Sino-foreign institutions are hosted by Chinese universities. They exist in the format of a school (学院, *xueyuan*) within the same university, paralleling other schools such as the School of English. The naming of dependent Sino-foreign institutions normally puts the Chinese university name first, followed by the name of the foreign university, and appended with “*xue yuan* (school)”. For example, 上海交通大学密西根学院 (*shang hai jiao tong da xue mi xi gen xue yuan*), with the Chinese hosting university before the foreign sending university, and adding *xue yuan* to indicate that it is an institution that grants double degrees and is affiliated with the Chinese public university. Note that in the Chinese context, such dependent Sino-foreign institutions identify

themselves as joint institutions, which is easily mixed with joint degrees often awarded by independent Sino-foreign institutions. Unlike independent Sino-foreign institutions, which build their campus buildings from scratch, dependent Sino-foreign institutions are typically located within the receiving Chinese university.

Dependent Sino-foreign institutions benefit from the existing reputation of their Chinese public university collaborator. Public universities, such as the above-mentioned Shanghai Jiao Tong University, are top-tier universities that ranked circa 47 by the QS university ranking. They have long existed and enjoy the trust of the general public. Therefore, completing the *Gaokao* and achieving a relatively competitive score is required to attend dependent Sino-foreign institutions.

2.4.1.3 Similarities and Differences between Independent and Dependent Sino-foreign Institutions

Participating in the *Gaokao* is a shared characteristic of independent and dependent Sino-foreign institutions (Type 1 and Type 3, Table 2.1). For independent ones, attending the *Gaokao* is part of their legitimising strategy in China, as it allows them to comply with the Chinese education system. At NYU Abu Dhabi, the national-level Emirates Standardised Test is not in evidence for the application process. For most dependent Sino-foreign institutions, attending *Gaokao* and going through all the university application procedures are required. The local and national educational authorities centrally manage the student recruiting quota for dependent Sino-foreign institutions. In addition to *Gaokao*, independent Sino-foreign institutions require students to go through an application procedure, such as providing a high school transcript and recommendations from high school teachers; moreover, their English level is tested through interviews or campus open days.

Aside from the *Gaokao* policy for attending Sino-foreign institutions, there do not appear to be any apparent constraints from the Chinese authorities. Perry and Tu (2020, p. 73) observe that the NYU Shanghai Campus enjoys special privileges: there is no restriction on internet access, and professors are free to decide on lecture content and reading assignments. The public and authorities do not seem concerned about the apparent violation of Chinese laws. Article 30 prescribes that “A Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run school shall report the courses that it offers and the teaching materials that it has introduced in to the examination and approval authorities for the record” (the Regulations). The number of independent Sino-foreign institutions is, after all, minimal.

2.4.1.4 Single Degree Programmes in Dependent Sino-foreign Institutions

A single degree programme is similar to the consecutive degree programme (Knight & Lee, 2012) that offers different qualifications from home and foreign universities. In most cases, the qualifications at home institutions ensure the transition to the higher degree that students aimed to achieve. Same as double degree programmes, single-degree programmes (Type 2, Table 2.1) exist in dependent Sino-foreign institutions. Except in very restricted situations, such as during the COVID-19 pandemic, the independent Sino-foreign institution, XJTLU recruited and hosted offer-holders of foreign institutions on their single-degree programme.

Generally speaking, a single-degree programme refers to a degree granted by a foreign institution while hosted by a Sino-foreign institution, which, in Chinese discourse, lacks legitimacy and is associated with institutions seeking financial gain and students who are less academically accomplished. Some dependent Sino-foreign institutions have such programmes categorised as “beyond planning” (计划外, *ji hua wai*), as opposed to

“within planning” (计划内, *ji hua nei*), the latter of which refers to double degree programmes that require the Gaokao. As of 2025, most dependent Sino-foreign institutions labelled themselves as “required to sit *Gaokao*”. As shown in Table 2.1, single degree programmes (Type 4 and Type 5) do not necessarily require students’ sit Gaokao, but institutional-level admission tests including English and general courses from high school curriculum.

Single degree programmes normally exist in forms such as 4+0, 3+1, and 2+2, referring to years of study at home and abroad. The difference between Type 4 and Type 5 is that the former does not require students to study abroad for a foreign degree; study-abroad mobility, however, is necessary for Type 5 students. Type 6 listed in Table 1 is Sino-foreign programmes as opposed to Sino-foreign institutions, in that the Sino-foreign programmes have a lower level of collaboration with the sending higher education institutions. Sino-foreign programmes can be understood as an equivalent of the Erasmus Exchange that allows students mobility between Chinese and foreign institutions.

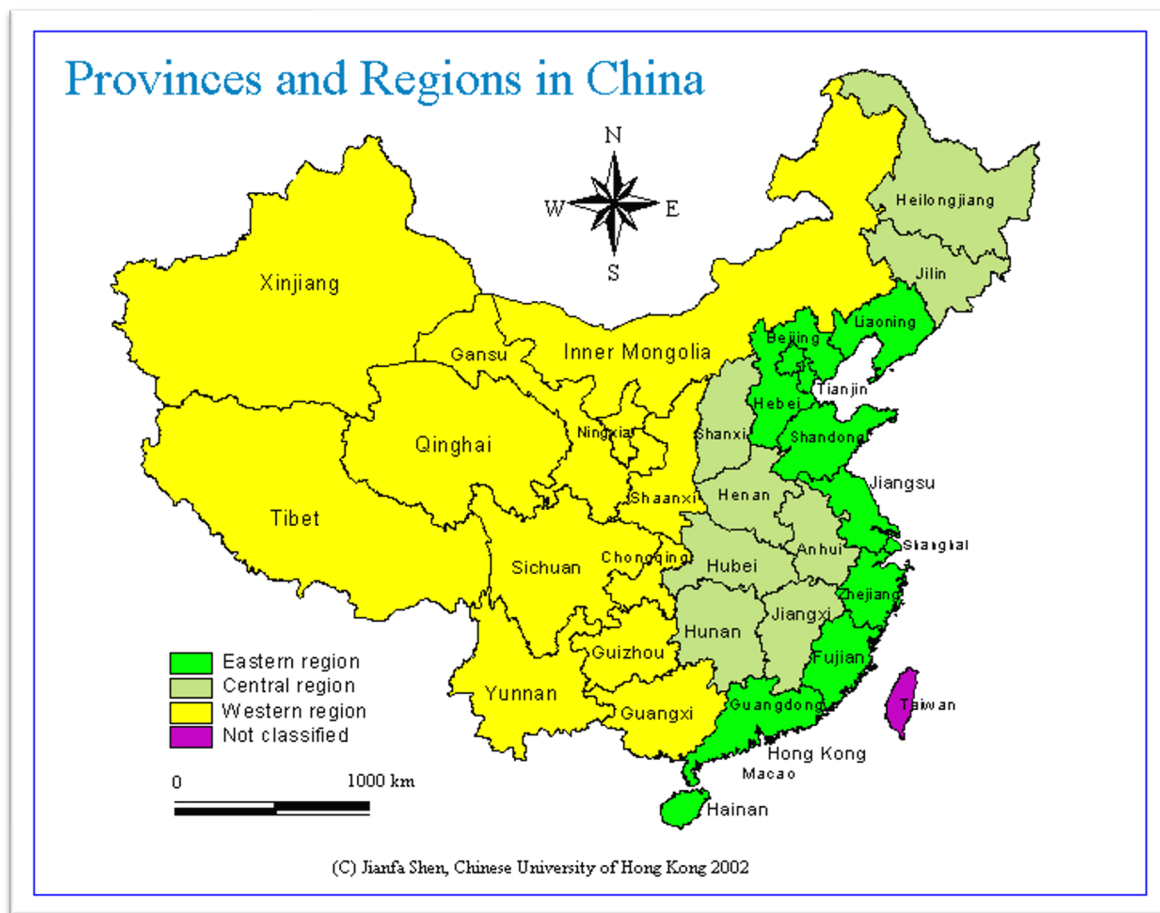
2.4.2 Numbers and Geographical Distributions of Sino-foreign Education

Sino-foreign institutions and programmes are distributed throughout mainland China. Figure 2.1 shows a map of China with names of the provinces. The top eight provinces/municipalities with the most significant number of Sino-foreign institutions (both independent and dependent) ($n \geq 10$) are: Jiangsu (24), Shaanxi (10), Zhejiang (18), Shanghai (20), Shandong (17), Guangdong (14), Liaoning (15), and Henan (14). The top provinces/municipalities of Sino-foreign programmes ($n \geq 50$) are Henan (132), Jiangsu (112), Shandong (98), Jilin (73), Hubei (72), and Heilongjiang (67). Shanghai

(85), Liaoning (60), and Zhejiang (70)⁵. Not surprisingly, the geographical distribution features economically prosperous regions: the southeast coast, which is usually represented by two provinces and one municipality: 江浙沪 (*jiang zhe hu*, Jiangsu Province, Zhejiang Province, and Shanghai municipality); the Cantonese-speaking province: Guangdong/ Canton (广东); and the former industrial region in the northeast, 黑吉辽 (*hei ji liao*, Heilongjiang Province, Jilin Province, and Liaoning Province), which also has a high number of Sino-foreign educational opportunities. The rest of the provinces, such as Shaanxi, Shandong, Henan and Hubei, share higher numbers of public universities, with Jiangsu having 167 public universities, which ranks the top in China. On the other hand, places without any Sino-foreign institutions include Jiangxi, Yunnan, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia (*Neimenggu*), Ningxia, Qinghai, and Tibet (*Xizang*). Of these, Tibet (*Xizang*) has no Sino-foreign programme, Qinghai and Shanxi each have one, Xinjiang has two, Ningxia has three, and Gansu has four. Similarly, Tibet (*Xizang*), Qinghai and Ningxia have the lowest number of public universities in China, with 7, 12, and 20, respectively.

⁵ Data were retrieved in March 2025.

Figure 2.1 Map of China (J. Shen, 2025)



2.4.3 Finance and Tuition Fees at Sino-foreign Institutions

Sino-foreign institutions have their own funding sources, distinct from those of Chinese public universities. Shen and Ma (2023, p. 559) report that Sino-foreign education “catered to the growing middle class’s demand for international education, and at the same time brought significant economic benefits to participating education institutions. For the government, this has been a way to solve people’s educational needs without public investment”. For independent Sino-foreign institutions, it is often the case that the local Chinese governments provide land and facilities for the campuses, and the foreign university provides academic resources. Tuition fee revenue is one of the primary sources of income for such institutions, along with philanthropic donations. The annual tuition fee

for NYU Shanghai bachelor's degree students is \$ 62,796 US dollars, while the annual tuition fee for a public Chinese university is equivalent to \$1,000 US dollars. Tuition fees for dependent Sino-foreign institutions are in between the independent ones and those of public universities. As of the year 2024, the tuition fee of Shanghai Jiao Tong Michigan College was equivalent to \$10, 000 US dollars.

2.4.4 Written Language Policies and Practices in Sino-foreign Education

Knight and Lee (2012) have noted the *default* choice of English in TNE institutions. The English language or bilingualism has been one of the unique characteristics that Sino-foreign institutions adopt to achieve legitimacy (L. Zhang & Kinser, 2016). The English language has been regarded as of paramount importance for China's national strategy of achieving modernisation and internationalisation, alongside personal development (Hu, 2007; Pan, 2011; Yang, 2014). Meanwhile, the Regulations prescribe that: "A Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run school may, if necessary, use foreign languages in teaching, but shall use the standard Chinese language and standard Chinese characters as the basic teaching language" (Article 31).

In general, Sino-foreign institutions do not specify language policies. Inferring from the origin of their foreign collaborators is one solution. For example, in Jiangsu Province, where the most significant proportion of Sino-foreign education exists, there are 14 Anglophone universities from the UK, Ireland and New Zealand among the 24 Sino-foreign institutions. Five are Francophone universities that either have Sino-French in their institution names, such as Sino-French Institute (IFC), Renmin University of China, or specific names of foreign universities, such as Hohai-Lille College of Hohai University. Both institutional names are presented in English on the Regulations webpage (Ministry of Education, 2003). Both introduced the Sino-foreign institution in English,

with the former also introducing it in French. There are two Russian collaborations in Jiangsu Province: one with only English names, the other in English and Russian. The single Ukrainian university has both Ukrainian and English in its institution titles, while two Finnish Universities have only English in their institution titles. A snapshot from the IFC Renmin University of China explains the languages in practice in general:

As an integral component of Renmin University, IFC is designed to educate high-potential trilingual Chinese specialists in the fields of finance, economics, management, applied foreign languages and humanities (Sino-French Institute of Renmin University of China, 2022).

This institution points out the trilingualism of Chinese specialists, and even though it is not explicit, English shows its invisible power. Lontou's (2021) examination of the assessment for an ESP (English for Specific Purposes) course in a Chinese–Finnish double degree programme indicates that even if the sending university is Finnish-speaking, the English language is used to prepare both sets of students of engineering.

If English is taking the dominant role in the Sino-foreign educational landscape, Chinese Putonghua, the promoted language in China, is not the only language that English has outperformed. China is officially recognised as a multi-ethnic, multilingual, multi-dialect, and multi-script country (Ministry of Education, 2017). As noted earlier, Sino-foreign education is distributed across mainland China. The places with the most significant number of Sino-foreign education are Wu-speaking (Shanghai, Zhejiang, and part of Jiangsu) and Mandarin-speaking (e.g. part of Jiangsu). The regions with the least number of Sino-foreign education are Tibetan-speaking. Tibetan, along with Chinese and Burmese, belong to the Sino-Tibetan language family (Hill, 2015). Other areas with a small number of Sino-foreign universities, such as Xinjiang, speak Uyghur, which belongs to the Turkic language family, and Inner Mongolia (*Neimenggu*), where

Mongolian, which belongs to the Mongolic language family, is spoken. Language policies in ethnic minority areas are at least bilingual with Putonghua and the standardised ethnic languages, sometimes trilingual (G. Wang, 2015). Drawing on interview data from multilingual speakers from Xinjiang, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia, H. Xu, (2019) concludes that Chinese Putonghua serves as the “admission ticket” in both functional and symbolic senses among multiple languages: Putonghua, minority language, and English.

2.5 Challenges and Critiques in Sino-foreign Education

Sino-foreign education is not exempt from challenges and critiques. This section presents the dilemma of Sino-foreign education, and its embedded inequality.

2.5.1 The Collaboration Dilemma of Sino-foreign Education

As shown above, Sino-foreign institutions, especially independent ones, often have unique characteristics that may align with or contradict China’s centralised higher education system, which places nominal emphasis on socialist ideology (Yang, 2014, p. 156). While such unique characteristics are promoted by Sino-foreign institutions to capitalise on demand for foreign qualifications, this contradicts the central government’s aim to boost the capacity of Chinese universities (Yang, 2014, p. 156). For the foreign institutions, even with some privileges, their legal status is usually ambiguous in China under Chinese educational sovereignty. This collaboration strategy may be in line with the loosely coupled way of collaboration, as examined by Zhang et al. (2024), which enables “both Chinese and foreign parties to link and interact with each other, and at the same time, independent and autonomous from each other” (p. 15). Loosely coupling may allow both sides to maintain flexibility and autonomy; however, it may also constrain the

depth of collaboration and, in the long term, render the partnership susceptible to shifts in ideological orientation or political priorities.

2.5.2 Inequality Embedded in Sino-foreign Institutions

It is noticeable that inequalities are embedded in Sino-foreign institutions. First, it is always the national and regional flagships, i.e., those of the Double First-class initiative Chinese universities, that attract foreign elite universities for collaboration (Yang, 2014; Yang & Xie, 2015). Montgomery (2016) demonstrates that the partnership between elite Chinese and Western universities reinforces inequality in Chinese higher education, which is itself unequally distributed across urban China. The large number of non-Double First-class Chinese universities in less developed regions may face challenges such as limited funding, lower educational quality, and reduced opportunities for international collaboration, further exacerbating regional disparities in higher education.

Chinese higher education (HE) only moved to the stage of mass higher education (Trow, 1973) by 2002, some 20 years after the resumption of Chinese HE in 1977 (W. Shen & Ma, 2023). However, the massification of Chinese HE does not ensure its opportunity for equity. Huang et al. (2022) prove that the Chinese higher education expansion since 1999 resulted in the returns for urban *hukou* (household registration) holders, while rural *hukou* holders generally fail to benefit from the HE expansion. The uneven distribution of Sino-foreign institutions in the eastern part of China compared to the western part indicates the unevenly allocated educational resources, which were essentially a result of the uneven economic and societal development in Chinese society.

The preference for the urban over the rural and the eastern part over the western part implies the elitist feature of Sino-foreign institutions. Moreover, it has been proven

that the teaching and learning of English, and English-Chinese bilingual education, prefer people from the economically affluent eastern part of China (G. Hu, 2007; Y. Hu, 2008). Students from multilingual speaking regions must face the challenge of Putonghua as an educational language, not to mention English as an additional language.

2.6 Languages in China: Written Policies and Language Practices

This section presents language situations in China, the context where empirical data are collected. It provides an overview of the national-level language policy and related research. It offers an in-depth discussion of the widespread practice of Putonghua within Chinese society, highlighting its dominant role in Chinese society and education. Additionally, the section addresses the implementation of English language education, with particular emphasis on EMI practices.

China has designated Putonghua, standardised Mandarin, and standardised Chinese characters as its national lingua franca and script. In 1956, the Chinese State Council directed that all schools should be conducted in Putonghua (Ramsey, 2002). This promoting Putonghua policy became law in 2000 after the ninth National People's Congress and was promulgated under the title *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo tongyong yuyan wenzifa* (《中华人民共和国通用语言文字法》) in 2001 (Ministry of Education, 2001), commonly known as the 2001 Language Law in English. Article 3 of the Language Law stipulates that: "The state popularises Putonghua and the standardized Chinese characters". Additionally, Article 8 states that: "All the ethnic groups shall have the freedom to use and develop their own spoken and written languages".

Research in language policy from China was out of sync with the rest of the world before China's opening up in 1978. *Gaokao* was resumed in 1977 upon the end of the

Cultural Revolution (1966–1977). Language policy research in the Chinese context burgeoned in the 21st century, especially synchronised with the fourth empirical wave of language policy research from 2000 onwards (Johnson, 2009; Ricento, 2000). In Chapter 3, a detailed explanation is provided on the four waves of development in the field of language policy.

2.6.1 The Putonghua Language Practices in Chinese Society

This section presents the Putonghua language practices within the Chinese society. I discuss Putonghua practices with regards to the ethnic minority languages and dialects.

2.6.1.1 Putonghua and ethnic minority languages

According to the 7th national census, the percentage of population of the five autonomous regions in China are: Guangxi (3.55%), Xinjiang (1.83%), Nei meng gu (Inner Mongolia) (1.70%), Ningxia (0.51%) and Xizang (0.26%) (State Council, 2021). The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region has the second largest population of the five autonomous regions. After 50 years of Promoting Putonghua policy in Xinjiang, Blanchford (2004) reported that Putonghua is gaining status in the Xinjiang area, although due to the problem of lacking language education, the Promoting Putonghua Policy faces difficulties in implementation. Some 20 years later, in a linguistic landscape study in Kashgar (喀什, *kashi*), Yao et al. (2021) reported that Chinese has the highest appearance on typical signs (95.2%) but only accounts for 48.3% on peripheral signs.

Similar results are found in Mongol languages, Caodaobateer (2004) reports that an estimated 80% of the Mongols speak Mongol as their first language, with Mongol as the main language of instruction throughout the educational system. Gu et al. (2022)

carried out a case study in a three-generation Mongolian family in *Wushen* Banner which is a centre of Mongolian language and culture (p.4). They report a salient increase in Putonghua proficiency across the three generations. Even though the third generation shares the same Mongolian heritage identity, the youngest generation's Mongolian proficiency declined.

The above examples from Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia have two similarities: first, Putonghua has a prominent presence in ethnic minority regions; second, ethnic minority languages are still in practice regionally. There might be many reasons: the poor quality of Putonghua-medium education in the ethnic minority regions, and a high level of language and cultural identity in the regions. The hierarchical status of Putonghua and minority languages is reflected in the linguistic market. Linguistic market is a term from Bourdieu (1986), referring to a background while understanding various sociolinguistic phenomena. A corresponding concept to understand the linguistic market is linguistic capital, meaning the values associated with the languages in linguistic contexts. H. Xu (2019) interviewed four groups of English teachers in a secondary school in minority regions. The cross-group comparison shows the threshold role of Putonghua, which has a role of “admission ticket” in the Chinese job market in both functional and symbolic senses (p. 35).

2.6.1.2 Putonghua and dialects

China has seven main dialect families, with Mandarin having the largest group of speakers (over 80% of the Han population) (Ministry of Education of the PRC, 2021). At the beginning of the 21st century, Guo (2004) examined the relationship between Putonghua and dialect. Three stages of development are presented: the first stage started in the 1950s and lasted until the 1980s during which it is generally believed that

Putonghua would replace dialects eventually; the second stage started in the late 1980s and it is considered that the co-existence of Putonghua and dialect possibly because of the way people view things in the reforming era of China; the third stage then witnesses the legal role of using dialects in certain circumstances.

However, in the economically developed urban areas in China, Putonghua dominates. Shen (2016) investigated the *Saving Shanghai Dialect* policy within the language management process framework. Though plans and strategies are advised to save the Shanghai dialect, such as including the Shanghai dialect in formal education, adding Shanghai dialect programmes in the mass media, and promoting literacy practices in the Shanghai dialect, the results are not positive. A cross-city study reported by Wang and King (2022), even though families in Shanghai have the highest level of pro-dialect ideology among the three cities, their adult children still shift to Mandarin (p. 13).

Shanghai dialect is one of the few Chinese dialects that has generated significant research and societal concerns on its potential endangerment. The attention given to the Shanghai dialect is largely because of the city's economic prowess. In 2023, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of Shanghai ranked first in the country (Xinmin Wanbao, 2024). At the same time, according to the 7th census in Shanghai, residents with no permanent Shanghai residency account for 42.1% of the population in the city (Pengpai news, 2021). Migration from rural to urban China is mainly driven by economic reasons. Like Shanghai, Guangdong Province also attracts both international and domestic migrants, largely for economic purpose⁶. With the increase in migration to coastal cities, concerns have been raised about the potential marginalisation of regional languages.

⁶ The 7th national census data shows the mainland cities with largest non-mainland foreign populations are Guangdong, Yunnan and Shanghai (National Bureau of Statistics of China, 2021). This census includes residences from Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan so it is not surprising that Guangdong ranks the first as it is geographically close to Hong Kong and Macao.

Responding to the issues of linguistic diversity and language extinction, a government-led project, *Yu bao* (语宝), focuses on documenting languages and promoting their use through cultural forms (Shen & Gao, 2019). However important the top-down policy is, it has not solved the language conflicts that happen in metropolises such as Shanghai and Guangzhou. Cantonese (one of the dialects spoken in Guangdong Province) had a *Protecting Cantonese Movement* around the year 2010. The proposal was sparked by a suggestion to switch the use of Cantonese to Putonghua on local television channels. The movement did not succeed, and Putonghua claimed its status as the working language in radio, television and Internet broadcasting programmes (Gao, 2012).

2.6.2 English Language Learning in Chinese Education

While Putonghua is taking a dominant role in Chinese society, in the Chinese education field, English is also taking a very important role. English learning in China has been closely linked to modernisation and globalisation since the 1978 economic reform. Adamson (2004) highlights that the English language curriculum in China has reflected the vagaries of the socio-political climate, whereas in the post-1978 Chinese society:

the role and status of English in China is higher than ever in history as evidenced by its position as a key subject in the curriculum, with its growing use as a medium of instruction as many schools adopt a bilingual approach to education (p. 195).

The important role of English in Chinese society functions within the power of the Chinese state in the post-1978 era. Pan (2011) explains the role of the Chinese state in functioning as a switchboard in the world-system: the state builds up a common-sense ideology that English is beneficial at all levels of society and, at the same time distances itself from promoting the cultural model of any particular English-speaking country and

uses English as important element of individual development to strengthen citizens' national identity (p. 260–261).

The practices from educational institutions and individuals respond to the state's promotion of English in a manner that is “cult” (Pan, 2015). Hu (2009) uses the word “craze” to describe the EMI trend in China. In fact, in response to internationalisation efforts in higher education, China has adopted an EMI language policy as a key strategy, as long as the establishment of Sino-foreign institutions (De Costa et al., 2022). Nowadays, scholars have navigated problems in the Chinese EMI fields. Due to the “great leap forward” style of promoting EMI, many consequences are produced in academic, economic and socio-cultural aspects (Hu, 2007). In a cross-institution study in China (X. Xu et al., 2021; S. Zhou et al., 2021), results show students face difficulties in academic writing and speaking even though some EMI centres provide certain supplement services. At the same time, EMI teachers face challenges in carrying out EMI teaching as the workload of EMI is heavier with little financial compensation. This misalignment of policy and practice, as reported by X. Xu et al. (2021), is among the common issues in Chinese EMI education.

While some problems of EMI are shared worldwide, i.e., mismatch between acclaimed policy and practice, and inequality among different social groups (Kuteeva & Kaufhold, 2024; Montgomery, 2016), the socio-cultural contexts that host EMI may vary; therefore, the examination of EMI in a multilingual Chinese context becomes essential. The aims of this study are first, to understand the language practices *in situ* in Sino-foreign institutions. Second, it attempts to understand the social, historical, cultural, and political factors that may or may not impact such practices.

2.7 Summary

Chapter 2 has presented a comprehensive examination of Sino-foreign education as a unique form of transnational education (TNE) within China's rapidly evolving higher education landscape. The chapter detailed the development, institutional models, and incentives and motivations behind Sino-foreign collaborative institutions, drawing clear distinctions between various types of TNE and their integration into Chinese educational governance and society.

A key tension emerging from this chapter lies in language policy and practice. While we can see China as a multi-ethnic, multilingual, multi-dialectal, and multi-script nation (Ministry of Education, 2017), Putonghua is the *lingua franca* in Chinese society and the main language for instruction in education. Zooming in on the Sino-foreign education field, officially, the Regulations require that Chinese (Putonghua) and standard characters serve as the main medium of instruction, allowing foreign languages only as necessary. In practice, however, English dominates both as a language of instruction and as a symbol of institutional prestige and internationalisation. This *default* to English creates significant gaps: it often contradicts state policies, complicates legitimacy, and amplifies barriers for students from less advantaged backgrounds or linguistic minorities. While existing literature on EMI has pointed out the inequality of EMI programmes, the multilingual reality in the Chinese society and EMI practices are rarely addressed. Such inequities are not only geographic, clustered in China's more prosperous regions, but also sociolinguistic, exacerbating access divides and challenging institutional priorities around inclusion and equity.

Chapter 3 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive exploration of literature in the field of language policy and develops a theoretical framework that informs this study. It begins with the scope of researching language policy, then it reviews key concepts in the study of language policy, i.e., language practice, language ideology, and language management. It further presents a set of literature on English medium instruction (EMI) practices and ideologies within multilingual higher education contexts. After navigating the problems shown in existing literature, which are the culturalist orientations that benefit the transnational multilingual elites, this thesis proposes the End of Language Policy as a development stage of language policy. A materialistic class theory is proposed to guide this stage. After reviewing central concepts such as capital, cultural capital, capitalism, and neoliberalism and their reification in language policy related studies, a working definition of the materialist class theory perspective of language policy is provided before the summary of the section.

3.2 Language Policy: Scope of Study

In line with Johnson's (2013) choice of the term language policy, for simplicity purposes, language policy refers to the field originally known as language planning, or language policy and planning (LPP). Language planning as a research field originated after the Second World War, aiming to help developing nations and indigenous groups with language planning efforts. The term language planning is believed to have first appeared in Haugen (1993 [1959]). In his work *Planning for a Standard Language in Modern Norway*, he addressed normative linguistic planning in orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech

community; also, he added that planning “implies an attempt to guide the development of a language in a direction desired by the planners”. Several years later, at the 1964 Sociolinguistic Conference, Haugen (1966) updated his definition of language planning as “the evaluation of linguistic change”, which influenced many successors in this field, such as Cooper (1989) who placed language planning along with the examination of social change.

The scope of language policy is best understood as following four waves of development (Johnson & Ricento, 2013; Johnson & Stephens, 2018; Ricento, 2000). During the first wave, representatives of language planning researchers were the “Big Four” (Hornberger, 2015, p. 11): Joshua Fishman, Jyotirindra Das Gupta, Joan Rubin, and Björn Jernudd, who actively researched this field in their respective contexts of Israel, India, Indonesia, and Sweden. In their book *Language Planning Processes* (Rubin et al., 1977), Gupta (1977) presented the organisational dimensions of Hindi planning in India; Fellman and Fishman (1977) sketched the process of two committees (Inorganic Chemistry and Librarianship) in functioning the Hebrew terminologies appearing in UNESCO’s Terminology of Librarianship; Rubin (1977) described the language planning agency in Indonesia and its role in standardising and the problems of language teaching methodology.

The second wave (1970s–1980s) of language planning research was a conscious response to the negative effects of language planning theories and models since most of them favour the economic interests of privileged metropolitan groups, leaving marginalised minority groups in supposedly bilingual and multilingual contexts behind (Ricento, 2000). Ruiz (1984) proposed three orientations of language planning research: language-as-problem, language-as-right, and language-as-resource. The language-as-problem orientation was the primary focus in the first wave; therefore, the language-as-

right and language-as-resource orientations gain importance in increasingly bilingual or multilingual societies, such as the United States. Rather than adhering to the English monolingual norm, other languages in society can and should be recognised as rights and further leveraged as resources, which remains a central focus in contemporary research. Considering societal factors, Cooper (1989) leads us through four examples of language planning (the establishment of *Académie française*, the promotion of Hebrew in Palestine, the American feminist movement's campaign against sex bias in language, and the Ethiopian mass literacy campaign). Cooper (1989) defined language planning as: "deliberate efforts to influence behaviour of others concerning the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes" (p. 45). Such definition of language planning went beyond the previous nation-state oriented efforts and opened spaces for interpretations of "who plans what for whom and how" (Cooper, 1989) in the study of this field.

Building on the increased attention in minority and marginalised languages in the language planning efforts, the third wave from the 1990s to 2000s has a distinctive critical feature. Tollefson's (1991), in *Planning Language, planning inequality Language policy in the community* pointed out governmental and non-governmental activities in language planning and provided an alternative concept of language policy:

[language planning-policy] means the institutionalization of language as a basis for distinctions among social groups (classes). That is, language policy is one mechanism for locating language within social structure so that language determines who has access to political power and economic resources. Language policy is one mechanism by which dominant groups establish hegemony in language use (p. 16).

Tollefson's contribution is not only restricted to bringing the then prevalent critical theory into language policy research but also takes account of concepts such as power,

hegemony, dominance, and language ideology, which according to Johnson and Stephens (2018), opened the door for the proliferation of research on the role of ideology, identity, and discourse in language policy processes and has left a durable mark on LPP research methods (p. 814). To this day, critical perspectives remain a major research orientation in language policy.

The fourth wave started in the 2000s and has undergone increasing theoretical and methodological development. Johnson and Stephens (2018, p. 815) regard it as an empirical turn in the field. Representatives of this wave are *An Introduction to Language policy Theory and Method* (Ricento, 2006), *Research Methods in Language policy and Planning* (Hult & Johnson, 2015) and some handbooks: *the Oxford Handbook of Language policy and Planning* (Tollefson & Miguel Pérez-Milans, 2018) and the *Cambridge Handbook of Language policy* (Spolsky, 2012). One of the noticeable turns at this stage is ethnographic research, focusing on “the power of LPP activities to both exacerbate and transform inequalities with an ethnographic focus on individual agency and the complexities of local processes of policy interpretation and implementation” (Hornberger et al., 2018, p. 14).

The ethnographic perspective of LPP research has its earlier research tradition in language practices in education domains. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) adopted an onion metaphor and explained the layers, such as language planning agents, levels and processes that permeate and interact with each other in a variety of ways and to varying degrees (p. 402). Compared with previous LPP research, the onion model suggests many expressions of language policy: implicit or explicit, macro or micro, overt or covert, intended or unintended (p. 420). In their study that focuses on English language teaching (ELT) professionals, the researchers place classroom practitioners at the heart of language policy or, as the metaphor goes, “at the centre of the onion”. Another study (Hornberger

& Johnson, 2007) that used the onion metaphor points out the role of ethnography in examining various agencies in two educational contexts, Bolivia and Pennsylvania. Besides teachers, administrators, for example, also make choices in the language planning processes (p. 527).

In this now retrospectively categorised empirical turn, language policy and its related components have gained considerable scholarly interest in multilingual contexts. While language policies have been examined in ways that are “implicit or explicit, macro or micro, overt or covert, intended or unintended” (Ricento and Hornberger, 1996, p. 420) across various contexts, this growing body of work has also prompted renewed discussion concerning the definition and scope of its examination.

3.3 What we have Learned from the Empirical Wave?

At the forefront of the study of language policy, there is often the question of what *policy* refers to. Gazzola (2023), for example, points out that:

The semantic space of the term ‘language policy’ has been stretched to such an extent to embrace virtually anything people decide to do with languages. Therefore, it has become so vague as to decrease in usefulness, because it does not facilitate a clear differentiation between ‘policy’ proper and ‘practices’, and between the roles and decisions of different actors in the policy process (p. 46).

Although the meaning of policy may have caused much confusion to readers, this field, in fact, has always treated language policy in the broadest way possible. Ricento (2006), in the preface of the editorial work: *An introduction to language policy Theory and method*, points out that the collective effort is about “language and its role in social life” (p. x).

Spolsky’s (2004) tripartite language policy model has synthesised key elements and contributed to corresponding discussions in the empirical wave. Illustrated in Figure 3.1, there are three core components of Spolsky’s language policy: language practices,

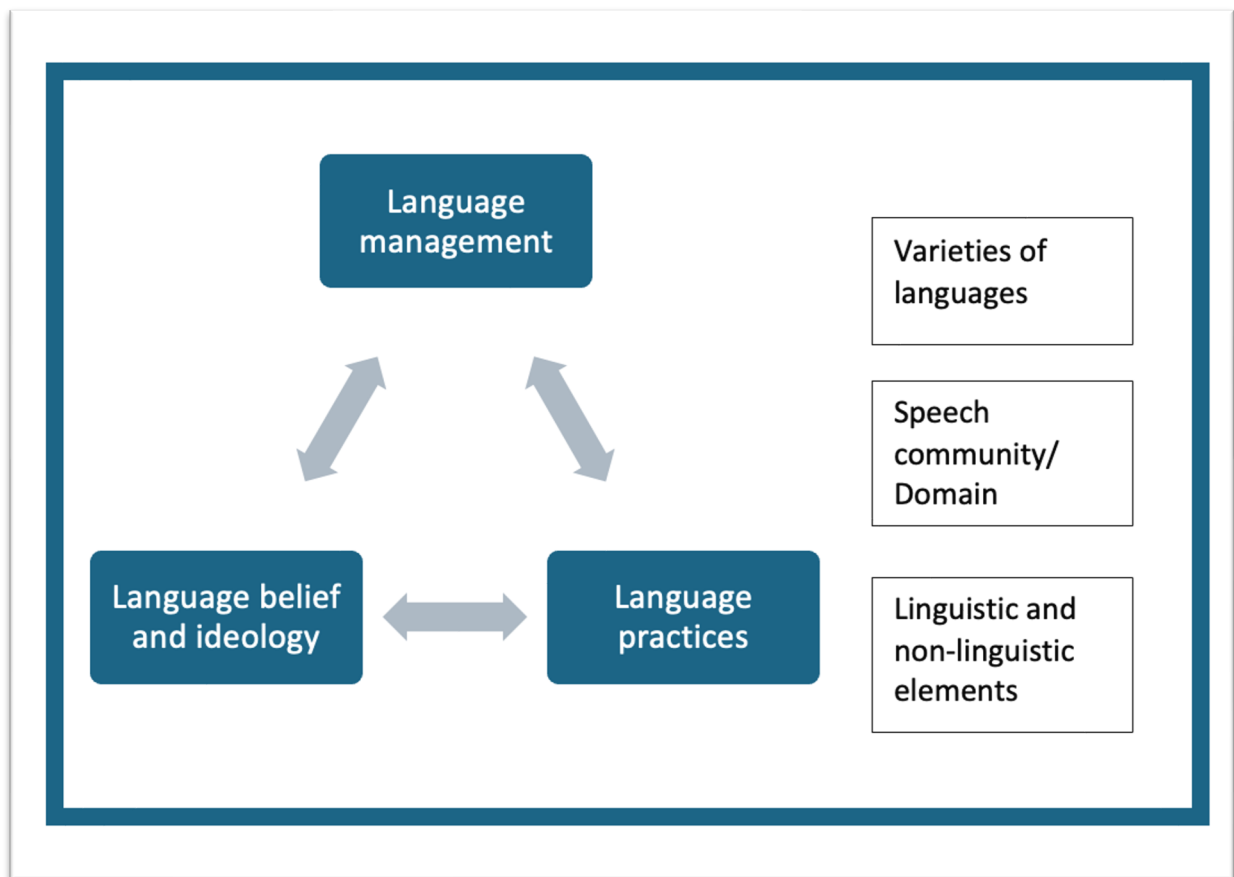
language beliefs and ideology, and language management or planning activities that attempt to modify the practices and ideologies of a community (Spolsky, 2004, p. 39).

Other than the three components, there are three elements in the model. First, Spolsky (2004) suggested that the model is not limited to named language varieties:

[Language policy] is concerned not just with named varieties of language, but with all the individual elements at all levels that make up language. Language policy can apply to pronunciation, spelling, lexical choice, grammar or style, and to bad language, racist language, obscene language or correct language. [...] Questions of how to handle variation and how to categorize varieties of language are at the very centre of the study of language policy (p. 40).

Second, language policy is built upon specific domains and variants, meaning that, “language policy operates within a speech community, of whatever size” (Spolsky 2004, p. 40). Third, language policy functions in a complex ecological relationship among a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables and factors (p. 41).

Figure 3.1 Spolsky's Language Policy Model



In the empirical turn, Spolsky's (2004) language policy model has been proven valid. Van Oss et al. (2021) carried out a quantitative study in the early childhood care and education domain, adopting this language policy model. Their data shows the three independent components: language practice, management, beliefs and ideology are not only sufficiently distinct from one another to be considered as separate components but are indeed "interrelated" (p. 13–14). Researchers have also focused on discrete elements from the model. For example, Lagunas (2019) applied Spolsky's language policy model in Coatepec de los Costales, a small village in Guerrero, Mexico. One of the conclusions shows that different ideologies from different age groups affect their Mexicano/Spanish language practice. Lagunas (2019) identified older community members as language managers who may be the language experts and have the right to assess the practices of the young generation.

Two decades after the empirical turn in the study of language policy (around the 2000s) (Johnson & Stephens, 2018), we have seen a further reconceptualisation of the field underway. To solve the increasing vagueness and reduced efficacy of the term language policy mentioned at the beginning of this section, Gazzola (2023) argues that language policy should be understood as the linguistic component of a broader social policy. A problem-solving approach to the public policy cycle model is presented to examine language policy-making processes. A similar critique of Spolsky's (2004) language policy model, Bonacina-Pugh (2024) proposes "language policy as practice" by which "[i]t does not simply mean a language policy found at the level of what people do, it means rather a language policy found in what people *usually* do" (p. 10).

Studies in the empirical turn of language policy have made it clear that language practices are at the foundation of such examinations. It is also through the language practices from different contexts that corresponding concepts, such as beliefs, ideologies,

and management, can be subjected to critical examination. The following two subsections discusses language ideology and language management and governmentality which are key words in the study of language policy.

3.3.1 Language Ideology

In Spolsky's (2004) language policy framework, language beliefs and ideology are terms that appear together with beliefs in the plural form and ideology in the singular.

Collectively, Spolsky tended to use “beliefs” to represent “language beliefs or ideology”, either in earlier work (Spolsky, 2007) or later, Spolsky (2021) restated the language policy model and explains language beliefs as “what they think they should do” (p. 127).

It is tempting to think that ideology is the collective beliefs of a particular group.

However, the size of the group or whether certain critical figures are essential to form an ideology remains unclear in Spolsky's work. In fact, language ideology is used in a rather loose way.

In an essay titled *Language Ideology*, Blommaert (2006) summarised two types of ideologies: one is the Marxian tradition that tied ideology to the interests of particular social groups and processes of power; the other is the Durkheimian tradition that focused on collective psychology. The collective psychology perspective of language ideology can be seen from the language identity of certain groups or individuals. However, it seems the two traditions have been intertwined in the studies of language ideologies. Even though language policy researchers have made it very specific that this field is interdisciplinary and “we need to avail ourselves of a variety of perspectives from core social science disciplines: ethnography, geography, historiography, linguistics, political science, psychology, and sociology” (Ricento, 2006, p. x). However, the fact that few researchers in language policy have sufficient training in these disciplines is rarely

addressed. In the hope of enhancing criticality of EMI research, authors emphasise that it should be not only interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary (Hult & Johnson, 2015), but transdisciplinary, emphasising the collaboration of researchers with expertise in different fields such as political science, public policy, and sociology (Yuksel et al., 2025). These attempts are plausible, while they do not necessarily improve criticality, which I will elaborate in Section 3.5. Neither have they really addressed the meaning of terms from other disciplines.

Nowadays, researchers tend to use language beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies interchangeably when referring to “what they think they should do” (Spolsky, 2021, p. 127). Woolard (2020), after a seminal examination of language ideology (Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994), points out that language ideologies “forge links between language and other social phenomena, from identities (ethnic, gender, racial, national, local, age-graded, subcultural), through concepts of personhood, proper human comportment, intelligence, aesthetics, and morality, to notions such as truth, universality, authenticity” (p. 2), which leaves many intersectionalities to engage. Similarly, viewing language ideologies as a bridge between linguistic and social theories, Piller (2015) notes that “language ideologies are understood as beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language” (p. 4). Following the political scientist Danial Bell (1960, 1988) while he revisited his book *The End of Ideology On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties*, this thesis understands ideology as the crystallisation of one kind of faith system and “as a kind of secular religion” (p. 415). Correspondingly, beliefs, attitudes, and identity are understood as leaning towards the individual direction of one’s thinking before they are crystallised into ideology.

3.3.2 Language Management and Governmentality

Language management, which Spolsky (2004) described as intervention or planning, refers to any specific efforts to modify or influence language practices. Language managers may be a legislative assembly, a national legislature, a state or provincial or cantonal or other local government body, a special interest group, a law court, an institution or business, or a family member (p. 8). In his subsequent volume entitled *Language Management*, Spolsky (2009) further elaborates that “I will take the position that it is management only when we can identify the manager” (p. 6). In most cases, identifying the language management efforts is accompanied by language practices that understand “the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire” (p. 5). As mentioned above in Lagunas (2019), older community members are identified as language managers who feel having the right to assess the practices of the young generation.

The examination of language management is often accompanied by power and agency. Selecting one language/variety over another in a certain context shows the power of certain groups. In the education domain, scholars have confirmed the importance of classroom teachers, who are often referred to as language managers. Menken and García (2010) emphasise the agency of educators while translating educational policies into practice. They note that:

Regardless of the type of policies or the educational text in which a policy text comes to life in the classroom, there is typically space for policy negotiation in classroom practice, as it is ultimately educators—particularly classroom teachers—who are the final arbiters of language policy implementation (p. 1).

Johnson and Johnson (2015) expand the role of language arbiters, which they define as “who have a disproportionate amount of impact on language policy and educational programs” (p. 222). Applying Lipsky’s Street-Level Bureaucracy, De Soete and

Slembrouck (2023) note the arbitrary roles that lecturers take in the EMI classrooms. This has been observed in other educational contexts, where educators adopt arbitrary roles while implementing language policies, for example, teachers in primary schools (Van Der Wildt et al., 2015) and language coaches in secondary schools (Van Raemdonck et al., 2024).

While most studies have successfully identified the language arbiters and language related management practices, a type of collective management – governmentality in Foucauldian term (Foucault, 1991), deserves some attention. H. Yu and Johnson (2023) proposed the Viewing (观 [*guan*] from 《易经》 [I Ching]) way of governance and used the metaphor of Wind for the implementation of national policies. In their research on a *Chanting Chinese Classics Policy* in China, they described the policy from the Chinese state to schools as the wind blowing via policy texts and cultural performances. The *Chanting Chinese Classics Policy* is like a wind from the Chinese state; it does not necessarily have solid implementation guidelines. However, different stakeholders, such as teachers and parents from exemplar schools and regular schools, children who perform on national TV shows and regular children, implement this policy in their own ways while viewing others and aware that they are being viewed. The policy is thus implemented, appropriated, and consolidated through such wind and viewing. Wind and Viewing, as an alternative to Foucault’s governmentality, has received little attention in language policy research; thus, the concept Wind and Viewing links various stakeholders and their explicit and implicit beliefs and ideologies that shape the language management, especially in situations where policy exists but is vague.

3.4 EMI Practice and Ideology in Multilingual Higher Education

In a special issue on EMI in emerging contexts, Curle et al. (2024) offered a working definition of EMI, referring to “the teaching of academic content via the medium of English in contexts where other mediums of instruction have been the status quo” (p. 2). EMI has gained increasing popularity in higher education (Dearden, 2014; Macaro et al., 2018). As EMI practices have become more widespread, they have attracted greater scholarly attention. This section first introduces literature from critical perspectives in the study of EMI that often focuses on the relations between practice, ideology, and policy. It then utilises two subsections reviewing EMI policies, practices, and main ideologies found in higher education contexts in both the Global North and Global South.

3.4.1 Critical EMI, Decoloniality, Translanguaging, and Possible Problems

Critical EMI scholarship increasingly emphasises ideology and policy, identity and justice, and the sociopolitics of English (Mirhosseini & De Costa, 2025). An increasing number of studies have pointed out the colonialism and capitalism that have permeated EMI programmes. McKinley and Galloway (2022) note that “some key driving forces behind EMI implementation, including policies and language use, have been kindled by (post-)colonialism and globalization” (p.2). Similarly, Curle et al. (2024) argue that the emergence of EMI is driven by globalised higher education in regions that have distinct colonial legacies. As briefly mentioned above, a prevalent solution to such is disciplinary expansion. Besides interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary (Hult & Johnson, 2015) that incorporate different named fields in the examination of EMI and/or language policy, recently, there has been a call for a transdisciplinary approach which emphasises the collaboration of researchers with expertise in different fields such as political science, public policy, and sociology (Yuksel et al., 2025). However, one thing is omitted: the divisions of specific disciplines that we know of today, according to Wallerstein (2000),

“derive from the dominant liberal ideology of the nineteenth century, which argued that the state and market, politics and economics, were analytically separate domains” (p. 133). After all, the expansion of disciplinary inquiry on EMI may reinforce the Western modernity that critical researchers aim to challenge, insofar as it continues to privilege normative assumptions of disciplines that are rooted in the Eurocentric academic tradition.

Although plausible, decolonialism, a form of culturalism, is not perfect at solving the problem of coloniality. One of the prominent contributions to the decolonial epistemology is de Sousa Santos's (2015) epistemologies of the South that “keep a distance from the Eurocentric tradition”. He elaborates that, “...[i]t means giving special attention to the suppressed or marginalized smaller traditions within the big Western tradition” (p. 44). Together with Thiong'o's (1986) manifesto on decolonising the mind, the epistemology of the south is increasingly reflected in decolonial ambitions to language studies (Antia & Makoni, 2022; Deumert & Makoni, 2023; Heugh et al., 2021). Although such ambitions might have made their decision ontologically in that they believed the problems of hierarchical EMI practices result from colonialism, it does not change the colonial history that results in the status quo. Moreover, although scholars have critically engaged with local and indigenous epistemology while examining EMI programmes, such decolonial conversations are based on high proficiency of English. For example, Song (2024) proposes a critical epistemological perspective that directs the analytical attention to “epistemic framework and cultural imaginaries that structure and shape students’ expectations, challenges, and practices as they experience in the international EMI Master’s degree programmes” (p. 346). Similarly, Zheng and Qiu (2024) reported students’ and teachers’ use of translanguaging, trans-semiotising and trans-epistemic strategies to negotiate epistemic justice and knowledge co-construction.

Notably, these translanguaging and epistemic conversations happen within a group of students and teachers from elite universities and have high proficiency of English.

Closely informed by and contributing to decoloniality, the use translanguaging as a pedagogy (Canagarajah, 2011; Cenoz & Gorter, 2020, 2021) is gradually adopted as a tool for decolonising language studies in multilingual education settings. García and Li Wei (2014) define the term translanguaging as involving “new language practices that make visible the complexity of language exchanges among people with different histories, and release histories and understandings that had been buried within fixed language identities constrained by nation-states” (p. 21). Emphasising the different histories and understandings, translanguaging gradually makes its decolonial efforts visible. García et al. (2021) emphasis the role of translanguaging in rejecting abyssal thinking, and it is a way of understanding the vast complexity and heterogeneity of language practices, especially to understand the racialised bilinguals and colonial histories. Consequently, translanguaging as a method (Li Wei, 2018, 2022; Li Wei & García, 2022) has been used in post-colonial classrooms such as in South Africa (Antia, 2017a; McKinney & Tyler, 2024; Tyler, 2023) and settler colonial contexts (the US in Prada, 2019; New Zealand in Wang, 2024) where English is the dominant language in society and education. What is noticeable and has been discussed among the translanguaging literature is first: while translanguaging is promoted in the learning, English is still the sole language of assessment (Antia, 2017b; Vogt & Antia, 2024; Wang & East, 2024). Furthermore, even though translanguaging has been proved prevalent, it happens among students’ sided talk (Antia, 2017a; Moody et al., 2019).

The philosopher Táíwò (2022) points out that decolonisation ends when the nation-state is free from colonial armies and rules. He differentiates decolonisation₁ from decolonisation₂. The former seeks to tackle the political and economic dimensions of

colonialism, and it is a non-problematic process. Decolonisation₂ is a more ambitious, and arguably flawed next stage, emerging from frustration and rejecting all vestiges of the colonial past, including language. Táíwò's (2022) critique of decolonisation is a frustration with the culturalist emphasis on language issues, while other societal problems remain prominent. Such problems with culturalist perspectives lead EMI studies in multilingual higher education to a dead end which is exemplified below.

3.4.2 EMI and National Interests in European Multilingual Higher Education

In Europe, the Nordic countries along with the Netherlands have the largest proportions of courses that are taught in English which is not their national language (Källkvist & Hult, 2016). Some universities in Europe are described as EMEMUS (EME, for short), a term coined by Dafouz and Smit (2020) meaning English-medium Education in Multilingual University Settings. Home to 24 official languages, the European Union (EU) expresses multilingualism as integral to the cultural identities of its member states. In the EU, 'multilingualism is understood as "the ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives"' (European Union, 2022, p. 2). Higher education institutions in the EU are often regarded as spaces of multilingualism. However, a recent study at Una Europa, a university alliance of European universities, shows that despite the institution's wishful multilingualism, English remains the medium of instruction (Dafouz, 2021).

In 2024, the *Balanced Internationalisation Bill* by the Government of the Netherlands aims to 'preserve and strengthen Dutch as a language of education and research' (Government of the Netherlands, 2024) while retaining the benefits of internationalisation. The policy debate underscores the enduring tension between the globalising imperatives of higher education and the national interests under the guise of

national and educational languages. The expansion of internationalisation in education initially conferred significant advantages on European countries such as the Netherlands; however, these benefits have, at a certain stage, become less substantial. In the words of economists, the benefits of such policies are less cost-effective (Grin & Vaillancourt, 2015). While it is reasonable to consider economic benefits for nation-states, educational institutions, or individuals, the pull towards a more national-focused language policy is often interpreted in terms of national languages and cultures.

While authorities and policies defend national languages as opposed to EMI, the agenda does not necessarily target EMI *per se*, but some transnational individuals who may take EMI courses in such institutions or immigrants who do not speak their national languages. This is reflected in the fact that, in European universities, EMI does not reduce its popularity. Elite and well-resourced higher education institutions in Europe still own a good amount of EMI programmes (Wingrove, 2025). It is same as what Janssens et al. (2013) have examined in three European cases that “[w]here linguistic diversity is an issue, the role of English has a different feel, it can be either another threat to the lesser used language or a ‘neutral’ language of communication between two communities [of Dutch-speaking Flanders and French-speaking Wallonia in Belgian communities]” (p.20). After all, European higher education embraces EMI despite its own linguistic diversity; at the same time, national culture is used to defend national interests, as it helps exclude immigrants who may have to take EMI.

3.4.3 EMI and Decoloniality in Global South Multilingual Higher Education

On gaining independence from former colonisers, new nation-states such as India, South Africa, and Indonesia have had to face the choice of national languages, which are enshrined in their constitutions. De Swaan (2013) explains that the new nation-states

often face group jealousy among the often-multilingual states when choosing the official *lingua franca*, as each region wants its language to be the official medium. Furthermore, bilingual elites are often reluctant to abandon their mediation monopoly between the colonial language and the national population at large. Hence the reality is many former (British) colonies maintain English as an official language alongside their national language(s).

The multilingual language policy from South Africa, for example, has promoted multilingualism as institutional policies and practices in South African's public higher education institutions (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2020) since 2002. The use of indigenous official languages in South African universities bears aims with equality and diversity, however, the practices are not always easy. Universities such as the University of Western Cape (UWC) have articulated university-level policies to promote multilingualism. A dual-medium (Afrikaans, English) university which in fact was largely an Afrikaans-medium institution, UWC rapidly evolved to use English as its *de facto* official language, with tokenistic use of Afrikaans and isiXhosa for symbolic affirmation (Antia, 2015).

While the shift to English-only instruction created problems for students and staff who were not fluent in English, indigenous languages therefore became a solution for knowledge transmission; however, they do not always work well. One would assume indigenous languages such as isiXhosa would be preferred by students. However, reported by Lasagabaster (2024) who interviewed students about their language practices and attitudes at Stellenbosch University (SU), despite SU's multilingual language policy, English held the highest status in academic learning, followed by Afrikaans. Students disagreed with IsiXhosa as an academic language despite the university's language policy, which aims to develop isiXhosa as an indigenous formal academic language.

Similar attitudes toward indigenous languages in academic learning are also reported in an article by Antia and Van Der Merwe (2019) entitled *Speaking with a forked tongue about multilingualism in the language policy of a South African university*. Whilst the university's multilingual environment reflects the use of English, Afrikaans, and isiXhosa, English is the language through which power actually operates. The “forked tongue” in their article's title refers to the gap between official language policies that recognise multiple languages and the practical dominance of English in high-status sectors, which perpetuates inequality.

3.5 Problems with Culturalist Perspectives and Transnational Multilingual Elites

As shown above in Section 3.4, the promotion and restriction of EMI in contemporary higher education in both the Global North and South are a complex play of colonial legacy, interests of the nation-states, as well as institutional and personal pursuits. What has been clearly presented from empirical studies is that individuals are inclined to choose EMI, as do most higher education institutions. The problem is the overwhelming culturalist perspective in dealing with the lack of proficiency in English. In the Global North, the frustration with EMI learning often leads to the choice of the indigenous languages. Arguments from academic studies usually point to colonialism, and the fact that English is a colonial language does not help with knowledge transmission. Without doubt, colonial history is one of the reasons for the inequality globally. However, when encountering problems such as low English proficiency with EMI, the solution should be improving English proficiency. As we have seen with isiXhosa L1 speakers, they “have undergone their entire schooling transitioning to English as best they could” (Lasagabaster, 2024, p. 229). Thus, the university and government promote multilingualism, while the majority of the university population does not speak isiXhosa,

and the researchers reach the conclusion that English is an obstacle to the development of multilingualism.

The problems may stem from transnational multilingual elites. During transnational activities, non-elites prioritise economic revenue, while elites prioritise culture. Carnicer and Fürstenau's (2021) two types transnational mobility from Brazil to Germany help verify this argument. The social elite, after benefiting from both formal support from public institutions and the private market, reproduces their cultural capital by engaging in transnational education in Germany. Meanwhile, the non-elite individual is excluded from formal support in the Brazilian education system and barely has access to education abroad. To achieve mobility, the non-elite individual enters into the job market of care work, which needs foreign labours, even though the aim of the working class individual was to pursue higher education in Germany. As a matter of fact, just as workers in the capitalist economy know clearly that they are being exploited, they still choose, or rather do not have a choice, to work. English language learners are aware of the fact that English is capitalist and colonial, yet they learn the language to empower themselves.

The culturalist perspectives while researching EMI practice and policy, especially those from the Global South that have decolonial claims, may indirectly feed the right-wing politics that also claim they prioritise national interests. Responding to the seemingly increasing transnationalism in our globalised world (Deutschmann, 2022), linguistic and cultural diversity under the name of multilingualism and multiculturalism are often promoted. Interestingly, culture and identity, such as languages and their written forms (Fishman, 1973; Fishman et al., 1968), are used to legitimise monolingual ideologies in the formation of nation-states. In building a unified nation-state, a unified language is held to “promote cohesion, allowing the nation to develop a shared culture”

(Wright, 2004, p. 42). The Irish language, for example, played an essential role in the struggle for independence from British rule and in the establishment of the new republic (Garvin, 2006; MacNamara, 1971).

After building the nation-state, language and (cultural) knowledge of a given society are key features in most of Europe's national immigration policies (Van Avermaet, 2009). While multilingualism is a shared value and a promoted practice in the European Union (2022), it does not seem to be the reality at the national level. As observed by Wodak (2021), "[i]nstead of cosmopolitanism, post-nationalism, a European citizenship and the common European language policies which promote multilingualism, we seem to be witnessing a re/inventing of traditional, parochial, closed nation states" (p. 101). This is evident in Austrian Freedom Party (FPÖ), as Wodak (2021) argues that national identities are discursively produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed by means of language and other semiotic systems. Another example is in Ireland, where Fanning and Mutwarasibo (2007) argue that the overwhelming endorsement of the 2004 Citizenship Referendum⁷ by the Irish electorate steered towards a monocultural Irishness anchored in nation-building ideologies in the past. Although these are related to the representative party politics of respective countries, language has had a strong role in the formulation and direction of influence, which in retrospect, were towards a nationalistic monolithic identity.

Aside from disruptive far-right political actions, there is nothing wrong with people treasuring the cultures and languages that are unique to them. Same as cultures and languages from the Global South, these of the Austrians and Irish are also part of the diversified cultures and languages of our world. The problem, as elaborated in this

⁷ Irish 2004 Citizenship Referendum removed the constitutional right to citizenship by birth, restricting Irish nationality to children with at least one Irish or legally resident parent.

section, is the culturalist perspectives that are mainly translated by transnational multilingual elites. Individuals from the Global South often join the left-wing nationals endorsing their cultural heritages and other modes of modernity that are not Eurocentric. Sometimes, Global South elites transfer the non-Eurocentric theories back to their home country and reproduce the academic capital that has gained them fame in the Global North, which barely has any substantial benefits to the exploited class in their home countries.

3.6 The End of Language Policy?

It has been two decades since the empirical turn of the study of language policy. Along with many discussions on the development within this field, this study proposes the End of Language Policy as an ongoing stage of development. This term is adapted from Francis Fukuyama's (2012[1992]) seminal title *The End of History and the Last Man*, followed by the essay titled *The End of History?* (Fukuyama, 1989). It bears two scholarly aims other than seeking attention. First, it is a genuine inquiry about the scopes, components, layers, and so forth of language policy. In the first half of this chapter, I have pointed out key components for investigation, such as language practices, language management, and language ideology. The field has also witnessed two main bifurcations of development in the empirical turn. One is the tendency of practice-based study of language policy, emphasising language practice as social action (Bonacina-Pugh, 2024; Canagarajah, 2013; García & Wei, 2014); the other being the disciplinary discussion with the aim of improving criticality. Some believe language policy is the language issues of public policy (Gazzola, 2023), and some sustain that language policy is inter-, multi-, trans-disciplinary in that it benefits from the existing theories, methods, and expertise of researchers from a broader social sciences (Curle et al., 2024; Hult & Johnson, 2015;

Yuksel et al., 2025). This thesis agrees with the practice-based tendency in the study and its inspiration from other disciplines. However, as practice-based language policy studies merge with cognate fields such as translanguaging, English language teaching, or teacher education, the semantic meaning of *policy* becomes vague and is gradually losing its effects. Moreover, one of the arguments that critical language policy researchers hold is the improved criticality towards capitalism and colonialism with the expansion of disciplines. I have elaborated above in 3.4.1 that it may end up reinforcing the often-criticised Western modernity, as the disciplines we know today are a result of liberal ideology in higher education since the 19th century in Western Europe.

The second aim of the End of Language Policy is a discussion on Fukuyama's main academic prompt that liberal democracy represents the culmination of humanity's ideological evolution. In fact, most studies in the field of language policy, whether in the Global North or South, are subject to liberalism. However, if liberal democracy is the telos, under the liberalist ideology, language use and policy would become increasingly liberalised, privileging multilingual accommodation. As I have reviewed above in 3.4, this is not always the case. Moreover, the culturalist claim found in the study of language policy and multilingualism shares the same foundation with monolingualism in the building of nation-states since the 1950s. In a liberalist way of thinking, a society shall be able to host diverse cultures that are not unique to the nation-state; however, the increasing pursuit of national interests prioritise national culture. After all, while liberalism is inextricably linked to the capitalist world economy, it also encounters national barriers as a defensive mechanism (Wallerstein, 2000, p. 87). At the dead end of the culturalist defence of multilingualism, this thesis provides an alternative: Marxian materialist class theory (Chibber, 2022b) in the understanding of language practice, ideology, and theory.

3.7 Towards a Materialist Class Theory of Language Policy

In classical Marxism, capitalist society splits into two camps: the capitalist and the working classes. The capitalists are in possession of the means of production and of property; the workers work as wage-labour in exchange for subsistence (Marx & Engels, 1848). Such a class structure between the capitalist and working class is the fundamental mechanism in most modern societies. In line with Marx's prediction, the working-class movement, along with anti-colonial efforts, in the 1960s posed threats to capitalist rule; however, from the 1970s, rather than being the capitalists' gravedigger, workers have tended to acquiesce to neoliberal, racist, and xenophobic ideologies (Chibber, 2022b). The Marxist determinist class struggle theory became a weak point, as we see that instead of coming together to fight for their common interests, which is to throw out the capitalist, the working class would rather go for their personal economic interests.

This is also where the cultural arguments form their battlefield. The Frankfurt School and the British cultural Marxists were mainly developed as an alternative to Marxist economism, and they stressed the autonomy of culture and ideology of social life in the advanced capitalist societies (Dworkin, 1997). I should clarify here that the culturalist perspective that I criticise does not equal the cultural studies established in the 1960s. A culturalist view, as exemplified in Section 3.4, refers to the decisive explanatory role of social phenomena primarily through culture. This section is devoted to explaining the materialist class theory (Chibber, 2022b). It clears out key concepts such as capital, cultural capital, capitalism and neoliberalism that are frequently mentioned in language policy literature, yet often used without adequate justification from classical Marxian theory. At the end of this section, a working definition of the materialistic class theory of language policy is provided, by engaging with key concepts drawn from both the materialistic perspectives and the existing language policy literature.

3.7.1 Materialist Class Theory

In Chibber's (2022b) book on materialist class theory, from which I get most inspiration, he explained two main ways of understanding culture. One is close to ideology, discourse, and normative codes – an understanding that Chibber critically engages with in his analysis of structural class theory in the context of “cultural turn”. The other tradition is associated with Raymond Williams (cf. Chibber, 2022b), referring to an entire “way of life”, and it includes not only religion, ideology, the arts, and literature but also political and economic institutions (p. ix). While acknowledging Chibber's choice of definition of culture in the materialistic class theory, the empirical part of this thesis targets students' and teachers' general understanding rather than ideologies alone, thereby requiring a conception of culture that encompasses everyday meanings and practices.

As illustrated by Chibber (2022b), in the culturalist view, shown in Figure 3.2, culture plays a causal mediation role between the structure and economic practice. The efficacy of culture can be contingent and cannot be taken for granted. While in the materialists' view, shown in Figure 3.3, culture still has its roles, however, the influence of structure on culture is more powerful and decisive than that of culture on structure. The culturalist model 1 explains the hard-to-achieve collective culture of the working class. The materialist model 2 does not reject the role of culture in economic activity, but “its content adjusts to accommodate the economic” (Chibber, 2022b, p. 43).

Figure 3.2 Chibber (2022b) Model 1: Cultural intervention as causal mediation

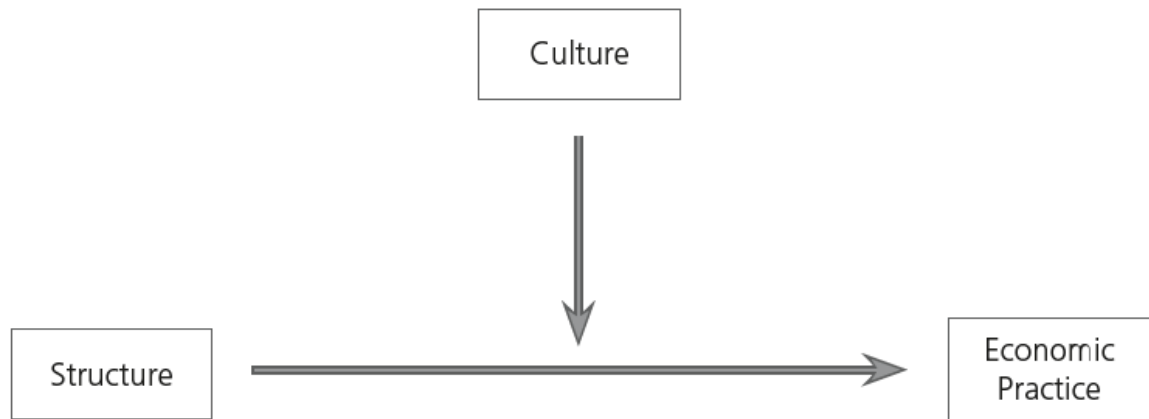
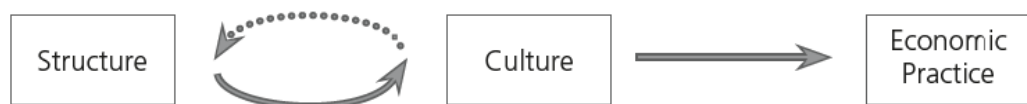


Figure 3.3 Chibber (2022b) Model 2: Cultural intervention as causal transmission



This explains the workers' seemingly contradictory compliance with the capitalist agenda. It is also helpful in explaining the criticism of EMI as a colonial legacy and a tool for engaging with the neoliberal economy; however, EMI has also been pursued by individual students and educational institutions.

3.7.2 Capital, Cultural Capital, Capitalism and Neoliberalism

In *Capital A Critique of Political Economy*, Karl Marx (1887) formulated the circulation of commodity to money as M–C–M. In the M–C–M circulation, money is used in exchange for commodities and commodities are then sold again for money. Capital is understood as a collective product, which means in the M–C–M circulation, the returned

money has to be more than the original to form capital, so as to continue the C–M–C process.

The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) presented different forms of capital: economic, social and cultural in explaining socio-cultural connections:

Depending on the field in which it functions....capital can present itself in three fundamental guises: as economic capital, which is immediately and directly convertible into money and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights; as cultural capital, which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications; and social capital, made up of social obligations ('connections'), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (p. 16).

This Bordieuan view has presupposed the completion of M–C–M, meaning one has formed economic capital before participating in social-cultural capital. However, the importance of the accumulation of money to capital has been too self-evident to get reasonable attention. The result of such ignorance of the Marxist view of capital leads to the criticism of neoliberalism in the existence and the study of EMI and language policy.

Neoliberalism represents one form of capitalist economic policy. Neoliberalism largely grew in the twentieth century against the then conscious social action, such as Keynesianism in economic affairs. It is rooted in commodity production, as well as cognate doctrines of natural law and social automatism (Sweezy, 1942, p. 37). From the 1970s onwards, neoliberalism has been consolidated in the political and economic policies implemented by governments led by Thatcher in the UK and Reagan in the US. Consequently, in the societal fields such as in language policy, as Piller and Cho (2013) diagnosed that “neoliberalism with its imperative to compete is a covert form of language policy” and English gradually becomes a neutral medium of academic excellence (p. 24).

The neoliberal ideology explains the fetish towards the accumulation of capital, at the same time, it has been widely acknowledged that English is useful in the accumulation of capital, i.e. English being a cultural capital that may be convertible to economic capital. It explains the enthusiasm of individuals' pursuit of English and EMI globally. However, the fierce competition and unequal development embedded in neoliberalism require change. Here comes the dilemma that is found from literature: while researchers actively promote multilingualism as an alternative to English or EMI, multilingual speakers whose L1 is not English are actively using English and EMI to empower themselves. In reality, it is only the transnational multilingual elites who benefit from such an alternative.

3.7.3 Difficulty of Collective Resistance and the Role of Culture

In classical Marxist theory, a primary coping mechanism for class struggle is forging solidarity through group resistance (Chibber, 2022a). However, Marx did not clarify the methods to form solidarity among the working class. As summarised by Chibber (2022b), there are three difficulties in forging collective resistance. First, in the antagonism of capitalists and workers, the former has more leverage over the latter, making the workers vulnerable to resistance. While it naturally leads to collective action, the precariousness of workers may cause them to yield. As put by Chibber (2022b, p. 64), “having a badly paying or dangerous job is preferable to not having a job at all”. The second difficulty arises from interest heterogeneity: labour power, unlike capital, comprises too many elements, and achieving collective consensus among workers is hard. Moreover, among workers, bargaining strategy may benefit specific individuals rather than the collective. For example, some individuals may possess scarce skills or social connections that enable them to succeed in bargaining with capitalists (Chibber, 2022b, p. 65). The third difficulty

of collective resistance is free riding, a phenomenon in which, while collective efforts benefit all, individuals' contributions are less emphasised. Some workers may find the cost of collective efforts too high to participate. The role of culture is therefore to attract workers to participate in the collective strategy.

The English language, as a culture and a form of cultural capital, has successfully implanted in the capitalist structure. The English language has gained its power since the 16th century with the rise of the British Empire, followed by the US hegemony (O'Regan, 2021; Phillipson, 1992). In O'Regan's (2021) reasoning, he proposed $M^E-C^E-M^E$, where English is present at every point in the capital circuit. Moreover, English grows over time with an increased number of speakers, new lexical items, network effects, and symbolic capital (p. 14–15). The choice of English as a capitalist language is rooted in colonial and imperial history. Therefore, cutting the ties with English under the name of colonialism does not help with the accumulation of capital, which is what individuals work for. It might be fair to say that there is no alternative to the English language in the capitalist economy, nor a culture, at the moment, that has the collective power to challenge it.

Works on linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), world English(es) or global English(es) (Kachru, 1992; Pennycook, 2007; Rose & Galloway, 2019) have emphasised the colonial history that resulted in the overwhelming role of English in both the academy and the global sphere (Heller & McElhinny, 2017; Heller & Duchêne, 2012). The decolonial culture along with the criticism of neoliberalism or elitism in EMI (De Costa et al., 2022; G. Hu & Lei, 2014b; Kuteeva & Kaufhold, 2024; Piller & Cho, 2013) are plausible attempt to forge cultures that can be only shared with transnational multilingual elites, mostly in the academic circle, however not helpful in empowering the majority. The reason is that such culture intervention is a causal intervention, rather than causal transmission (see Figures 3.2 and 3.3 above).

3.7.4 A Working Definition of a Materialistic Class Theory of Language Policy

There are several frameworks that have suggested the complex roles of economic, political, and cultural elements in the study of language policy. For example, Robertson and Dale (2015) proposes a critical, cultural political economy of education (CCPEE) approach in studying the globalising projects and processes in education. Their central argument points out that “it is not sufficient to simply bring the cultural, political and economic together; rather we need to make ontological and epistemological decisions about how we understand these concepts” (p. 15). Similarly, Barakos and Unger's (2016) discursive perspective of examining language practices focuses on “close textual, contextual, and socio-historical analysis of language policies and associated practices from a critical perspective” (p. 3).

Moving forward, reminded by Marxist class struggle that real power is in the economy (Chibber, 2022a, p. 75), this thesis suggests a materialist class theory that insists on the primacy of structure over culture, seeking to unpack the “the various layers of structures and generative mechanisms” (Robertson & Dale, 2015, p. 15) of our social worlds. Therefore, a working definition of a materialistic class theory of language policy is the analysis of language practice, management, ideology and related components in relation to the structural and cultural conditions that shape language policy processes and outcomes.

3.8 Summary

Chapter 3 reviews key literature on language policy and sets out the thesis's theoretical framework. It traces the main development of language policy and reviews key concepts such as language practices, beliefs, ideology, management and governmentality, and so forth. The chapter then examines English-medium instruction (EMI) in multilingual

higher education in European and Global South contexts. It critiques culturalist approaches and the celebration of transnational multilingual elites for overlooking material inequalities. From this critique, it introduces the idea of the End of Language Policy as a stage for new development, such as a materialist class theory of language policy that is proposed. Grounded in Marxian ideas of class struggle and capital, this chapter summarises a working definition of a materialist class theory of the analysis of language policy.

Chapter 4 Research Methods

4.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodological approach of this study, which investigates language practices, beliefs, and management in three Sino-foreign universities. It introduces the research questions, explains the use of a predominantly qualitative mixed methods design, and presents the rationale for selecting research sites and participants. The chapter describes the data collection instruments: archival documents, classroom observations, interviews, and questionnaires, along with the research ethical procedures followed. Finally, it outlines the analytical methods applied, providing a transparent foundation for the results and analysis in the following chapters.

4.2 Research Questions

The empirical focus of this thesis is on three Sino-foreign institutions, with particular attention to the language practices, beliefs, and management strategies of students and teachers. English practices, along with other multilingual practices, are a central focus given the diverse linguistic context of these institutions. The study is guided by the theoretical perspectives set out in Chapter 3 and seeks to answer the following four questions:

- RQ1: What language practices, language beliefs, and language management are in evidence in Sino-foreign education?
- RQ2: In what ways does capital produce and reproduce language practices, beliefs, and management at Sino-foreign institutions?

- RQ3: What cultural or identity factors influence, and are influenced by language practices and management in Sino-foreign institutions?
- RQ4: Do Sino-foreign institutions differ in their language practices, beliefs, and management strategies? Why and how?

The first research question: *What language practices, language management, and language beliefs are in evidence in Sino-foreign education?* is guided by empirical examinations in language policy and aims to gain a broad understanding of the language practices, management, and beliefs at Sino-foreign institutions. It focuses on how languages are practised and managed by students and teachers, and the beliefs that underpin these practices. Chapter 2 has pointed out that the language policy for Sino-foreign institutions is that: “A Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run school may, if necessary, use foreign languages in teaching, but shall use the standard Chinese language and standard Chinese characters as the basic teaching language” (Article 31, Ministry of Education, 2003). However, at the institutional level, the effort of internationalisation has closely associated the English language and English medium of instruction (EMI) with the Sino-foreign field. Meanwhile, as reviewed in Chapter 2, China is a multilingual society with Putonghua as the promoted language for education and the society. As one of the most popular foreign languages in Chinese society, English proficiency has not met the requirements for EMI education (G. Hu & Lei, 2014; Yuan et al., 2024). Are the Sino-foreign education fields prepared for acclaimed EMI after all? Do other languages in the Chinese society have a space in the supposedly multilingual learning atmosphere? By identifying the existing practices, management strategies, and beliefs, this question provides a descriptive foundation for the study, enabling subsequent analysis.

The second research question: *"In what ways does capital produce and reproduce language practices, beliefs, and management at Sino-foreign institutions?"* is built upon the materialist class theory that this study sets out. Acknowledging the power of structure over culture, this research question examines how capital produces and reproduces the language practices, beliefs, and management behaviours in three Sino-foreign universities of different prestige. As elaborated in Chapter 2, language policy, especially the English in education policies, has been commodified, often under the name of internationalisation (X. Xu et al., 2021; Zheng, 2014), and the highly internationalised Sino-foreign education field has been hugely impacted by the capitalist economy and neoliberal ideologies (De Costa et al., 2022). Are all levels of Sino-foreign institutions composed of bilingual elites, and do they reproduce their status through Sino-foreign education, and if so, how? How capital engages with the Sino-foreign field, particularly through the lenses of language practices, beliefs, and management, remains an important aim of this study.

The third research question is: *What cultural and identity factors influence, and are influenced by, language practices, beliefs, and management in Sino-foreign education?* This question is guided by the theoretical discussions on cultures, identities, and ideologies in multilingual and multicultural contexts. More specifically, how are language practices, beliefs, and management associated with identities, beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies in a hybrid Sino-foreign educational context? Or do identities, beliefs, attitudes, and ideologies matter after all in students' and teachers' practices of languages in a Sino-foreign educational context? In chapter 2, I have elaborated that Sino-foreign education is a site that is often being targeted and manipulated with ideological contestation. Moreover, as a site of inherent multilingualism, will there be a multilingual identity that benefits the teaching and learning process, or, as shown in Chapter 3, will national identity and national interests take precedence?

The fourth research question: *Do Sino-foreign institutions differ in their language practices and management strategies? Why and how?* attempts to understand the possible differences in language practices and management among Sino-foreign institutions of varying prestige. As shown in Chapter 2, different Sino-foreign institutions have varying admission requirements for students. Therefore, students at Sino-foreign institutions of varying prestige may exhibit different levels of English language proficiency. Additionally, as mentioned in Chapter 3, disciplinary differences matter for the EMI practices and attitudes. Will Sino-foreign institutions of higher prestige, namely joint degree institutions, have stricter policies on EMI? Will Sino-foreign institutions specialising in different disciplines present different strategies and attitudes towards language practices? Therefore, this question aims to compare language practices and management across three Sino-foreign institutions that specialise in different disciplines to identify their salient similarities and differences.

4.3 Mixed Methods Research Design

Mixed methods research (hereafter MM) has emerged as an alternative to the dichotomy of qualitative (QUAL) and quantitative (QUAN) traditions (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 11). MM is defined as “a type of research design in which QUAL and QUAN approaches are used in types of questions, research methods, data collection and analysis procedures, and/or inferences” (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 14).

There are two main types of MM design: one is mixed methods with monostrand design, and the other is mixed methods with multistrand design. Monostrand MM design allows for data transformation where one data form is converted into another and then analysed accordingly (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 134). Multistrand MM design is more intricate and may include the following combination:

- Parallel mixed designs: mixing occurs in a parallel manner, either simultaneously or with some time lapse; planned and implemented QUAL and QUAN phases answer related aspects of the same questions.
- Sequential mixed designs: mixing occurs across chronological phases (QUAL, QUAN) of the study, questions or procedures of one strand emerge from or depend on the previous strand, and research questions are related to one another and may evolve as the study unfolds.
- Conversion mixed designs: mixing occurs when one type of data is transformed and analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively; this design answers related aspects of the same questions.
- Multilevel mixed designs: mixing occurs across multiple levels of analysis, as QUAN and QUAL data from these different levels are analyzed and integrated to answer aspects of the same question or related questions.
- Fully integrated mixed designs: mixing occurs in an interactive manner at all stages of the study. At each stage, one approach affects the formulation of the other, and multiple types of implementation processes occur. (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 136)

Sequential mixed designs were preferred at the designing stage of the PhD study, in that results from one strand could guide and inform the following strand. For example, results from the observational data might provide a specific view of the language practices among certain classes, with the data on classroom language practices, the questionnaire results might inform a broader results on the language practices in institutions other than the classroom domain; moreover, during the follow-up interviews, corresponding beliefs towards students' and teachers' language practices and choices would be fully investigated. While initially guided by a sequential mixed design, this study ultimately aligned with what Hesse-Biber (2022, p. 631) refers to as qualitative-oriented/driven mixed methods that include a quantitative component.

4.3.1 A Qualitative-driven Mixed Methods Research Design

Informed by Staller and Chen's (2022) Ferris wheel model of research design, the dynamic and cyclical image of a Ferris wheel allows researchers to start their research process from seven starting approaches: the research question approach, the philosophical thread approach, the methodological comparison approach, the methodological exploration approach, the methods approach, the potpourri approach, and the mixed- (or multi-) methods approach. It challenges the often-orthodox research question and design or philosophical epistemological stance, which may only be accessible to a small and privileged group. The various starting points and the cycle of the research design, in fact, guided the design and reflection process while I wrote this chapter.

At the beginning of this PhD project, I identified different methods, such as classroom observation and interviews, to understand students' and teachers' language practices, management, and beliefs in practice. Besides collecting quantitative data from classroom observations, I also expected to use data from a large sample of students, along with observations and interviews. The mixed methods design I had in mind was sequential: observations first, then a questionnaire, followed by interviews, which would capture language practices and management in the classroom and on campus, and corresponding beliefs from a wide range of individuals across different Sino-foreign institutions. However, as I started designing my data collection instruments, I realised that limited access to the field would probably constrain my plans to conduct a large-scale questionnaire. Therefore, I concluded that the study would be best designed as a qualitative-driven project with mixed-methods components. The quantitative components from the questionnaire data, no matter the sample size, could provide a richer understanding of the findings from the qualitative component (Hesse-Biber, 2022). At the same time, I gradually familiarised myself with the connections between methods,

methodologies, and epistemologies (Crotty, 1998). With the identification of dialectical pragmatism as epistemology, my research design was enriched by a holistic cycle of dialectical pragmatist epistemology, along with a qualitatively driven mixed-methods research design.

4.3.2 Dialectical Pragmatism as a Research Paradigm

Pragmatism is believed to be compatible with mixed methods research. A philosophical tradition rooted in the works of Charles Sanders Pierce, William James, and John Dewey (Dewey, 1998; James, 1970; Peirce, 1965), pragmatism offers a paradigm for researchers to think about the traditional dualism that has been debated by the purists (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Philosophical discussions on pragmatism are rooted in its relations with rationalism, in the pursuit of truth. Durkheim (1983) elaborates William James' understanding of pragmatism which can be described in the following ways. Pragmatism is a method which directs our attention towards “results, consequences, facts”; therefore, pragmatism is a theory of truth and a theory of the universe.

As in research methodology, Creswell (2014) describes pragmatism as a worldview that emphasises actions, situations, and consequences rather than antecedent conditions, focusing on applications and “what works” in practice. Instead of privileging one methodological tradition, pragmatism places the research problem at the centre and draws on “all approaches available” to understand it. Pragmatists are not committed to a single system of philosophy or reality, and they emphasise freedom of choice in methods, techniques, and procedures to best address the research problem (Creswell & Poth, 2018).

Meanwhile, Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) propose to think “dialectically” while using pragmatist-guided MM research. By thinking pragmatism dialectically, it involves consideration of opposing viewpoints and interaction with the “tensions” caused by their

juxtaposition (p. 287). For example, in a MM study of language policy, there can be quantified data, such as percentages of English language practised. Such quantified data can be viewed and presented as factual elements without interpretation, which leans more to the positivist end of the continuum of the research paradigm. Meanwhile, qualitative data such as that from policy documents, observational notes, and interview transcriptions requires interpretation and meaning-making, which leans towards the interpretivist and constructionist direction.

4.3.3 Choice of Methods in the Qualitative-driven Mixed Methods Research Approach

Different from methodology, which is general preferences for designs, sampling logic, data collection and analysis strategies, research methods include specific strategies and procedures for implementing research design, including sampling, data collection, data analysis, and interpretations of the findings (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 27). Guided by a MM methodology, I chose semi-structured interviews, classroom observations, and institutional archival documents to provide multiple perspectives on the central research problem. A supplementary questionnaire, as a quantitative method, was chosen to provide perspectives from a broader population on the same research questions.

4.4 Research Sites and Participants

This section provides a detailed description of the research sites and the participants involved in the study. It includes information on the locations where the research was conducted, the characteristics of the three selected sites, and the criteria used for selecting the sites.

4.4.1 Research Sites: Three Sino-foreign Institutions

This study was conducted at three Sino-foreign universities located in Wu-speaking regions of China, specifically, Shanghai municipality and Suzhou, Jiangsu Province. Both Shanghai and Suzhou dialects are distinctive representatives of the Wu language family (Borong Huang & Liao, 2017). These sites were chosen purposively to capture both institutional diversity and regional comparability. To maintain anonymity, they are referred to as University A, University B, and University C.

University A is an independent liberal arts institution offering joint degree programmes; University B is a dependent institution attached to a public Chinese university, with both single- and double-degree options and offering business-related majors; and University C is a dependent institution specialising in the arts with only a single-degree option. University C students must study abroad to complete a bachelor's degree. University A and University B deliver courses at the bachelor's level and above; University C provides education at the vocational educational level.

Table 4.1 Overview of the three Sino-foreign Institutions selected for the study

Pseudonyms of three Sino-foreign Institutions	University A	University B	University C
Collaboration and Degree Type	Independent; Joint Degree	Dependent on a Chinese Public University; Both Double and Single Degrees	Dependent on a Chinese Public University; Vocational Level; Study abroad compulsory
Specialisation	Liberal Arts	Business	Arts, Film Production
Admission Requirements	Gaokao and University-level exam	Double degree: Gaokao; Single degree: Gaokao (optional); University-level exam	University-level exam
Annual Tuition Fee for Chinese nationals	c. 200, 000 RMB ⁸	c. 30,000 RMB for Double Degree; c. 50,000 RMB for Single Degree	c. 80, 000 RMB
Age of institution (Undergraduate programme)	c. 5 years	c. 20 years	c. 10 years

⁸ As of 2025, the exchange rate between the US dollar and the Chinese RMB (renminbi) is approximately 1 USD to 7.3 CNY.

Shown in Table 4.1, three universities show different admission requirements, with University A requires both *Gaokao* and university-level exam; University B double degree requires *Gaokao* only and single degree mainly with university-level exam; University C only requires university-level exam. The tuition fee of three universities varies. University A charges the highest tuition fee, and University B charges the lowest. From the three chosen Sino-foreign institutions, University B has the longest experience and it has established for more than 20 years. University A is the youngest among the three with around five years of experience, and university C around ten years. The inclusion of these three institutions provides a lens on how Sino-foreign education operates across varying levels of prestige, autonomy, and disciplinary orientation.

4.4.2 Sampling Strategy

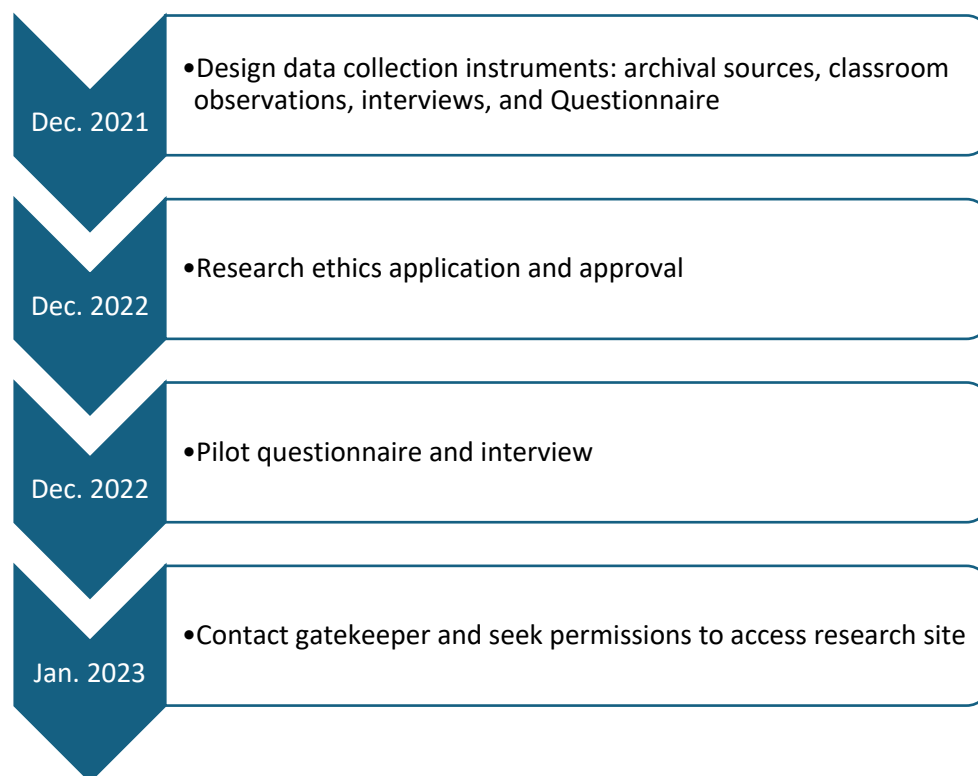
The study employed a purposive sampling strategy (Dörnyei, 2007), selecting institutions and participants most relevant to the research questions. The decision to focus on Wu-speaking regions was deliberate, given the distinct sociolinguistic environment and the high concentration of Sino-foreign universities in this area. Within these institutions, participants were selected based on their direct involvement in teaching, studying, or managing language practices in Sino-foreign programmes.

At the same time, elements of convenience sampling were unavoidable: access depended on existing contacts and the willingness of gatekeepers to facilitate introductions. This combination of purposive and convenience sampling ensured that data were collected from “information-rich” cases while remaining sensitive to the practical realities of site access and participant availability (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 129). This strategy generated a diverse yet focused dataset that could illuminate how language beliefs, practices, and management unfold across different Sino-foreign educational contexts.

4.5 Data Collection Instruments

Shown in Figure 4.1, data collection instruments were designed from December 2021 prior to the research ethics application. Upon the approval of the research ethics in December 2022, I piloted the questionnaire and interview schedule and contacted the gatekeepers to prepare for data collection. This section outlines the design of four data collection instruments essential to this study: archival sources, classroom observations, interviews, and questionnaires, followed by detailed preparations prior to the data collection.

Figure 4.1 Research Design of Data Collection Instruments



4.5.1 Archival Sources

This section outlines rationale and design of archival sources.

4.5.1.1 Rationale of Archival Sources

To understand the formal, official context of language policies, archival documents provide crucial insights into what the policies are (or are not) about. This involved collecting and analysing a range of institutional documents from Universities A, B and C. As Ventresca and Mohr (2001) note, archival research methods “include a broad range of activities applied to facilitate the investigation of documents and textual materials produced by and about organisations” (p.2). There are two main types of archival research: one is histographic that has its attention to “the rich details of organization life” (p.5) and particular individuals’ lives and careers, and their mindsets and ideologies, as long as their conflicts, contests, and power relationships (p. 6). The other strand of archival research is ecological research, where “small amounts of information gleaned from the life histories of large numbers of organizations [are] marshalled to tell a story about the dynamic of organizational environments and organizational population” (p.6). It can be understood that a histographic perspective tends to take a top-down approach that focuses on the institutional levels, whilst the ecological perspectives take on a bottom-up approach, examining for instance how individuals’ stories shape the institutional disposition.

In the field of language policy, if we understand policy in the most rigid way as a written document, archival documents seem essential to understand the *de jure* language policy in an institution. However, with the expanding scope of language policy, especially in the empirical turn, language practices can sometimes be *de facto*, meaning that what is done on the ground can also form a policy. This ambiguity has been pointed out in Chapter 3 while introducing the language policy framework (see also in Hult & Johnson, 2015; Johnson, 2013). These two understandings of what comprises a language policy motivated the investigation of archival documents from Sino-foreign institutions.

4.5.1.2 Design of Collecting Archival Documents

Archival documents were consulted from the three institutions, in line with the three-level (national, institutional, and classroom) conceptualisation of Japan's EMI policy implementation (Aizawa & Rose, 2019; Rose & McKinley, 2018). By adopting the macro-meso-micro analysis of the Top Global University Project (TGUP) in Japan, Qiu et al. (2023) report the conflicts of policy making at different levels while comparing government and institutional documents of TGUP and interviewing stakeholders at four focal universities. The macro-level policy for language practices and management in Sino-foreign context is limited to the Regulations Website, as discussed in Chapter 2. For this study, archival documents were mainly from the institutions, i.e., at the meso-level. To collect meso-level documents, I consulted public-facing materials such as university websites and official WeChat⁹ accounts. I intentionally look for descriptions of language practices and the medium of instruction from different sections of websites or WeChat accounts, such as prospectuses, student recruitment handbooks, and marketing brochures. Other than that, I focused on the institutional descriptions of individuals at their universities such as teachers' and students' testimonies about their graduates.

4.5.2 Classroom Observations

This section presents rationale and design of classroom observations.

4.5.2.1 Rationale of Classroom Observations

The term classroom observation is a broad umbrella for empirical investigations that use the classroom as the main research site (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 176). Whilst the "classroom",

⁹ WeChat is one of the largest Chinese social media platforms.

has been understood usually to be a physical space where students and teachers carry out the event of learning and teaching, Angrosino and Rosenberg (2011) note the changing research context in classroom observation, and point out that “living online is a 21st century commonplace” (p. 473), which turned out to be the extreme case during the COVID-19 pandemic and for some of the observations included in this study.

There are both quantitative and qualitative ways to do classroom observation. It can include tallying the frequency of the teachers’ switching of languages, or students’ language practices. Alternatively, it can record “critical events”, where researchers look for specific instances of classroom behaviour deemed to be illustrative of some salient aspect of the teacher’s style or strategies (Wragg, 2011, p. 64). The specific behaviours under scrutiny in this study were teachers’ and students’ language practices, and especially how they moved from one language to another.

4.5.2.2 Design of Classroom Observations

Classroom observations gradually have gained popularity in EMI literature, where English is used as the medium of instruction while students are multilingual speakers. For example, through classroom observations, Fang et al. (2023) report the prevalent practice of translanguaging strategies in EMI classrooms with Chinese students. Guided by “focused observation” (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011) that could discern the relevant from the irrelevant and the “critical events” method (Wragg, 2011), I designed a three-page observation protocol, see Figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2 Design of Observational Protocol

School code:
 Date:
 Time:
 Number of attendees:
 Summary of this time period of observation:

	Teacher					Chinese student			Non-Chinese student		
	Course-related					Course-related			Course-related		
	Gives command	Teaches course content	Asks questions	Answers questions	Talks non-course related content	Asks questions	Answers questions	Talks non-course content	Asks questions	Answers questions	Talks non-course related content
In English											
In Chinese											
In Shanghainese											
In other languages											

Short Notes:

 Researcher's note:

The first page recorded basic data for each session, including the date, time, the number of students attending, including the number of Chinese and non-Chinese students and a brief summary of the observation. The second page of the protocol was a table that tallied their language usage frequencies in specific scenarios. In cases where the medium of instruction was English, I tallied the scenarios in which students and teachers spoke Chinese; conversely, if the medium of instruction was Chinese, I tallied instances when they spoke English. The third page of the protocol recorded short notes while I wrote during the observation. After each observation, I wrote the researcher's note which recorded my reflections based on the short notes I made during the observation.

4.5.3 Interviews

This section presents the rationale and design of interview studies.

4.5.3.1 Rationale of Interviews

Interviews are the one of the most frequently used methods in qualitative inquiries and they are regularly employed in a variety of applied linguistic contexts for diverse purposes (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 134). A typical qualitative interview is a “one-to-one ‘professional conversation’ that has a structure and a purpose ‘to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena’” (p. 134).

There are different types of interviews, including one-off events lasting about 30–60 minutes, which is the main interview form used in this study. Interviews can be structured, unstructured, or semi-structured. Most interviews conducted in applied linguistics research are semi-structured, a format which allows researchers to have a good enough overview of the phenomenon or domain in question (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 135–136).

The main advantage of an interview is to have a deeper understanding of participants regarding target topics. Also, it is a flexible approach that provides for emerging issues and helps to maintain a systematic coverage of the domain (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 143). Besides covering the main themes of the studies, semi-structured interviews allow participants to speak freely and at some length, and provide the space to bring up additional topics/themes. One commonly known weakness of interviews is that they are time-consuming to set up and conduct, plus, this format may affect participants

in that they will try to display themselves in a better light than they really are (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 143–144).

4.5.3.2 Design of Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with students and teachers. As one of the most popular methods for collecting data on attitudes and beliefs in the classrooms, semi-structured interviews have commonly been used to understand attitudes and beliefs in EMI classrooms (Fang et al., 2023; Han, 2022; Li & Ruan, 2015; Zheng & Qiu, 2024). The interview prompts focused on language practices, management, and beliefs guided by the language policy framework (Spolsky, 2004). In addition, the interview design followed rationales in language attitudes in bilingual and multilingual contexts (Baker, 1992; Ting, 2003) and practices of English medium instruction literature (Fang & Liu, 2020; Lasagabaster, 2024). The first question asked generally on the languages they used for teaching in their content classes. The second question focused on the language management policies or behaviours received by teachers. Questions three and four discussed specific language uses of English, Chinese, and other languages in different settings in their classes. Question five asked about the Suzhou/Shanghai language practices and beliefs from the teachers' perspectives.

- Which language(s) do you use in teaching your content classes?
- Have you received instructions from your supervisor(s) about your instructional languages? Or is there any policy that prescribes your language use in teaching?
- Do you require all your students to speak English in classes? Do you accept it when they use Chinese to present their ideas? Ask questions? Or use Chinese to discuss among their discussion groups?
- Do you need to clarify the contents in your classes because your students do not understand the instructional language? In which language (s) if you

clarify? Would you sometimes switch to another language (Chinese/English/others) to help them understand?

- Is there any chance that you use Suzhou/Shanghai dialect or other languages in your classes? How do you think if your students use Suzhou/Shanghai dialect in your classes? If they would like to learn some Suzhou/Shanghai dialect, would you recommend them to learn?

Interview questions for students included five questions as well. The first question asked about the languages spoken in their content classes to get a general overview of the language practices, followed by question two that asked students' perceptions towards such practices. The third question focused on language management policies from their institutions. The fourth question further asked students about their preferred language practices, with question five learning if specific dialects, such as the Shanghai dialect, were practised and their beliefs towards them.

- What language do you mainly speak in your content classes? Do you think using this language in the classroom helps your learning process?
- Do you think your language skills fit your content classrooms? Do you need extra clarification when the teacher lectures?
- Have you heard about language management policies from school? For example, should you use English/Chinese in classrooms?
- If you could choose, which language would you like to use in the classroom and why?
- Have you heard your fellow students talk in other languages (e.g. Shanghai dialect) in classrooms, and how do you think of this dialect? Would you consider learning this dialect if you have the chance?

Interview questions are attached in Appendix A. Interviews were designed to be conducted online, partly given the necessity of the pandemic. My choice for this study was to conduct online video interviews with participants as a first preference, and if they desired, they could turn off their cameras for an audio interview only. Interview prompts

were sent in advance to teachers and students. During the interviews with teachers and students, my role as an interviewer was that of a student who was studying language policy in Sino-foreign education. I raised my questions based on the prepared prompts and posed questions during the conversations, such as “Could you say a bit more on...”, “What do you mean by ...”, etc.

I also prepared introductory questions about their learning stage and teaching years at their institutions, and closing questions inviting them to suggest potential interview participants and their comments and suggestions on my study. I did not collect demographic information such as age or gender because it does not relate to the study's design.

4.5.4 Questionnaire

Rationale and design of questionnaire are presented in this section.

4.5.4.1 Rationale of Questionnaire

Questionnaires are one of the most popular research instruments in the social sciences “due to the fact that they are relatively easy to construct, extremely versatile and uniquely capable of gathering a large number of information quickly in a form that is readily processible” (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 101–102). Questionnaires are understood to be “any written instruments that present participants with a series of questions or statements to which they are to react either by writing out their answer or selecting from among existing answers” (Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023, p. 5).

One weakness of questionnaire research is that it risks providing only a rather ‘thin’ description of the target phenomena (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 115). However, they can be

complemented by a ‘thick’ description obtained via interview. One rule of thumb for questionnaire sample size is to aim for 100 to 200 participants (Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023). However, the minimum number of participants depends on the research design and methods, the purpose and goal of the study, and factors that are outside of the researcher’s control (Dörnyei & Dewaele 2023, p. 117).

Questionnaires usually measure three types of data: factual, behavioural, and attitudinal. Factual questions cover demographic characteristics, residential location, socioeconomic status, level of education, occupation, and language profile; behavioural questions are used to find out what the participants are doing or have done in the past; attitudinal questions are used to find out what people think. This latter is a broad category that concerns attitudes, opinions, beliefs, interests, and values (Dörnyei & Dewaele 2023, p.6–7). Questionnaires were traditionally administered by mail, while the online administration of questionnaires, such as by email or web-based questionnaires (Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023, p. 67), is now standard.

4.5.4.2 Design of Questionnaire

A questionnaire was designed to be distributed among students to learn about their language practices and beliefs at Sino-foreign institutions. The questionnaire, titled "Language Practice and Belief in Sino-foreign Classrooms", was delivered using the online questionnaire platform Microsoft Forms. Previous questionnaire designs on EMI language practice and beliefs were consulted during preparation (Fang et al., 2023; Li & Ruan, 2015; Moody et al., 2019). The questionnaire aimed to understand students’ perceptions towards languages use, including English, Putonghua, and Wu dialect. It did not employ any academic terms such as EMI or translanguaging, in order to avoid feeding certain concepts to participants. This aligns with Lasagabaster's (2009, 2025) holistic

approach that treats languages on an equal basis while researching language attitudes in multilingual contexts.

I followed the steps below when designing an online questionnaire for use in this study (Dörnyei & Dewaele, 2023, p. 14):

- (a) Deciding on the general features of the questionnaire, such as the length, the format, and the main parts.
- (b) Writing effective items/questions in English and drawing up an item pool.
- (c) Selecting and sequencing the items.
- (d) Writing appropriate instructions and examples.
- (e) Translating the questionnaire into Putonghua
- (f) Piloting the questionnaire.

The questionnaire contained three main parts, as presented in Table 4.2. Part one posed factual questions about participants' language backgrounds, included a self-assessment of their English and Chinese language proficiency as well as an open question on their self-defined L1. Part two asked participants about their language practices in their classes, focusing on use of English, Putonghua, Wu dialect, and other languages or dialects in interactions with different interlocutors and in different situations (e.g. when giving a presentation to the class, speaking to instructors, speaking to classmates). A four-point rating scale was used to describe these practices, with choices being always, often, occasionally, and never.

Part three of the questionnaire investigated language attitudes, and aimed to learn students' language beliefs regarding English, Putonghua, Wu dialect, and other languages in classroom situations and informal conversations. A four-point rating scale asked participants to strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree with a series of statements about preferred language practices, as well as their attitudes towards their classmates' and teachers' language practices. The final part of the questionnaire consisted of two open-ended questions, providing space for participants to add any further

comments and an invitation to leave their email address to be contacted for a follow-up interview. The full questionnaire is available in Appendix B.

Table 4.2 Overview of the Questionnaire

Sections	Response Formats	Sample Questions
Part One Language Background	• Self-defined L1 (multiple choices) + open ended question • English proficiency (multiple choices) • Chinese Putonghua proficiency (multiple choices)	What is your native language/first language? This study defines "native language" as the language you spoke with your caregivers in your childhood. You can select more than 1 answer if you are multilingual. Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese), English, Wu dialect, Other Chinese dialect, Other.
Part Two Language Practices	• Four-point rating scale: Always, Often, Occasionally, Never • One open ended question	Please indicate how often do you speak English/Putonghua/Wu dialect/Other languages in the following situations: • When I give a presentation to the class; • When I speak with Chinese-speaking instructors; • When I speak with non-Chinese speaking instructors; • When I speak with Chinese-speaking classmates; • When I speak with non-Chinese-speaking classmates
Part Three Language Beliefs	• Four-point rating scale: questions on four scales: Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree • Four-point rating scale: questions on four scales: Strongly agree, Agree, Disagree, Strongly disagree • Four-point rating scale: 1= least preferred, 4= most preferred	I think that our content classes should use English/Putonghua/Wu... • When students present their work • When students talk about course-related matters • When there are informal conversations e.g. lunch plan • When there is/are English-speaking person(s) presented • I think English should be used all the time in all aspects of our content course classroom. • What is your preferred situation for your content classrooms in terms of the instructor/classmate's language practices • If I were the instructor in the content course in my institution, I would use English/Putonghua/Wu dialect/others ...

4.5.5 Research Ethics Application

Prior to the commencement of any research activity, formal ethical approval was secured from the Research Ethics Committee (REC) at the School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin. The application process involved the comprehensive submission of all research instruments, including participant information sheets, consent forms, interview and questionnaire schedules, and a detailed data management plan. The REC's granted approval (Reference Number: MT11/R1882) on 19th December 2022. The approval confirmed that the proposed study adhered to the fundamental ethical principles of research. The original ethics approval covered University A and University B; however, an extended ethics application was submitted when I added the third site: University C. An extended ethics approval was granted by the same committee (see Research Ethics Approval in Appendix C)

Participants were provided with transparent, accessible information sheets in both English and Chinese Putonghua explaining the study's purpose, procedures, potential risks and benefits, and their unconditional right to withdraw at any time. To ensure confidentiality, all data containing identifying information was stored separately from the anonymised research data itself. Anonymity was guaranteed through the use of pseudonyms for all individuals and organisations, and the removal of any identifying details from archival documents, classroom observational notes, or interview transcriptions.

4.5.6 Pilot Semi-Structured Interview and Questionnaire

Prior to the data collection process, both the semi-structured interview questions and the questionnaire were piloted to ensure their effectiveness and clarity. I piloted the semi-

structured interview for teachers with a professional contact who teaches at a Sino-foreign institution; the questionnaire and students' interview questions were piloted among my contacts who were Sino-foreign graduates. Following piloting of the instruments, some wordings were revised for clarity, and some Chinese translations of the questionnaire questions were changed to improve readability. During the pilot of semi-structured interviews, the graduates commented that I mentioned Shanghai dialects too frequently, which might unintentionally narrow the discussions. In response, I adjusted my phrasing and used "Wu dialect, for example, Suzhou dialect, Shanghai dialect" instead of "Shanghai dialect" to balance the representation of Wu dialects.

4.5.7 Contact Gatekeeper and Seek Permission to Access Research Site

As well as adhering to the core principles of informed consent, confidentiality, and protecting participants' identities, the appointment of gatekeepers at each institution ensured that the project was conducted in a manner that was appropriate for the local setting. Gatekeepers played a crucial role in facilitating access to participants and research settings, especially regarding access to classrooms for observations. They acted as institutional contacts who introduced me to teachers and students, mediated access to classrooms, and ensured that participation aligned with institutional protocols and presented minimum intrusion. Their support was essential in building trust, negotiating entry, and enabling data collection while minimising disruption to the academic environment.

Three gatekeepers were involved in the project. At University A and B, I approached two existing contacts who were willing to assist with the data collection process. The gatekeepers at University B and C invited me to observe their own classes. A teacher at University B referred me to a contact at University C who agreed to act as a

gatekeeper at that institution. A full pack of participant information leaflets and consent forms were sent to each gatekeeper, with all documents provided in English and Chinese.

At University B, the gatekeeper facilitated access to observe a blended Accounting module, which I observed online from Ireland. The module included local students attending in person and international students who joined online. After the lifting of lockdown restrictions in China and Chinese universities, I visited University B twice in December 2023 and once in June 2024, during which I shadowed the gatekeeper and observed some of their classes in person. I distributed the questionnaire at University B during my field trip in January 2024. I conducted interviews with students who responded to the last open-ended follow-up question in the questionnaire. I was introduced to one of the teachers at University B to conduct interview research, and further teacher participants were recruited through snowball sampling.

At University C, the gatekeeper asked me to observe their English language classes as well as courses delivered by lecturers of content courses. I visited University C for one week in January 2024 and a second week in June 2024 to observe their classrooms.

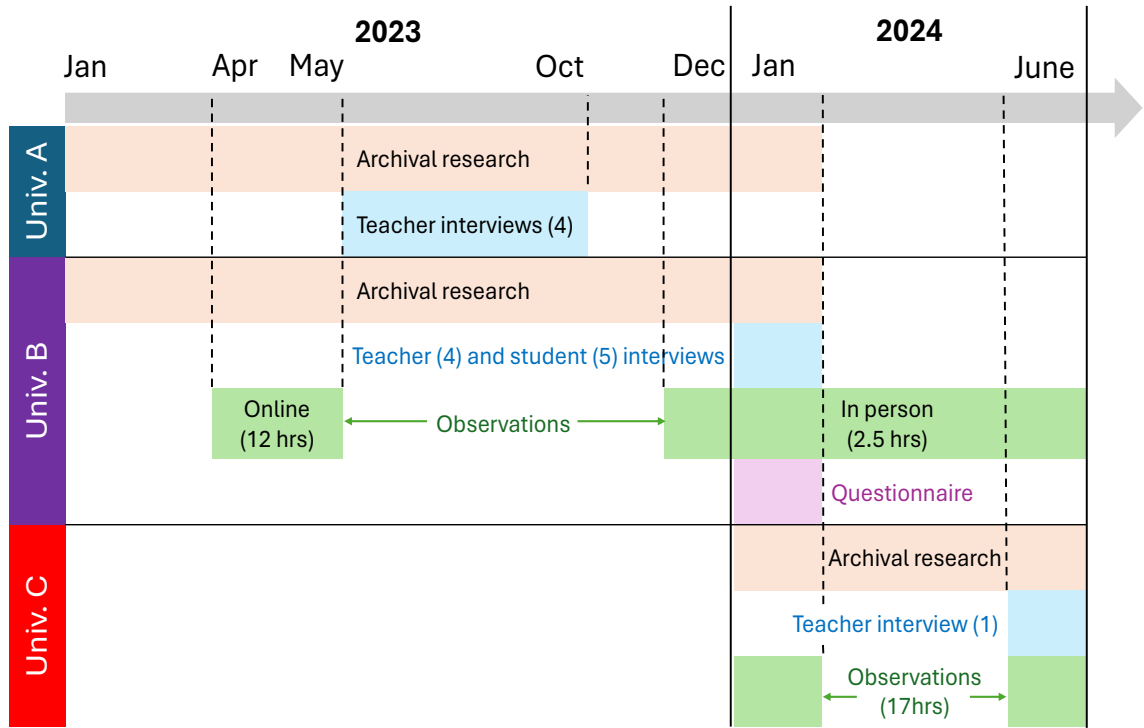
Student and teacher participants were recruited through a combination of institutional gatekeepers, personal contacts, and snowball referrals. At all three sites, student and teacher participants were approached directly via gatekeepers or through referral, and informed consent was obtained in line with ethical protocols. The recruitment strategy prioritised minimising disruption and ensuring voluntary participation, with interviews, observations, and the questionnaire arranged at times and via online platforms that were convenient for participants. Participant information leaflets and consent forms were sent to all participants before the interviews. A total of five

students and nine teachers participated in the semi-structured interviews. I present the detailed information in chapter 5.

4.6 Data Collection

Data were collected from Universities A, B, and C using the data collection instruments presented above. This section describes the data collection procedures in detail which is summarised in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3 Data Collection at Three Sino-foreign Universities



4.6.1 University A

University A presented a wealth of information online, including detailed missions and visions of the institution and student recruitment documents. I chose the information from the page under “Introduction to Academic Life” at University A because it faces students

introducing the mission of the institution and what students can expect for academic learning at the institution. Besides, University A had a column sharing people's stories from the university, depicting their learning experience and their motivation for choosing Sino-foreign education. They mainly served as testimonials of students' experiences at the institution. The plan was to choose two stories for each type of individual: Chinese students, international students, Chinese staff, and international staff. The use of eight stories seeks to deepen understanding of individuals' experiences. But some students' and teachers' stories were so unique and contextually identifiable; therefore, while choosing people's testimonials, I intentionally selected more generic ones to ensure confidentiality.

Teacher interviewees were recruited with the help of the gatekeeper. I interviewed teachers at University A via online conferencing tools at their convenience. Interviews were audio-recorded with permission.

4.6.2 University B

Domestic and international student recruitment advertisements on the institution's website were consulted to understand the institution's self-portrayed mission and possible introduction of medium of instruction during students' academic life. Similar to University A, testimonies from the University B website were selected to understand how individuals, such as international and domestic students and teachers, are portrayed from the institutional perspective.

I joined the classroom observation of University B via Zoom Meeting link, which was shared by the teacher of the Accounting course, with permission from her supervisor in the department. I joined their online classroom with my audio and video off. It was a blended learning classroom in which the teacher taught in person with in-person students, and there were a few online students. Based on the nature of camera-off online

classrooms and my research focus on language usage by different stakeholders in the same classroom, the classroom observation I carried out followed the tradition: it is a naturalistic observation with minimum obtrusion, and I am a non-participant observer. The online classroom was my research object, focusing on elements of students' talking, teacher talking, presentation of the screen and chatroom tool affiliated with the online meeting software. I did "focused observation" (Angrosino & Rosenberg, 2011) and could discern the relevant from the irrelevant the moment I embarked on online classroom observations.

During online classroom observation, I had plenty of time to work on my 3-page observation protocol, carefully recorded scenarios and tallied them, also, I spent much time making notes on my laptop whenever there were "critical events" (Wragg, 2011) such as a teacher switches from Chinese to English because of the presence of a late coming international student. I looked for critical events when the teachers spoke a different language. For example, the teacher lectured in English while answering questions in Putonghua, or she explained specific terms in English while using Putonghua. I wrote a journal on the third page of the observation. Based on the critical events that I recorded during the observation, I elaborated the critical events and recorded impressions about the language practices by students and instructors.

After the lifting of lockdown restrictions in China and Chinese universities, I visited University B twice in December 2023 and once in June 2024, during which I observed a final presentation class and an ERP class (Enterprise Management Simulation) taught by my gatekeeper in person without any intrusion. The final presentation class consisted of around 60 Chinese students; the ERP practice course had around 30 students, with a mix of international and Chinese students. The in-person classroom observations

were recorded using the critical events note-taking skill, in line with the online classroom observation.

Interviews were conducted with one student who filled in with the follow-up question in the questionnaire, and other students were snowball recruited after that. An international student voluntarily participated in the study when he chatted with me during my field trip in June 2024. For teacher interviewees, one was introduced to me by the gatekeeper while I was on campus, and the other three were recruited through snowball sampling.

During my field visit, I distributed the questionnaire among University B students who were enrolled in the single degree programme. A total of 52 responses were received from University B. Among these, one response missed most questions, so I did not use it.

4.6.3 University C

Student recruitment advertisements from the institution's websites were consulted to understand the language portrayal of the institution. No testimonial stories were published at this institution.

During my observation at University C, besides their content course: Introduction to Film Production, I also observed many English language-related courses for reciprocal purposes. University C was updating their EAP (English for Academic Purpose) programme while I was collecting data, for reciprocal purposes, my gatekeeper invited me to participate in their staff meetings while discussing English language-related matters in their EAP programme. I recorded classroom observations as Observational Notes.

One teacher was interviewed via an online conferencing tool at University C. The interview was audio-recorded.

4.7 Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

Reflexivity is integral to this study and it is essential in the recognition of researchers' identities and positionalities that shape knowledge production (Wilson et al., 2022). I started my career in the Sino-foreign education field ten years ago, during which I established my network. Gatekeepers from two universities were contacts whom I knew from then. Whilst I have considerable experience and knowledge about Sino-foreign education, I knew little about the scholarly inquiries of language policy. During my fieldwork, I used my previous experience when I was doing information gathering before I visited the field or interviewed people. I was recommended to University C by University B participants. The gatekeeper of University C was newly appointed as the director of their EAP programme in addition to her role as director of strategic planning of University C. She invited me to collect data at their institution, and at the same time, for reciprocal purposes, she also asked me to audit their internal meetings when they discuss their EAP programmes.

When interacting with participants, students were interested in my studies and life in Ireland. Most Sino-foreign students face the choice of study-abroad destinations for master's (University B) and bachelor's (University C) studies, and they consulted me for their overseas studies.

In some cases, within applied linguistics, considerations of positionality address potential power dynamics, such as when the researcher is from the Global North and the research subjects are in the Global South. This scenario may lead to issues like native speakerism or white dominance supremacy. In the case of my interaction with participants, we shared similar linguistic repertoires (Blommaert & Backus, 2013) of at least Putonghua and English. Unlike situations where participants' language repertoires

are different from those of the researchers, no communication problems were encountered when the interviewees switched languages. Moreover, as a speaker of the Wu dialects, I am sensitive to different varieties of this dialect family and understand vocabularies whenever the participants mentioned anything that was unique to the language. The English language was used during interviews with international participants, and Chinese Putonghua with Chinese participants.

4.8 Data Storage

All research data were stored and handled in accordance with research ethical guidelines. No physical data were collected in this study. Digital data were collected and stored in university-authorised applications. The questionnaire was administered via Microsoft Forms, and the data were entered into Microsoft Excel for analysis. Interview audio files were deleted once they were transcribed into Word documents. Interview transcriptions were stored in OneDrive. Data will be retained for seven years on the university's secure system before being destroyed.

4.9 Data Analysis

This section presents details on the analysis procedures of the qualitative data (archival documents, classroom observation notes, and interview transcriptions) and the quantitative questionnaire data.

4.9.1 Processing Archival Documents, Observational Notes, and Questionnaire Data

I present the process of archival documents, observational notes, and questionnaire data analysis in this section. First, archival documents (in total circa 22,000 words) included

student recruitment documents in the format of PDF from three Universities, 14 testimonies from students and staff at University A and University B. To ensure transparency while protecting participant identities, I summarised the data from the testimonies (see Appendix D) according to four themes: current situation, key event portrayed, key events while they were involved in Sino-foreign education, and personal background prior to the Sino-foreign institution. When coding the testimonial stories, I used “P” to refer to “profile”, followed by the university code, such as “A” or “B”, and “S” or “T” referring to students and teachers. Two examples are listed below in Table 4.3.

I read the archival documents closely and deliberately sought information centring on (a) institutional missions for the purposes of understanding institutional beliefs and (b) requirements on languages or instructional languages for teaching.

Table 4.3 Two Examples of Student/Staff Testimonies at Universities A and B

<i>Profile Code</i>	<i>Current Situation</i>	<i>Key Events Portrayed</i>	<i>While at Sino-foreign Education</i>	<i>Personal Background; Prior to Sino-foreign education</i>
PAS04	Master's studies in the U.S.	Self-discovery and unconventional learning path	Striking a balance between liberal arts and sciences. Great resources and opportunities for exploration Interdisciplinary discussion	Chinese student. Read philosophy and plays a Chinese traditional musical instrument. Was not accustomed to the teaching style and pace in high school.
PBS03	Staff in a local public university	Consolidating financial knowledge by participating in competitions and research projects	Managing use of financial terms in English Business management projects Focus on Party and League activities and promotion	Chinese student

Second, The final presentation class consisted of around 60 Chinese students; the ERP practice course had around 30 students, with a mix of international and Chinese students.

An example of coding the observational data is listed in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4 An Example of Coding the Observational Data in Word

School code: UNIVERSITY TWO

Date: 13/04/2023

Time: 1:00 pm (Shanghai Time); 6:00 am (Dublin time)

Number of attendees: NA

Summary of this time period of observation: Financial Valuation and Strategy

	Teacher					Chinese student			Non-Chinese student		
	Course-related					Course-related			Course-related		
	Gives command	Teaches course content	Asks questions	Answers questions	Talks non-course related content	Asks questions	Answers questions	Talks non-course content	Asks questions	Answers questions	Talks non-course related content
In English						/	/				
In Chinese	/										
In Shanghai											
In other languages											

Notes:

06:45 am: During Break, they discuss in English
They were signing in with the instructor I think.
Seems that they speak in English but the audio does not sound very clear. A student was asking questions in Chinese, but the audio is not very clear.
07:20 am discussion about group work 小组 A 在吗? Chinese
After that they ask teacher can we go?
Reply in English

Researcher's note:

First observational session with SH 1. It is a blended class. The instructor and some students are in-person in the classroom, with me and another international student connected via Zoom meeting today.

Throughout the class, the instructor delivers class in English. All the slides and textbooks are in English. After about 30 minutes, a student asked question in English and the instructor replied in English.

During their break after first lesson, some students came to the instructor and asked questions. Some in English, and some in Chinese. When the instructor came to the desk, the audio cannot be heard clearly. Same with the second half of today's session when the instructor was discussing group work with each group. Anyhow, vaguely I could hear it is a mix of Chinese and English.

There was one time when the instructor called for Group A to discuss their project but no reply firstly. She said Group A, Group A and said it in Chinese: A 组同学在吗? to check if they are here. And Group A students were here today so they came to the instructor to discuss.

Third, data from the questionnaire were logged in Microsoft Excel to account for responses across four frequency categories (always, often, occasionally, and never;

strongly agree, agree, disagree, and strongly disagree). Data from open-ended questions were input into Microsoft Word, and Chinese responses were translated into English.

4.9.2 Interview Data Transcription

As a crucial, and often the first part of the qualitative data analysis procedure, interview transcriptions are texts that are jointly created by research participants and researchers through dialogic and negotiated conversations (Widodo, 2014, p. 102). The interview data transcription largely followed five steps:

- (a) listening to talking data
- (b) shaping talking data
- (c) communicating talking data with an interpretative intent
- (d) reproducing or (re)constructing talking data
- (e) building data credibility (Widodo, 2014).

First, listening to audio-recorded data allowed me to engage with the conversations and pay close attention to the content of the interviews. Second, while I was shaping the data. I laid out basic features of the audio, such as I labelled the data collection date, involving participant pseudonym, platform of interview etc. Typically understood as verbatim transcription, I generally typed the audio recordings into Microsoft Word documents, line by line, to show the turn-by-turn dialogic interaction between the participants and me. As noted by Widodo (2014, p 105), there are two approaches to transcription: naturalism and denaturalism. The former suggests that every instance of utterances should be transcribed in great detail, but in the case of denaturalism, idiosyncratic elements of speech such as stutters, pauses, fillers and non-verbal signals need to be removed. I followed the denaturalised transcription in that the research questions focused on the practices and beliefs. At this stage of transcribing, I had a brief picture of how talking data are qualitatively analysed and interpreted.

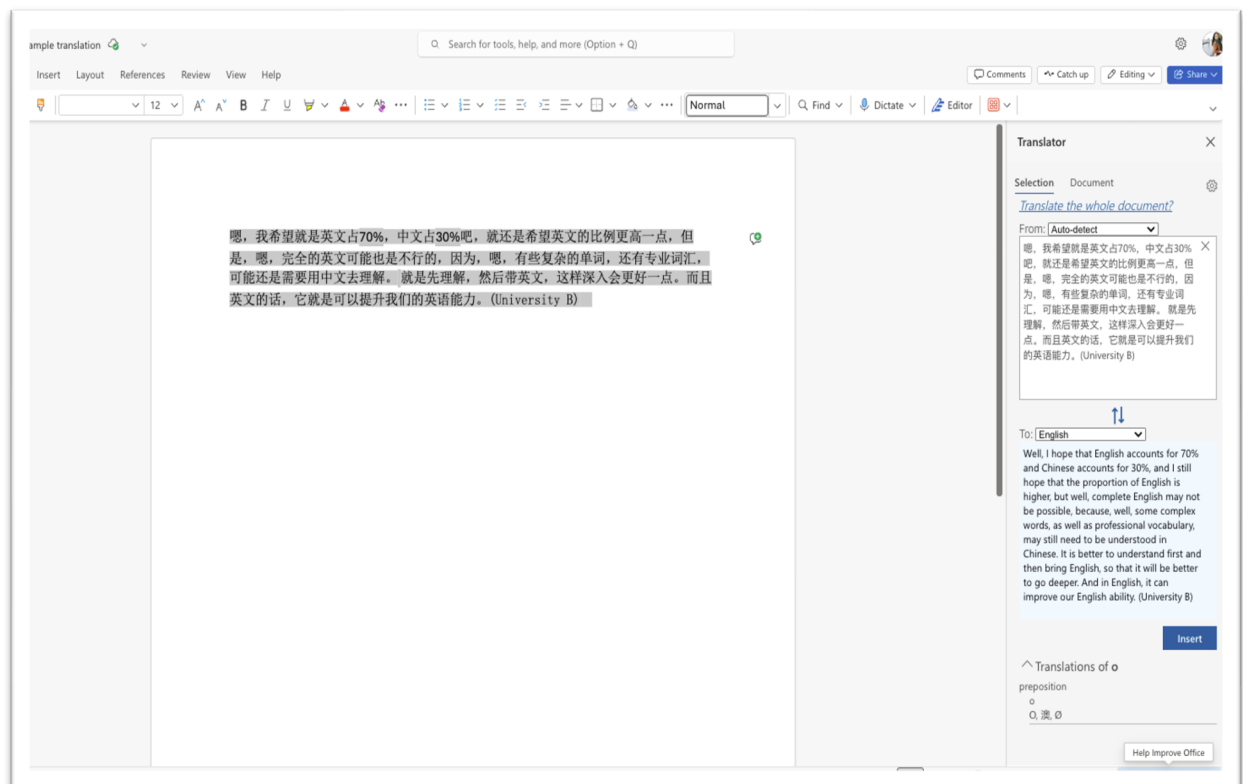
Moving on to the stage of reproducing or reconstructing data, the sense that I regarded participants as co-owners of the knowledge we produced ensured my sensitivity in unpacking and interpreting the participants' knowledge, voice, and experiences with great care and respect. At University A I did not organise any validation interviews (where interviewees are invited to confirm the validity of the transcriptions). However, the validity was ensured through close checking of the talking data and transcriptions. I conducted and transcribed the interviews with University A participants first prior to the interviews with and transcriptions from University B and C participants. Some commonly appearing results or seemingly contradictory results were raised with later participants in Universities B and C for validation or further explanation.

I assigned codes to each participant in the transcription, using “T” to refer to the teachers and “S” to refer to the students. Each code comes with “I” referring to interview, and a university code A, B, or C, for example, teacher participants are coded as IAT01 – IAT04, IBT01 – ICT01; student participants are coded as IBS01 – IBS05.

4.9.3 Data Translation

Semi-structured interview transcriptions in Chinese were translated into English. Two steps of translation were applied. First, Chinese transcriptions were translated by the Microsoft Word Translation function in the Microsoft 365 suite, as shown in Figure 4.5.

Figure 4.5 Example of Translation from Chinese to English with Microsoft Word



Second, Microsoft Word translated English and original Chinese were read together to enhance readability in English. The translation above was edited below:

Hm, I hope English accounts for 70%, and Chinese for 30%, still hoping for a higher proportion of English, but completely in English might not be feasible either, because some complex words, and professional vocabulary, might still need to be understood in Chinese. Just understand first, then with English, it would be better to delve deeper. And English can improve our English skills.

Resch and Enzenhofer (2018) note that in the cases which professional translators are employed for translation, *Skopos* (aims and purposes) are negotiated instead of “as literally as possible”. The first stage of translation with the help of Microsoft Word was helpful in the sense that a “as literally as possible” version created some distance between me, the researcher-interviewer-transcriber-translator, and the data. The distance between multi-role researcher and the data reduced the unnecessary subjectivity and created time and space for reflection. For example, with Microsoft Word, they translated “they are all

very pragmatic” in the conversation when IBT04 talked about their students’ learning motivation. The term pragmatic can bear multiple meanings in English. I went back to the Chinese original transcription and checked that IBT04 said “他们都很实际的” [ta men dou hen shi ji de]. The Chinese appears clearly that IBT04 was referring to students’ instrumentalism when practising and learning English for better future prospects.

The archival documents from Universities B and C were not translated into English because reading the original versions of the wording provided me with insights into their context and content that could not be fully captured through translation.

4.9.4 Thematic Analysis and Workflow of Interview Transcriptions

This section presents the thematic analysis the main workflow of analysing interview transcriptions.

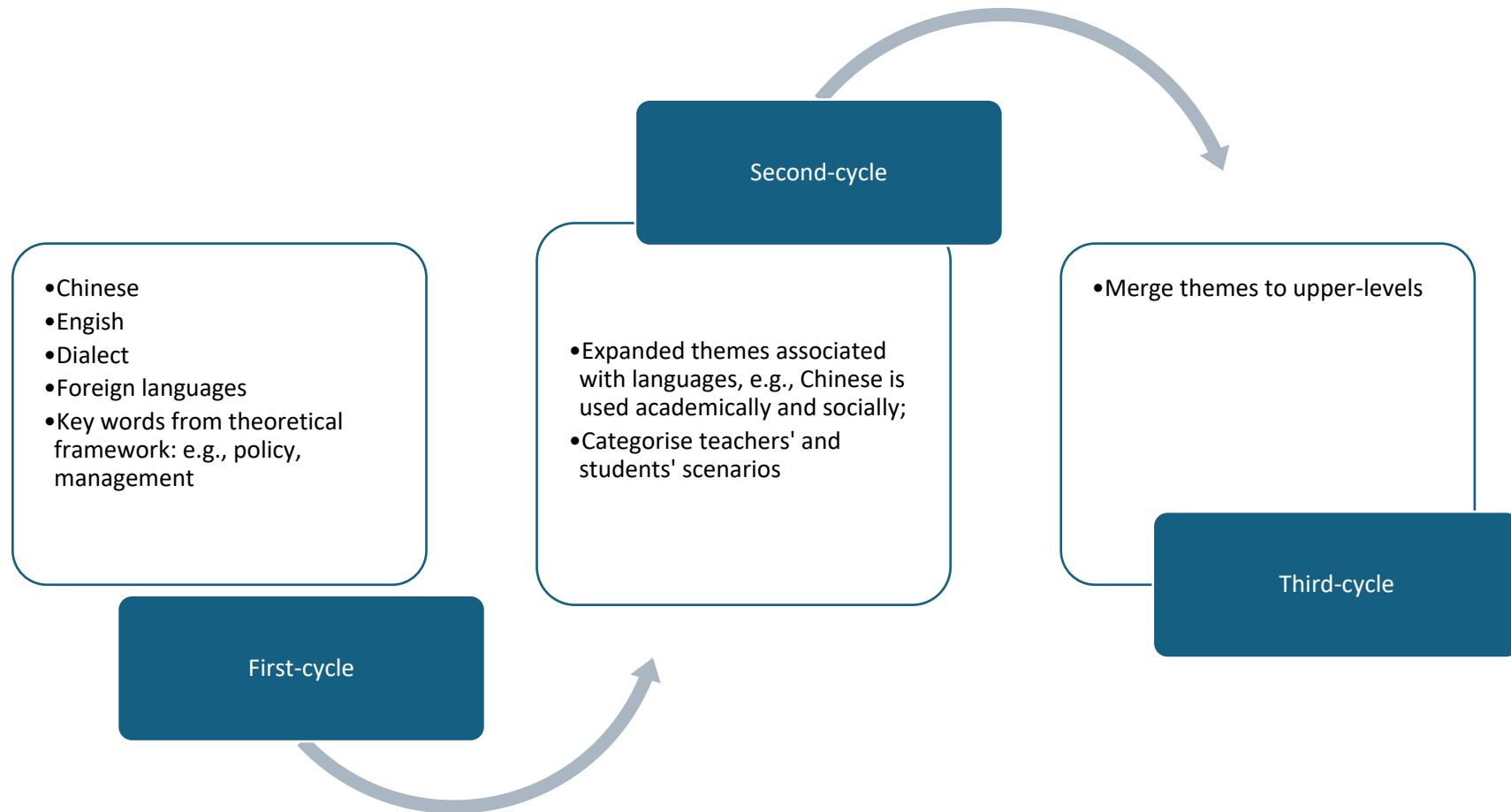
4.9.4.1 Reflective Thematic Analysis

The analysis followed a reflective thematic analysis (RTA) in analysing the interview data. RTA provides a flexible yet rigorous approach to identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns within data (Braun & Clarke, 2021). The RTA centred on archival documents, observational notes, and interview transcriptions. Data were coded manually via NVivo 12, following the six-phase process of RTA: familiarisation, coding, generating initial themes, developing and reviewing themes, refining, defining and naming themes, and writing up (Braun & Clarke, 2021).

4.9.4.2 A Three-Cycle Workflow of Transcription Data Analysis

Three cycles of coding were conducted on the interview transcriptions, shown in Figure 4.6.

Figure 4.6 Three Cycles of Coding with Interview Transcriptions



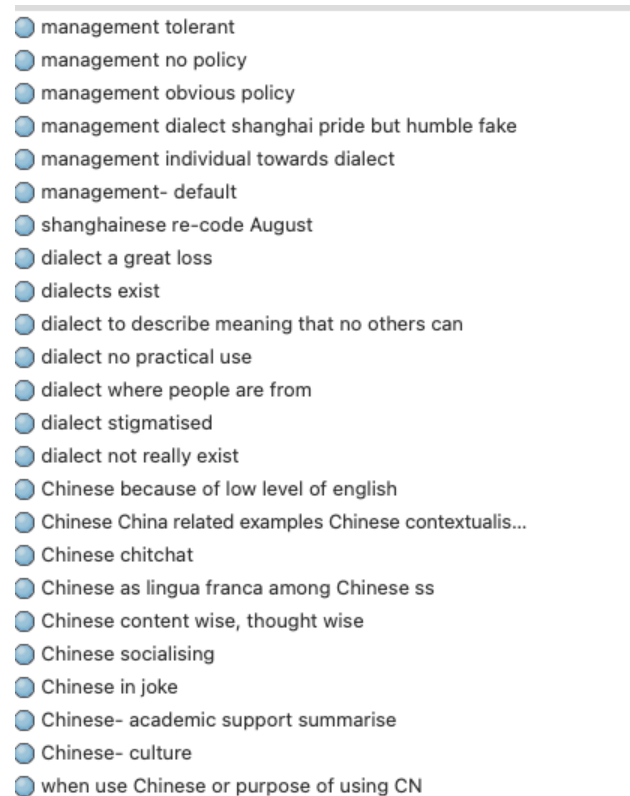
The first cycle of coding in NVivo provided me with a rough idea of the number of different languages in in the study's research sites. Shown in Figure 4.7, the main codes were assigned to Chinese, English, Dialects, and foreign languages.

Figure 4.7 Example of the First Cycle of Coding the Interview Transcriptions in NVivo 12



During the second cycle, I focused on the scenarios associated with the languages mentioned and created expanded themes.

Figure 4.8 Example of the Second Cycle of Coding the Interview Transcriptions in NVivo 12



Shown in Figure 4.8, scenarios associated with Chinese are many, for example, Chinese is used to summarise, Chinese is used to socialise, and Chinese is used to tell jokes.

However, after articulating a theme (e.g., “Chinese is used academically and socially”), I re-read the transcriptions, and some were from students and others from teachers. To avoid mixing teacher and student beliefs, I built a flow chart of the themes and categorised scenarios on the bottom levels of the charts. Note that during the interviews, there were situations when teachers talked about students’ practices and students talked about teachers. In these circumstances, I categorised students’ practices into student categories and teachers’ practices into teacher categories, regardless of who reported those practices.

The third cycle of coding was focused on the merged themes under practice, belief, and management. Upper-level themes such as “English and Chinese for learning and communication” were incorporated by scenarios “English while with international population”, “English and Chinese are useful for learning”, “Chinese is for outside of the classroom communication” and “international population utilise Chinese to make sense of academic content”. Detailed themes from interview transcriptions are presented in Chapter 5.

4.10 Systematic Triangulation

Triangulation commonly refers to the combinations and comparisons of multiple data sources, data collection and analysis procedures, research methods, investigators, and inferences that occur at the end of the study (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009, p. 32). In this study, triangulation was of most importance in the data analysis process. From the coding process, interview data resulted in more themes due to the larger amount compared to archival, observational, and questionnaire data. Therefore, archival, observational, and questionnaire data contribute to the triangulation of findings, enhancing the understanding of practices and beliefs.

It is worth pointing out here that triangulation does not only occur in the data analysis phase. Flick (2022) elaborates the concept of systematic triangulation, which extends to the triangulation of theories, research questions, study design and methodology. Triangulation can also be employed to ensure the quality, as well as the presentation of the study. Besides the triangulation during data analysis, in this study, triangulation occurred at various stages beyond data analysis. First, at the stage of the research questions, when I asked about language practices, management, and beliefs and ideologies in three Sino-foreign institutions, aiming to understand a generalised

perspective on such questions, instead of one single institution. Second, the triangulation of methodologies was achieved by choosing the MM methodology, more specifically, choosing different data collection methods and aiming for a multi-layered data analysis.

The systematic triangulation enhances the validity and trustworthiness of the findings by cross-verifying insights across different data sources from different institutions (Flick, 2022). Each method addressed distinct dimensions of the research questions: the observations documented real-time communicative behaviours, i.e. language practices, the questionnaire captured broad patterns of language practices and beliefs; the interviews revealed underlying beliefs and personal experiences; and the archival analysis uncovered the official policies shaping everyday practices and contextualised these behaviours within the institutional environment. Together, they enabled a holistic understanding of the complex interplay between institutional language policies and enacted multilingual practices.

4.11 Limitation of Methodology

This chapter addresses several limitations in the methodology. First, in the data collection process, there was limited access to certain participant groups. At University A, the gatekeeper found that the lack of international student after the COVID-19 pandemic did not represent their multilingual and multicultural learning atmosphere. At University B, due to the change of the management team, the previous communication between the gatekeeper and the department had to be repeated. Due to the time limit, interviews and the questionnaire only included the single degree programme. To some extent, it indicates the complicated governance between the Chinese and foreign collaborators, and the role of the loose coupling strategy (Y. Zhang et al., 2024) existed in such collaboration.

Within the data collected, there was uneven representation across institutions, as only one teacher was interviewed at University C.

Second, online observation was a choice due to the restricted travel during the COVID-19 pandemic on the first hand. Online observation offered logistical convenience by eliminating travel and while I was observing with my camera turned off, I had much ease taking notes during the observation. However, the camera used in the observed classes captured only the teacher, although my aim was to document language use, the observation would have been enriched by access to students' non-verbal responses during classes. Third, as for interviews with teachers, interview lengths varied considerably, with the shortest lasting 15 minutes and the longest 60 minutes. Differences in interview length were attributed to intermittent internet connection and to some teachers' greater engagement, reflected in their asking more questions about the study. The difference, however, did not impact the analysis because all teachers were asked the same interview prompts. Lastly, during the preparation of data analysis, transcription and translation were conducted by a single researcher, which could introduce subjectivity despite their efforts to minimise it through iterative checks.

4.12 Summary

This chapter has outlined the methodology for investigating language practices, management, and beliefs at three Sino-foreign educational institutions. The study adopts a qualitative-driven mixed methods approach, combining qualitative instruments (archival research, classroom observations, interviews) and a quantitative questionnaire. Research sites and participants were selected using purposive and convenience sampling, ensuring both diversity and practical accessibility. Data collection instruments were piloted, and

research ethical standards were upheld through formal approvals, informed consent, confidentiality, and the use of institutional gatekeepers for participant recruitment. Data was gathered from archival documents, classroom observations (online and in-person), semi-structured interviews with teachers and students, and a questionnaire among students. Reflective thematic analysis was applied, using NVivo12 and Microsoft Word for coding. Systematic triangulation across various types of data collection and especially in the data analysis process which offers a holistic view of the results while answering the research questions.

Chapter 5 Data Presentation

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data collected from the three research sites, with results organised by data collection instrument. After an overview of the full dataset, the sections below present, in turn, data from archival documents, classroom observation, questionnaire, and interviews.

5.2 Overview of Data Collected

Four subsets of data were collected via four data collection instruments. Shown in Table 5.1 below, archival data, classroom observation notes, questionnaire results, and interview transcriptions provided a rich dataset to mine regarding language practices, language management, and language beliefs and ideology in Sino-foreign institutions.

Table 5.1 Overview of Data Collected from Three Sino-foreign Institutions

Data Collection Instrument	Data Type/Size	University A	University B	University C
Archival Data	Publicly available data from university websites	Introduction to academic life webpages	Student recruitment webpages	Student recruitment webpages
		Student & staff testimonies 8	Student testimonies 7	
	Corpus size (words)	17K (English)	4K (Chinese)	1K (Chinese)
Classroom Observations	Data from classroom observation protocols and notes	-	14.5 hours - 12 hours online - 2.5 hours in-person	17 hours in-person
Questionnaire	Ordinal data	-	N=52	-
	Data from open questions		26% response rate	
Student & Teacher Interviews	Transcriptions of audio recordings	n=4	n=9	n=1
		2 Chinese teachers 2 International teachers	2 Chinese teachers 2 International teachers 4 Chinese students 1 International student	1 International teacher
	Total time (mins)	123'	249'	45'

5.3 Archival Data

Archival documents served as a source of data, drawing on publicly available information published by the three universities. I recorded data shared on their official websites and their official WeChat account. To provide a structure for these data collection phases, two primary types of web information were recorded: (i) student recruitment information from each university (“Introduction to Academic Life” in University A) and (ii) featured student and staff testimonies from two of the three universities. The student recruitment webpages contained a statement of the institution’s values, aims, curriculum, and course offerings. Staff and student testimonies were published on the websites of Universities A and B. These testimonies provided an overview of an individual’s work and studies from an institutional perspective.

5.3.1 Institutional Missions

Each institution’s goal was recorded:

- University A expresses its institutional goals as: rooted globalism, lucid communication, independence and creativity, wise leadership, and a purposeful life.
- University B aims to nurture business talents with a global vision. Their goals stress a combination of internationalisation and localisation, with overseas exchange and Party and League Building (党团建设[dangtuan jianshe]) to display national confidence (民族自信心[*minzu zixin xin*]).

- University C promotes an internationalised education and aims to incorporate industry approaches from North America into the Chinese higher education system.

5.3.2 Language

None of the three universities explicitly described languages of instruction in the recruitment webpages. However, languages were mentioned in different ways. University A described that language courses were required in English, Chinese or potentially a third language. For University B and University C, no language of instruction was mentioned in the recruitment sections of University B or University C. University B noted that they imported high-quality educational methods from overseas universities, and their graduates were advantaged when working and studying in multinational and overseas institutions. University C listed a group of bilingual teachers on its student recruitment webpages. University C noted the “creative language” at their institution as a medium of communication.

5.3.3 Staff/Student Testimonies

Staff and student testimonies from University A and B provided information, written in the third person viewpoint, about individual members of staff and students, their teaching and learning experiences at their respective Sino-foreign institutions, prior and future studies and plans, and some personal backgrounds (see Appendix D). Among the 14 testimonies, four were international, with two from each institution. Two staff members were from University A. University B did not present any staff testimonies.

Testimonies of individuals from University A shared a feature of being “non-traditional”, such as PAS04 who was frustrated with the teaching style and pace in Chinese high schools, but who appreciated the unique student-centred and interdisciplinary teaching at University A. PAS06, who excelled in sports but was not satisfied with courses offered in mainstream Chinese higher education, chose University A because its educational philosophy was more compatible with their ambitions. PAT03 was a counsellor, and their story illustrated the university’s efforts in promoting students’ mental wellbeing, which is not typically prevalent in Chinese higher education.

The testimonies of individuals at University B presented features of entrepreneurship throughout their journey. These were all highly motivated individuals made good use of the resources at their institution and achieved either good job offer or other prospects. PBS01, for example, secured a job at a top consulting company because of their English proficiency and expertise in Accounting. PBS03, PBS06, and PBS06 were all high achievers in academic research, supported by the university’s English-immersion environment, and equipped to overcome the obstacles represented by publishing in English.

The testimonies of the international students featured online at both University A and University B described the challenge of learning the Chinese language at the beginning of their university studies in China, accompanied by accounts of their integration into the local community through appreciating Chinese food and culture, and through the academic resources provided by their institutions.

The selected testimonies featured at University A emphasised students’ global engagement, such as attending graduate schools at top-tier universities (PAS01, PAS04, and PAS07) and conducting research with top-tier research groups (PAS01). Sometimes,

these testimonies also described students' family backgrounds. For example, PAS06 was encouraged to enrol by their parents, who had attended Ivy League graduate schools.

Graduates of University B were celebrated as excellent individuals because they participated in and conducted research projects on economic and political development about many aspects of China. Several were actively engaged in the building and promotion of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Youth League of China (CYLC) in their local academic circles and communities (PBS03, PBS04, and PBS06). The integration of personal growth with national and regional strategic development (个人成长融入国家战略和城市建设[*geren chengzhang rongru guojia zhanlue he chengshi jianshe*]) was regularly used as a phrase to praise individuals at University B.

5.4 Classroom observations

This section presents data from classroom observation conducted at University B and C, including data collected via a classroom observation protocol form and observational notes. At University B, observations were conducted both online and in person. A total of 12 hours of online and 2.5 hours of in-person classes were observed, spanning from April to May 2023 (online) and from December 2023 to June 2024 (in-person). The 12-hour online class was the courses from Accounting, spreading across eight sessions, with each session consisting of two 45-minute classes. The 2.5-hour in-person session included two 45-minute final project presentations in Accounting and one hour of Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP). At University C, a total of 17 hours were observed in person, including

11 hours of IELTS¹⁰ classes, six hours of the Introduction to Film Production classes, and one hour of a school-wide lecture. Data were recorded in the format of observational journals for University C. As described in the previous chapter, unfortunately observations at University A were not permitted. The following sections present critical events and themes of online and in-person observational data at University B and in-person observational data at University C, respectively.

¹⁰ IELTS refers to the International English Language Testing System jointed owned by the British Council, IDP IELTS, and Cambridge University Press & Assessment

5.4.1 Online Classroom Observational Data at University B

Approximately 30 Chinese students and five international students enrolled in the Accounting Course that I observed online. This course had a Chinese teacher. The teacher and the majority of the Chinese students attended the class in person. A few international students attended in person, while others attended online due to COVID-19 travel restrictions. The course was mainly taught in English. Throughout my observation, I tallied up situations when the teacher switched languages and when students spoke.

Table 5.2 Tallied number of teacher's switch of languages and students' language practices during online classroom observation at University B

	Session 1	Session 2	Session 3	Session 4	Session 5	Session 6	Session 7	Session 8
Teacher	1	0	0	2	0	1	2	0
Students	2	1	4	0	1	4	3	2

There were six critical events when the teacher switched languages, shown in Table 5.2. Students spoke mainly in the situations of answering questions, and if the teacher asked in English, all of them responded in English. The switch of languages was initiated primarily by the teacher. I listed the four scenarios when the teacher switched languages.

- **Session 1, University B Online Observational Notes:** When the teacher called for Group A to discuss their project, but there was no reply at first. They said “Group A? Group A here?” Then they said it in Chinese: A 组同学在吗? [Are Group A students here?] to check if they are here. In fact, Group A students were here today, so they came to the teacher to discuss.

- **Session 4, University B Online Observational Notes:** *At the beginning of the class, the teacher said in Chinese “We may wait for a while”[稍微等一下啊], same in Chinese when the teacher gave instruction “看学习通上的练习 [refer to your practice on Xuexitong]”. The second half of the class was in two parts, first the teacher commented on students’ exercise. And they asked in Chinese if they’d like to be explained in Chinese or English. Students explained later in Chinese. The second part was chapter eight for this module. They delivered the course in Chinese while using English terms whenever there were any. All the course materials are in English with only a few instructional languages from the practice app, and the app was a Chinese brand. Let me put an example here for the teacher’s language “看一下这个 asset report, 我们的目的是计算。。。”. [look at this assest report, our aim is to calculate...]. I need to check if I can understand it as translanguaging. No questions raised by students.*
- **Session 6, University B Online Observational Notes:** *There are several interactions during the exercise reviewing session when the teacher explains and asks questions. Several students respond in English. The teacher used Chinese to reclaim a question once. [...], that moment was after the class bell rang and students stated to have a 10-minute break.*
- **Session 7, University B Online Observational Notes:** *The session today starts with the teacher’s comment saying in Chinese that “今天没有留学生，那么用中文? [no international student today so Chinese it is]” And they started to speak in Chinese as they explains the exercise for chapter 9. It is worth mentioning again when the teacher explains the exercise that they uses translanguaging a lot for example: cash forecast 是什么[what is cash forecast]. The teacher uses terminology in English and explains in Chinese. [...] Some 20 minutes later, an international student arrived. The late student apologised in English. Simultaneously, the teacher switched to English without any explanation.*

During the online classroom observations, I tried my best to hear and understand the situation in the physical classroom. However, as the camera only faced the teacher, I could not fully grasp the students’ reactions or activities.

5.4.2 In-Person Classroom Observation at University B

I observed 2.5 hours of in-person classes at University B, 1.5 hours of which were the final presentations by students for their Accounting course. Approximately 60 Chinese students were enrolled in the Accounting course, with a Chinese teacher. One further hour

of observation was conducted at an Enterprise Resource Planning (ERP) practice class. The ERP course was designed to practice practical business skills. There were around 20 students, with two-thirds international students, taught by a Chinese teacher. Critical events involving language switching were recorded in observational notes. Two excerpts are shared here. In the final presentation for the Accounting course, students talked in turns within their groups. Students reviewed their chosen topics, and the teacher provided feedback on their work. My observation notes showed the following:

University B In-Person Observational Notes, Entry01: *The class is final presentations from students and I observed two groups during my one-hour in-class observation. The students are all Chinese students enrolled in single-degree programme. They present in Chinese, but all their slides are in English only. In their presentation, they used English to refer to some terms such as ‘sales return and allowance 折让 (hé, and) sales discount’. The teachers interrupted once to ask a question in Chinese, and they conversed in Chinese. The second group was the same as in the first group. The teacher raised a question about one translation on the slides ‘a gesture of goodwill’. They asked if the student directly translated Chinese to English. The student said yes, and the English were from one translation app. The teacher mentioned the ambiguity of the term, as goodwill can be a specific term in accounting. The student clarified in Chinese, and then they moved on.*

For the ERP class, the teacher explained the activity and they gave some instructions in English at the beginning of the session. The teacher provided an English version of the instructions and translated some keywords into English on their practice tables. During my observation, I overheard students talking in English and Thai. I spoke with four teaching assistants (TAs) during the session when they were not busy, and they chatted in Putonghua with each other. As recorded in my notes, one interesting scenario sparked my interest:

University B In-Person Observational Notes, Entry02: *One student approached the TA and asked for one revenue coin, and they said, “I got two parts of revenue*

and I need another one”. The TA didn’t understand at first and talked with another TA in Putonghua. TAs seemed a bit confused, too. So the student said “我还要一个” [wo hai yao yi ge, I need one more], and the TAs realised that they needed another coin for the revenue and gave it to her.

5.4.2 In-Person Classroom Observation at University C

A total of 17 hours of classes were observed at University C from December 2023 to June 2024. Among these, 11 hours were English language-related courses, such as IELTS training. The content was fairly homogeneous and based on the format of going through IELTS examination questions. For IELTS training courses, students and teachers were all Chinese. The June 2024 cohort had two international students enrolled, both of whom were native Chinese speakers, each with one parent who was a Chinese speaker. The class size was approximately 20 students. The six-hour Introduction to Film Production course was taught by an international teacher with a Chinese-English bilingual interpreter. Two excerpts from the observations are shared below.

In the IELTS classes, instructions in English such as “Class begins”, or “Turn to page” in English were used by the Chinese teachers. English language tests and English learning abilities were emphasised as an integral part of the students’ learning, especially for study abroad. The following excerpt was noted during an IELTS final speaking test, which required the students to talk over given topics for several minutes in English:

University C In-Person Observational Notes, Entry01: *The students’ levels are around 4 to 4.5 according to the IELTS exam (my evaluation). The students could use English to describe a topic but struggled a lot with grammar, pronunciation, etc. The teacher uses English as her instructional language, but after each exam, they switch to Putonghua and comments on their performance. They asked the students to say some words in English and repeated them after her if necessary. The students responded in Putonghua too*

I noted one example of the teacher-student interaction during the test:

University C In-Person Observational Notes, Entry02:

Teacher: Do you enjoy chatting with a group of people or with individuals?
Student: (silent)
Teacher: Do you enjoy talking with people in a group or with one person at a time?
Student: (silent)
Teacher: 聊天儿 [liao tianr, chat]
Student: Oh... (then the student continued in English)

The Introduction to Film Production class was taught by an international teacher, who presented slides in both English and Putonghua. The teacher spoke in English accompanied by a Putonghua-speaking interpreter. Every time the teacher paused, the interpreter provided an account in Putonghua. Sometimes the interpreter asked the students if they needed further translation. One critical event was recorded:

University C In-Person Observational Notes, Entry03: *The international teacher spoke a bit Chinese and at the beginning of the class, they asked students to move to the front part of the class and said, “Those who sit at the back please come to the first row lailailai [来来来, move here]” with gestures. During her teaching, which was interactive, they occasionally used some Chinese, such as “you wen ti ma” [有问题吗, any questions] or “do we need fanyi [翻译, interpreting]”?*

5.5 Questionnaire

In total, 52 questionnaire responses were collected from around 200 single-degree undergraduate students at University B. Among the 52 results, one had very limited information, so I cleared that result. This section reports the n=51 questionnaire results.

5.5.1 Participants’ Self-reported Language Backgrounds

Participants recorded their first language(s) and English language proficiency in Part One of the questionnaire. As shown in Table 5.3, there were 38 monolingual Putonghua

speakers and 7 bilingual/multilingual speakers, including 3 speakers of Putonghua with Wu as their L1, and 4 speakers of Putonghua with other dialects as their L1.

Table 5.3 Participants' self-reported first language(s)

First language(s)	N = 51
Putonghua	38
Putonghua, English, Wu	1
Putonghua, other dialect	4
Putonghua, Wu	2
Wu	1
Other dialect	4

On average, participants reported an English proficiency equivalent to IELTS Band 6.

Among the 30 responses regarding English language proficiency, 20 participants indicated an overall IELTS score of 6, 6 reported a score of 6.5 and 2 reported a score of 7. One respondent mentioned taking the IELTS but did not provide a score and another referred to having studied Academic English. In addition, several participants reported results for the College English Test (CET), a standardised English proficiency test used in China.

No respondents had attended any Chinese language tests, indicating that no international students participated in the questionnaire. An open-ended question in Part One invited participants to describe their native or first language, or how they defined it. Only one respondent provided a personal definition of his/her native language. Two respondents specifically mentioned Putonghua, while four expressed strong emotional connections to China and the Chinese language, with statements such as “Long live the Chinese language” and “Love China”. Seven responses to this question are listed below:

- Long live the Chinese language
- Putonghua, Common speech, Mandarin Chinese
- Love China
- My mother tongue is the easiest and most complicated language in the world
- Mother tongues are languages spoken by mother, but I cannot speak dialect. I only speak Putonghua
- Chinese language is profound and sophisticated
- The language spoken in the surrounding environment when growing up. The language that one can communicate with local old people.

5.5.2 Language practices

The questionnaire asked four sets of closed-format questions with responses given on Likert-type rating scales focused on students' language practices in their classes. As presented in Table 5.4, both English and Putonghua were primarily used in academic contexts, for instance for giving classroom presentations. English was used more frequently than Chinese in academic situations, with usage rates of 80% and 48% respectively. The students' language choices were largely determined by their interlocutors: they tended to speak Chinese with Chinese speakers and English with non-Chinese speakers. Comparisons between teachers and students as interlocutors showed no differences in language use. The Wu dialect was used only in limited circumstances, specifically when the interlocutor was also a Wu speaker.

Table 5.4 Participants' Reported Language Practice

Item no.	Item	Always and Often (%)	Occasionally and Never (%)
8	I speak English when I give a presentation to the class	80	20
	I speak English when I speak with Chinese-speaking teachers	6	94
	I speak English when I speak with non-Chinese-speaking teachers	90	10
	I speak English when I speak with Chinese-speaking classmates	6	94
	I speak English when I speak with non-Chinese-speaking classmates	90	10
9	I speak Putonghua when I give a presentation to the class	48	52
	I speak Putonghua when I speak with Chinese-speaking teachers	88	12
	I speak Putonghua when I speak with non-Chinese-speaking teachers	12	88
	I speak Putonghua when I speak with Chinese-speaking classmates	90	10
	I speak Putonghua when I speak with non-Chinese-speaking classmates	8	92
10	I speak Wu dialect when I give a presentation to the class	0	100
	I speak Wu dialect when I speak with Wu-speaking teachers	4	96
	I speak Wu dialect when I speak with non-Wu-speaking teachers	0	100
	I speak Wu dialect when I speak with Wu-speaking classmates	11	89
	I speak Wu dialect when I speak with non-Wu-speaking classmates	2	98
11	I speak other languages when I give a presentation to the class	9	91
	I speak other languages when I speak with teachers	6	94
	I speak other languages when I speak with classmates	15	85

An open-ended question in the language practice section (Q12) asked if the participants would like to note any other languages they used in class. As can be seen from the 17 responses presented in Table 5.5, most reported that they did not use another language ($N = 4$) or employed Sichuan hua ($N = 5$).

Table 5.5 Participants' responses to the open-ended question on language practices.

Language(s)	Frequency
无 (no)	4
四川话 [Sichuan hua]	5
东北话 [Dongbei hua, Northeastern hua]	1
湖南话 [Hunan hua]	1
浙江话 [Zhejiang hua]	1
温州话 [Wenzhou hua]	2
绍兴话 [Shaoxing hua]	1
济南话 [Jinan hua]	1
吴语 [Wuyu]	1

5.6.3 Language Beliefs

When asked about their beliefs concerning language use, the reported levels of preference for English and Chinese were comparable in terms of use in academic contexts. A very large majority of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that English should be used in their courses for presenting their work (98%) and talking about course-related materials (80%). Some two thirds of respondents agreed or strongly agreed that Putonghua should be used for presentations (64%) and again a large majority supported using Putonghua to talk about course-related content (86%). Almost all respondents (92%) considered that their language practices should align with those of their interlocutors, i.e. using English when communicating with English speakers and Chinese when interacting with Chinese

speakers. In contrast, only 30% of respondents agreed that the Wu dialect should be used when Wu-speaking individuals were present.

Table 5.6 Participants' language beliefs (Q13, Q14, Q15)

Item no.	Item	Strongly Agree and Agree (%)	Disagree and Strongly Disagree (%)
13	I think that our major ¹¹ classes should use English when students present their work	98	2
	I think that our major classes should use English when students talk about course-related matters	80	20
	I think that our major classes should use English when there are informal conversations, e.g. lunch plans	28	72
	I think that our major classes should use English when there is/are English-speaking person(s) presented	92	8
14	I think that our major classes should use Putonghua when students present their work	64	36
	I think that our major classes should use Putonghua when students talk about course-related matters	86	14
	I think that our major classes should use Putonghua when there are informal conversations, e.g. lunch plans	94	6
	I think that our major classes should use Putonghua when there is/are Chinese-speaking person(s) presented	88	12
15	I think that our major classes should use Wu dialect when students present their work	8	92
	I think that our major classes should use Wu dialect when students talk about course-related matters	10	90
	I think that our major classes should use Wu dialect when there are informal conversations, e.g. lunch plans	36	64
	I think that our major classes should use Wu dialect when there is/are Wu-speaking person(s) presented	30	70

¹¹ In Sino-foreign education and sometimes in the Chinese education system, undergraduate degrees are typically combined courses. Normally during the first and second years, courses from the broad discipline are taught from an introductory level. Other than that, students also take university-level compulsory (military training) or elective courses. Moving to the third and fourth year, students focus on more specialised subjects. For example, at University B, students take business related courses such as Accounting, Finance, International Business for the first two years, but only from the third year, students chose a subject of specialisation. By “major” in a Chinese context, it broadly means discipline oriented (introductory or specialised) courses.

Students' views concerning the languages practised were also reflected in the scenarios they chose. Almost all the respondents agreed that the language used in their classrooms should be flexible (94%) and that a bilingual model would best suit their classroom (91%). However, although more than half agreed that all languages and dialects should be welcomed in the classroom, only one in five respondents agreed that Wu should have a space in their classrooms.

While a large majority of respondents agreed that language use in their major course classes mattered (88%), when asked which language they would use if they were the teacher, 86% indicated that they would choose English as the main instructional language and 78% reported they would choose Putonghua. In contrast, only 16% would use the Wu dialect as the main language of instruction. Regarding the inclusion of additional languages, 29% of respondents stated that they would allow other dialects or languages to be used as supplementary instructional resources and a similar proportion (30%) expressed support for the inclusion of the Wu dialect as an additional language.

Table 5.7 Participants' language beliefs (Q16 and Q19)

Item no.	Item	Strongly agree and agree (%)	Disagree and strongly disagree (%)
16	I think English should be used all the time in all aspects of our major classes	55	45
	I think Putonghua should be used all the time in all aspects of our major classes	41	59
	I think that we should be flexible about the languages we use in our major classes	94	6
	I think that a bilingual (Putonghua/English) model is the best one for our major classes	91	9
	I think that all languages and dialects should be welcome in our major classes	63	37
	I think that Wu dialect e.g. Shanghai dialect should have a space in our major classes	20	80
	I don't think language use in our major classes matters	12	88
19	If I were the teacher of my major course, I would use English as the main instructional language	86	14
	If I were the teacher of my major course, I would use Putonghua as the main instructional language	78	22
	If I were the teacher of my major course, I would use Wu dialect as the main instructional language	16	84
	If I were the teacher of my major course, I would allow any other dialects/languages to be included as an additional instructional language	29	71
	If I were the teacher of my major course, I would allow Wu dialect to be included as an additional instructional language	30	70

In addition, as shown in Table 5.8, the participants expressed a preference for their classmates and teachers to use Chinese and English interchangeably (82%). However, around half also responded “most preferred” when asked about their preference for teachers and classmates to use Chinese and English separately. Similarly, around half expressed a preference for teachers (50%) and students (52%) mixing Chinese dialects with English and Chinese, higher than the percentages for teachers and students mixing other languages with English and Chinese (36% and 33%, respectively).

Table 5.8 Participants’ language beliefs (Q17 and Q18)

Item no.	Item	Most preferred (%)	Least preferred (%)
17	I prefer teachers mix a variety of Chinese dialects with Chinese and English	50	50
	I prefer teachers mix other languages with Chinese and English	36	64
	I prefer teachers use English all the time	46	54
	I prefer teachers use Chinese all the time	54	46
	I prefer teachers use Chinese and English interchangeably	82	18
18	I prefer students mix a variety of Chinese dialects with Chinese and English	52	48
	I prefer classmates mix other languages with Chinese and English	33	67
	I prefer classmates use English all the time	49	51
	I prefer classmates use Chinese all the time	58	42
	I prefer classmates use Chinese and English interchangeably	82	18

The final open-ended question asked if the participants would like to add anything not previously addressed in the questionnaire. The three responses were as follows:

为什么会要有方言授课，好奇怪，非上海的学生听不懂啊？！感觉有一部分人确实包含一定地域歧视。

Why teaching in dialect? So odd. Non-Shanghai students cannot understand?! Feeling that some people really are xenophobic.

取决于课堂作业要求 有的 pre 是可以英文 ppt+中文演讲的 有的必须全英文 那我们都会遵守这些要求

Depending on the requirement of the assignments. Some presentations can be in the format of slides in English plus speaking in Chinese; some require full English. We comply with those requirements.

中英文最好

Better in Chinese and English.

5.6 Interview Data

This section presents main themes from the interview data. The selection of excerpts from interview transcriptions mainly follows two criteria: the first is functional in that I chose the one or two most relevant quotes to represent the theme; the other is inclusive, and I chose quotes that were from all three universities instead of a single one or two (Yeo & Han, 2025).

5.6.1 Data Type and Participant Information

In total, five students and nine teachers participated in the interviews. Interview data are presented in the form of transcriptions. Student and teacher participant information are provided in Tables 5.9 and 5.10. One student (IBS5) and five teachers (IAT01, IAT02, IBT01, IBT02, ICT01) were international, the remainder were Chinese nationals.

Table 5.9 Student Participant Information

Participant code (n=5)	Year of Study	Duration of interview	Interview language
IBS01	Year 2 of 4	15 mins	Putonghua
IBS02	Year 2 of 4	25 mins	Putonghua
IBS03	Year 2 of 4	20 mins	Putonghua
IBS04	Year 2 of 4	15 mins	Putonghua
IBS05	Year 1 of 4	28 mins	English

Table 5.10 Teacher Participant Information

Participant Code (n=9)	No of years in university	Role	Duration of interview	Interview language
IAT01	>10	Academic	40 minutes	English
IAT02	Unknown	Academic	38 minutes	English
IAT03	Unknown	Academic	30 minutes	Putonghua
IAT04	>10	Managerial	15 minutes	Putonghua
IBT01	c. 10	Academic	35minutes	English
IBT02	c. 20	Academic	60 minutes	English
IBT03	c. 10	Academic	25 minutes	Putonghua
IBT04	c. 20	Academic	26 minutes	Putonghua
ICT01	2	Academic	45 minutes	English

5.6.2 Themes from Interview Data

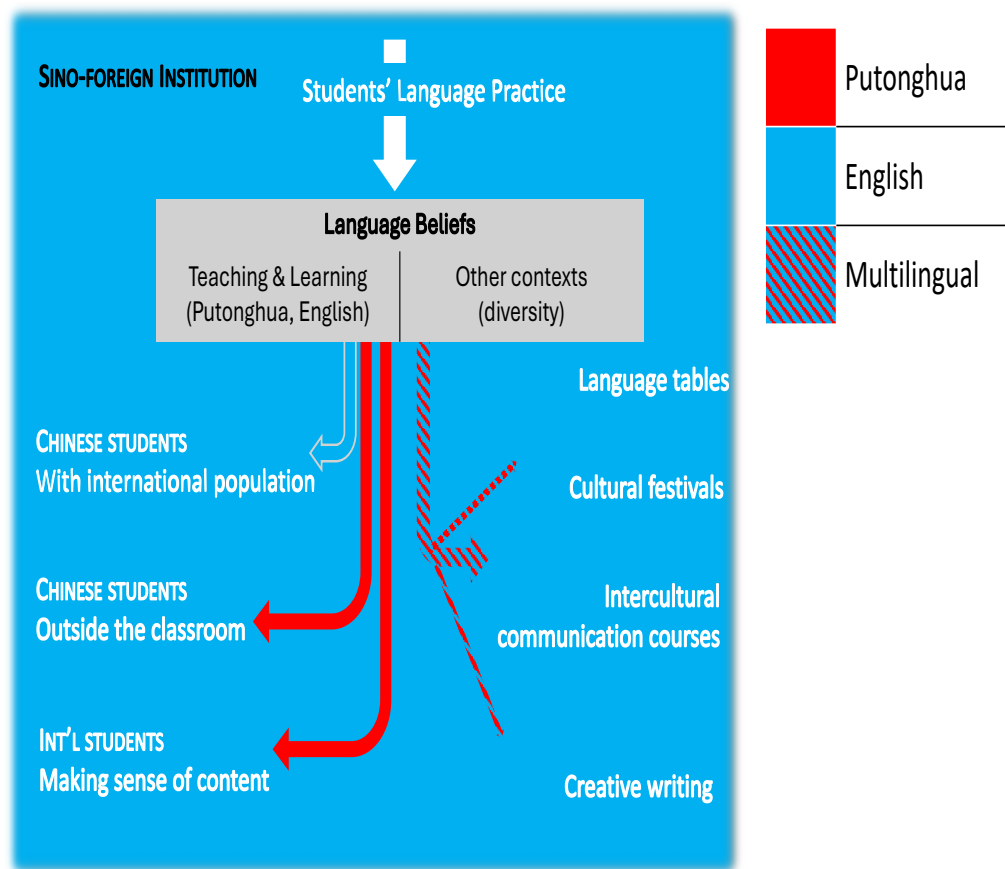
Themes were organised by the three elements of the theoretical framework of language policy: language practice, language beliefs, and language management. Each theme contains subthemes on specific aspects or examples within these elements. In this section, ten themes related to students' and teachers' language practices, students' and teachers'

language beliefs, and language management are presented separately. While presenting the visualised themes, one overall figure is given first as a general introduction, followed by figures presenting subthemes. For example, Figure 5.1 is an overall introduction to students' language practices, and Figures 5.2 and 5.3 are two subthemes (Theme 1 and Theme 2) of students' language practices cropped from Figure 5.1.

5.6.2.1 Students' Language Practices

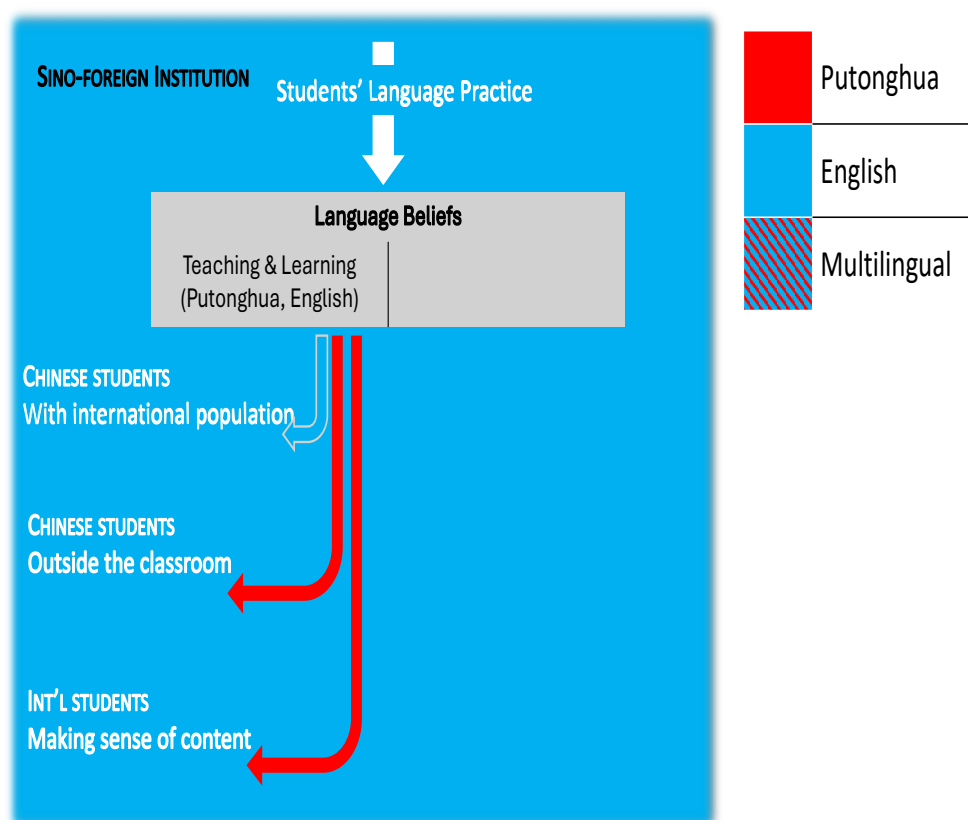
Shown in Figure 5.1, there are two main themes of students' practices from interview results: for teaching and learning purposes, it is mainly a combination of English and Chinese; for other contexts at their Sino-foreign institution, multilingualism exists and is practised.

Figure 5.1 Themes from Interview: Students' Language Practices



5.6.2.1.1 English and Chinese for Learning and Communication

Figure 5.2 Theme 1 of Students' Language Practices



Chinese students reported using English when there were international teachers and classmates. Excerpt 1 was a response to the language practices from IBS01:

For the major courses in our sophomore year, if the teacher is from China, the lectures are given in Chinese; and the PPTs, course syllabus, and exams are all in English. [...] if it's a Chinese teacher, the lectures are in Chinese; if it's a foreign teacher, everything is in English. (Excerpt 1, IBS01).

The presence of the international population was also mentioned by IAT01:

IAT01 So our, our student population is roughly 60 to 70 percent Chinese.

Researcher You mean the undergrads, right?

IAT01 Undergrad, yeah, because the graduates are almost entirely, they're not completely Chinese, but the percentage there is even higher. The other roughly 30 per cent are international

students. About half of those are coming from English-speaking countries, primarily the [delete info]. But about the other half are coming from all over the world.

(Excerpt 2, 59–64)

Students' practice of English and Chinese can be categorised into two types of interactions between international and Chinese interlocutors. First, Chinese teachers with homogenous Chinese students:

IAT03	Like they (students) will ask questions sometimes and they stuck there, or they use one Chinese words in a sentence of English. But they won't start with Chinese. They sometimes stuck there and used one word or two in Chinese. People would laugh and I would say do you mean...in English and they keep speaking English.
Researcher situation.	[...]Are there many examples of this? This kind of
IAT03 uncommon.	I can't say it's very common, but it's certainly not

(Excerpt 3, IAT03, 727–734)

Second, the interaction between international teachers with homogenous Chinese students:

Researcher	Yeah. And what's the what's the sort of percentage of students who approach you in English directly and how can you say..
ICT01	50/50.
Researcher	OK. That's a that's a large number. Yeah, so that they can sort of discuss the certain few related topics with you in English.
ICT01	Yeah, yeah. Sometimes in the middle, as I say in the middle of the conversation, they have to change. They have changed the Chinese for some parts. When it gets more complicated. At the beginning, they try. (Excerpt 4, ICT01, 2247–2254)

The presence of international students or teachers largely determined the choice of English or Putonghua. Meanwhile, IAT01 also observed the in-class and outside-of-class division of the choice of English and Putonghua.

- | | |
|------------|---|
| IAT01 | There are people, you know, basically the university is trying to make sure that the English medium, EMI focus remains, so the thing is some of this needs to be negotiated. Now, one of the tricky things is we need to remember that COVID has affected this a lot. |
| Researcher | Right. |
| IAT01 | All of the international students had to leave and many of the faculty did. So for several years, the campus population was almost entirely Chinese, right? So then what we had was a pretty clear division of labour, where in class it was English. And outside class, it was mostly Chinese. |

(Excerpt 5, IAT01, 91–94)

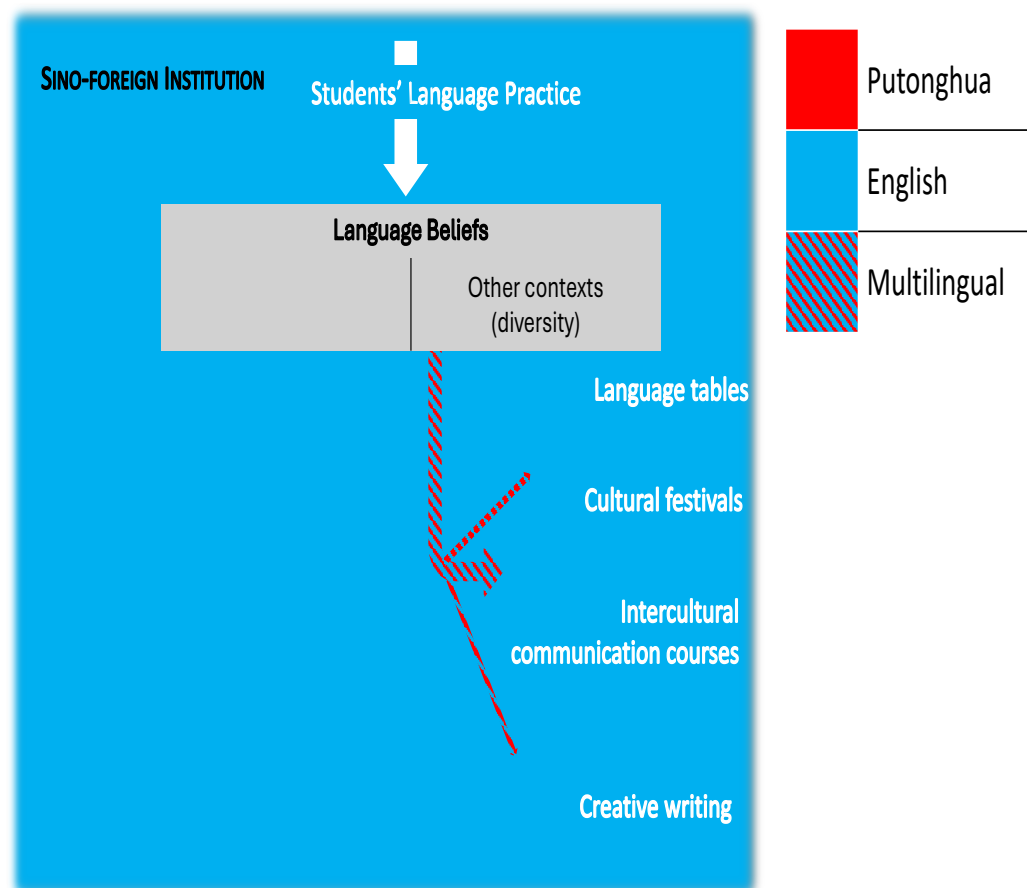
While students became accustomed to using English in classes with international populations, the international population also used Chinese. As mentioned by the international student IBS05:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| IBS05 | Yeah, that's interesting actually. Sometimes for me it's easier to understand the answer to my question in Chinese with our Chinese teachers because yeah, it's interesting. I had a math tutor last semester, not last semester, first semester or first year. The first semester I came. Honestly, his English wasn't the best. So if I had some extra questions, I would go to like individually in private and then ask him in Chinese. And then like also please explain in Chinese, I'm going to understand it better after Chinese high school... |
| Researcher | But he lectured in English. |
| IBS05 | I would just ask for Chinese. |
| Researcher | Did he lecture in Chinese or English? Ah, I see. And the rest of your classmates understand him, or no? |
| IBS05 | Not Really. Yeah. A matter of life is that we all passed. The first because it was really hard to understand. Everyone was going to YouTube or like, I don't know ... (Excerpt 6, IBS05, 917–928) |

5.6.2.1.2 Other Languages Exist in Different Institutional Formats

Use of languages other than English and Chinese was also recorded. During student interviews, language varieties including Wu, Sichuan, Thai, and Russian, among others, were mentioned. Additionally, interview participants at three institutions mentioned institutional activities that allowed students and teachers to use different languages. University had a language table, university B intercultural communication courses and cultural festivals, and university C in the creation of film making and film production.

Figure 5.3 Theme 2 of Students' Language Practices



5.6.2.1.2.1 Language Table (University A)

University A hosts a Language Table event to encourage language exchanges and practices among students and teachers. IAT03, a L1 Wu speaker, described students' preference for foreign languages over Chinese dialects:

- IAT03 [...] then the second one can be said to I don't know whether I have mentioned it to you before, we will have a called language table, we can be on our in no matter whether it is the teacher or the students can spontaneously initiate to say I want to host a language table, and then choose a time, and then the language table can be used to learn the language of the students. language table, then choose a time, like we will have Spanish, Italian language table, like I will host a Suzhou dialect table.
- Researcher Do you have many people on your table?
- IAT03 I feel that every time in fact are those who are more familiar with the language. Mostly they feel a little bit difficult, it is still Chinese students will feel that it seems to be afraid not to speak or speak well. Let alone foreigners, because I said that many foreign students or foreign colleagues would look at the table of Wu dialect when they passed by, and then they would say that I have not learnt Chinese well, it's too difficult, I'm not coming, bye bye.
- Researcher Chinese students find Wu dialects difficult, do they find foreign languages, for example, Spanish as difficult?
- IAT03 First they think that I can choose a foreign language to be able to, for example, look better in the resume, and then maybe they also think that I can use it when I go to Spain, when I go to France to travel. But maybe Wu dialect, he doesn't need to be able to, because he can travel all over China with his Chinese language knowledge. I think on the other hand, maybe they also feel that the difficulty is the same, however the reward is not the same.

(Excerpt 7, IAT03, 674–698)

Another participant described a story regarding a student of Manchu ethnicity¹²:

¹² Excerpt 8 presents the reluctance of admitting the Manchu ethnicity of students of IAT 01. It is reasonable to infer that persons of Manchu ethnicity are also reluctant to speak their languages of ethnicity. At present time, Sibe is the officially recognised language that represents most traditions of the Manchu of the Qing dynasty. See in Norman (2003) for historical development of Manchu and their languages.

IAT01 [...] And very frequently it's like, almost like people come out. [...]. And then my favourite story [...]. We used to have a poster exhibit at the end of class and students would put out a poster in the lobby talking, you know, introducing whatever language they had looked at and what they thought about why we should try to preserve it. And we had a couple different sections of the course. So I was looking, and this was a student who wasn't mine, but they had looked at Manchu, right?

Researcher Yes. Manchu. You mean the ethnicity Manchu?

IAT01 Yeah. And the fun thing was, I was asking her questions about her poster and whatever, and then she kind of quietly said to me, you know, I haven't told anybody, but actually I am Manchurian and the beautiful moment was I said, okay, go over there to that poster and talk to one of my students because she is too. They didn't know each other because, but it's, it's what you said. You know, this is something that people kind of look at as something we don't bring into the public space or whatever. And I'm hoping it's not just me, the foreign professor, but if it's only me, then I'm going to start it.

(Excerpt 8, IAT01, 185–207)

5.6.2.1.2.2 Intercultural Communication Courses and Cultural Festivals (University B)

When asked if they have heard languages other than English and Chinese on campus, University B student (IBS02) shared that they had courses on cross-cultural communication:

[W]e had a cross-cultural management course last semester, and the teacher invited international students from the school to share their country's cultures with us, and there were students from France and Indonesia, who briefly introduced the languages of their countries... This kind of course is indeed interesting (Excerpt 9, 108–112)

Cultural elements were mentioned while responding to the question that if they have heard any other Chinese languages, such as, IBS04 shared:

We have an [...] event where each province has a booth to introduce their culture. I represented the Henan booth, speaking some Henan dialect. During the event, we had a printmaking activity from Henan, where you could use some pigment and a template to replicate a painting, or you could offer them some Xinyang Maojian tea or Hu Noodle Soup. (Excerpt 10, 700–704)

5.6.2.1.2.3 Creative Writing (University C)

At University C, the teacher mentioned the usage of students' other languages in creative activities.

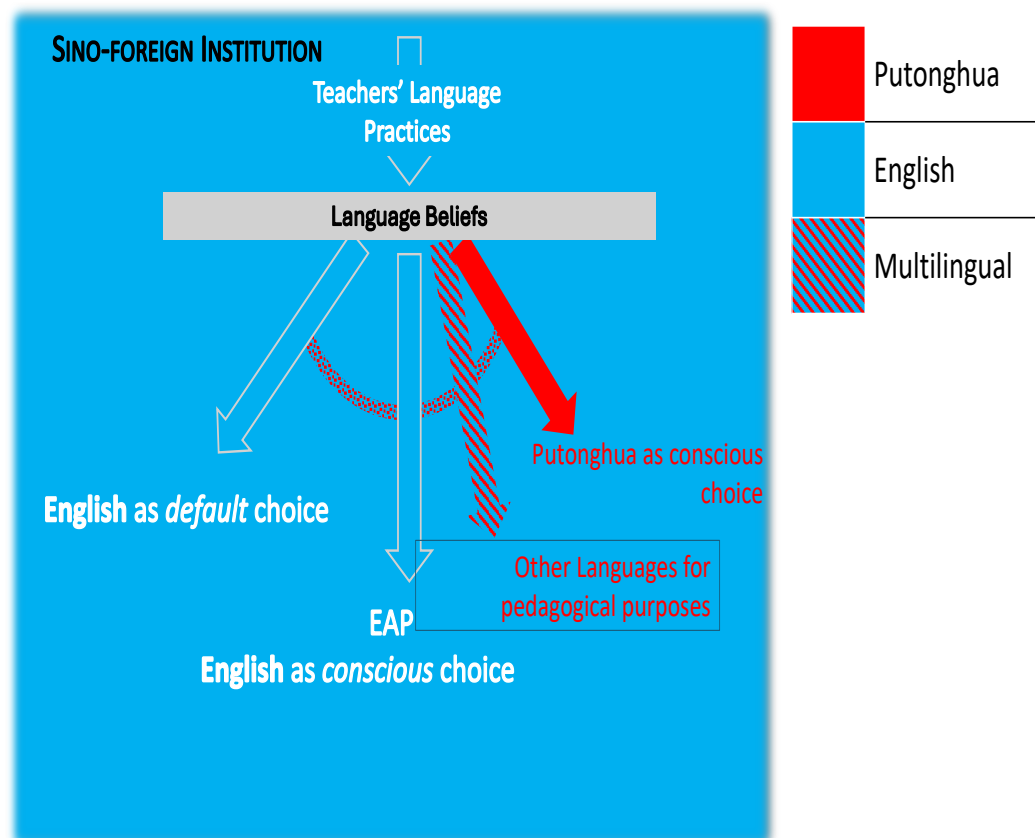
- | | |
|---------------------|--|
| ICT01 | [...]So, I've noticed lately a lot of pride in Shanghainese, in Cantonese. You know the problem we have is finding the actors. I can show you my examples, for example now we have in festival runs a film called [...] about two courtesans in 1940 Shanghai. They're speaking in Shanghainese, but the actresses didn't know Shanghainese. We have to have a coach to teach them how to say it. So it sounded natural. |
| Researcher
ICT01 | I see.
[...] Otherwise, like our students are really into shooting in other languages. Yes, they feel it's special. It's more authentic. |
| Researcher | Exactly. But then in practice, in real life, they only do it in Chinese when they shoot some clips? |
| ICT01 | They do it. No, they do it, but it doesn't sound natural. For non-Shanghainese speakers, it may sound right, but for Shanghainese speakers, it sounds fake... |

(Excerpt 11, ICT01, 2440–2454)

5.6.2.2 Teachers' Language Practices

Shown in Figure 5.4, there are two main themes of teachers' practices from interview results: English is a *default* practice, and it is a deliberate practice from EAP (English for academic purposes) teachers. While sometimes teachers choose Chinese and other languages for pedagogical purposes.

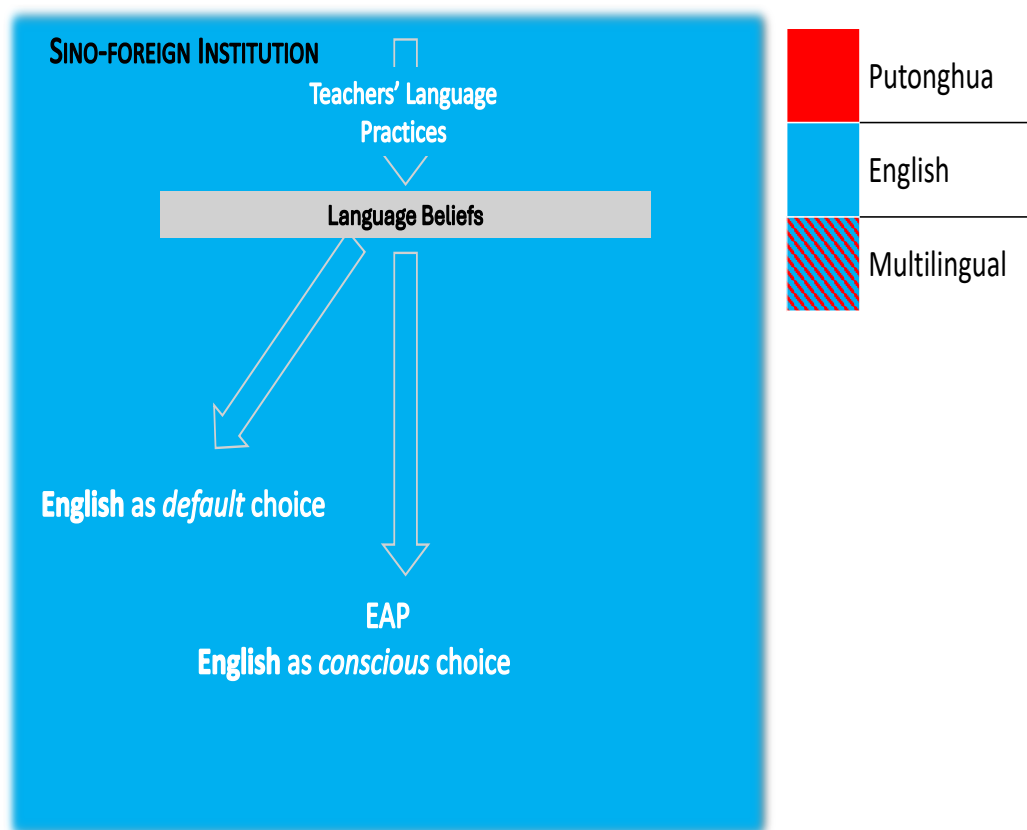
Figure 5.4 Themes from Interview: Teachers' Language Practices



5.6.2.2.1 English as *Default*; English is Conscious Choice for EAP teachers

When asking teachers what languages they used in their classrooms, they reported English as a *default* teaching language: “Everybody knows that they are supposed to just speak English” (Excerpt 12, IBT01, 1064). “I am an English teacher, so I mainly use English” (Excerpt 13, IBT03, 1742).

Figure 5.5 Theme 1 of Teachers' Language Practices



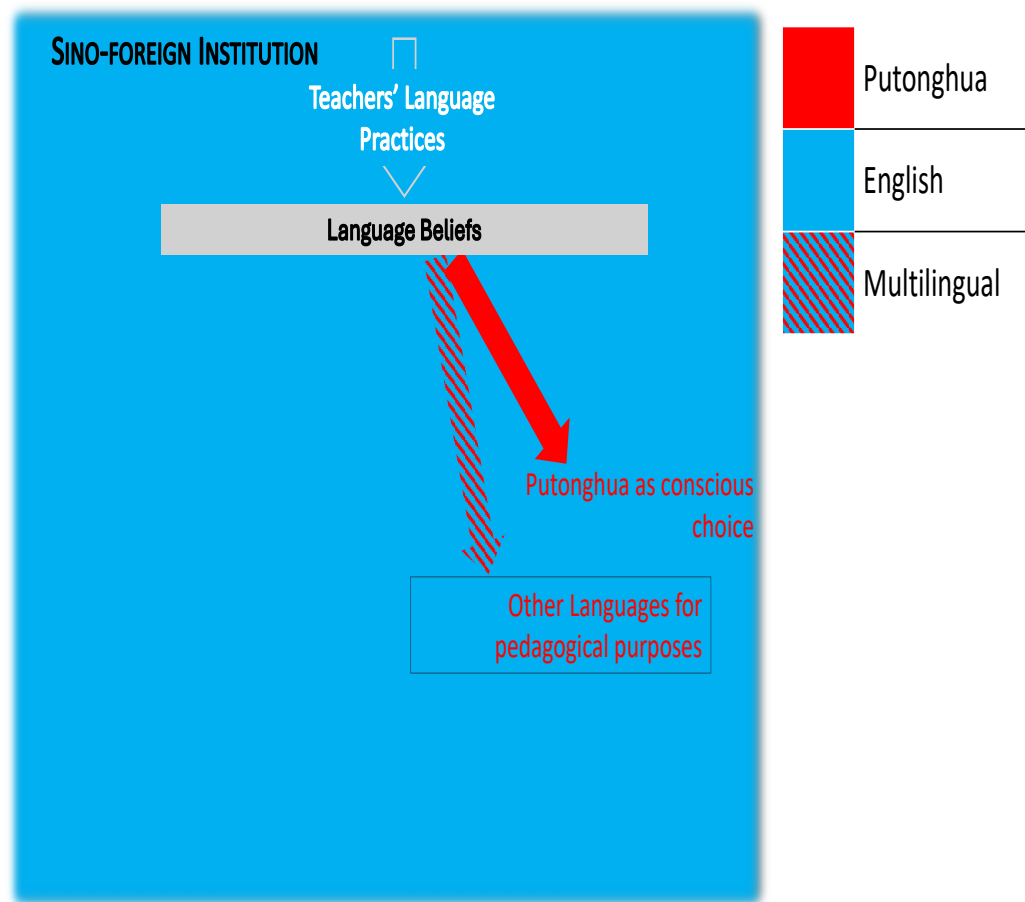
The following excerpt from IAT02 provides insight into the deliberate choice by a bilingual foreign teacher to use English:

[T]he person whose office across the hall from mine, I mean his Mandarin is much better than mine. But still, and his attitude is kind of like mine. It's like, well, the students need to practice English, so I'm gonna use English as my default. And the students speak to him in English, even though he's certainly more than capable of speaking to them in Chinese. (Excerpt 14, 486–490)

5.6.2.2.2 Chinese and Other Languages for Pedagogical Purposes

On the contrary, some bilingual teachers consciously used Chinese in their classes. IBT03 mentioned three conditions when they used Chinese, which were for clarifying concepts, providing specific requirements for assignments, and refocusing students' attention back to the classroom.

Figure 5.6 Theme 2 of Teachers' Language Practices



IBT04 taught academic writing to first-year students in Chinese, and they reflected that: *“It’s still important to take advantage of the native language to allow the process to go a little faster.”* (Excerpt 15, IBT04, 1970–1971). IAT04 served in a senior managerial role facing students. They described how their language choices were based on the interlocutors:

When I talk to students one-on-one, it’s basically in both Chinese and English. For example, with Chinese students, I may speak Chinese directly, so the communication will be easier and more direct, and then with non-Chinese speaking students, we are all communicating in English (Excerpt 16, 829–832).

Teachers, especially international teachers, also mentioned the use of languages other than Chinese Putonghua. One of the most distinctive words in the Shanghainese language was the word *Gaon du* (戇度)¹³, which was listed as an example by IBT01 and IBT01 used to attract students' attention and make jokes in classes.

- | | |
|------------|---|
| IBT01 | [...] so sometimes I'll, like, I'll ask them, you know, Oh, where are you from? And they'll say Shanghai. And I go, Oh, you know, I can speak some Shanghai Hua. And they'll say like, Oh, okay. What can you say? And I say, well, my [Chinese family] always tells me I'm handsome. You know, when they says <i>Ni shi, ni gang du</i> . And, you know, and they start laughing and I go, yeah, you know, that means handsome, right? And they, they always go, yeah, , yeah. that's correct. |
| Researcher | Okay, that's cool. Yeah, that's cool. And, and most of the students, some of the students understand that, like Gaon du? |
| IBT01 | Yeah, a lot of students know that word. |

(Excerpt 17, 1128–1136)

Teachers sometimes used languages they know of in classes, IBT02 mentioned that:

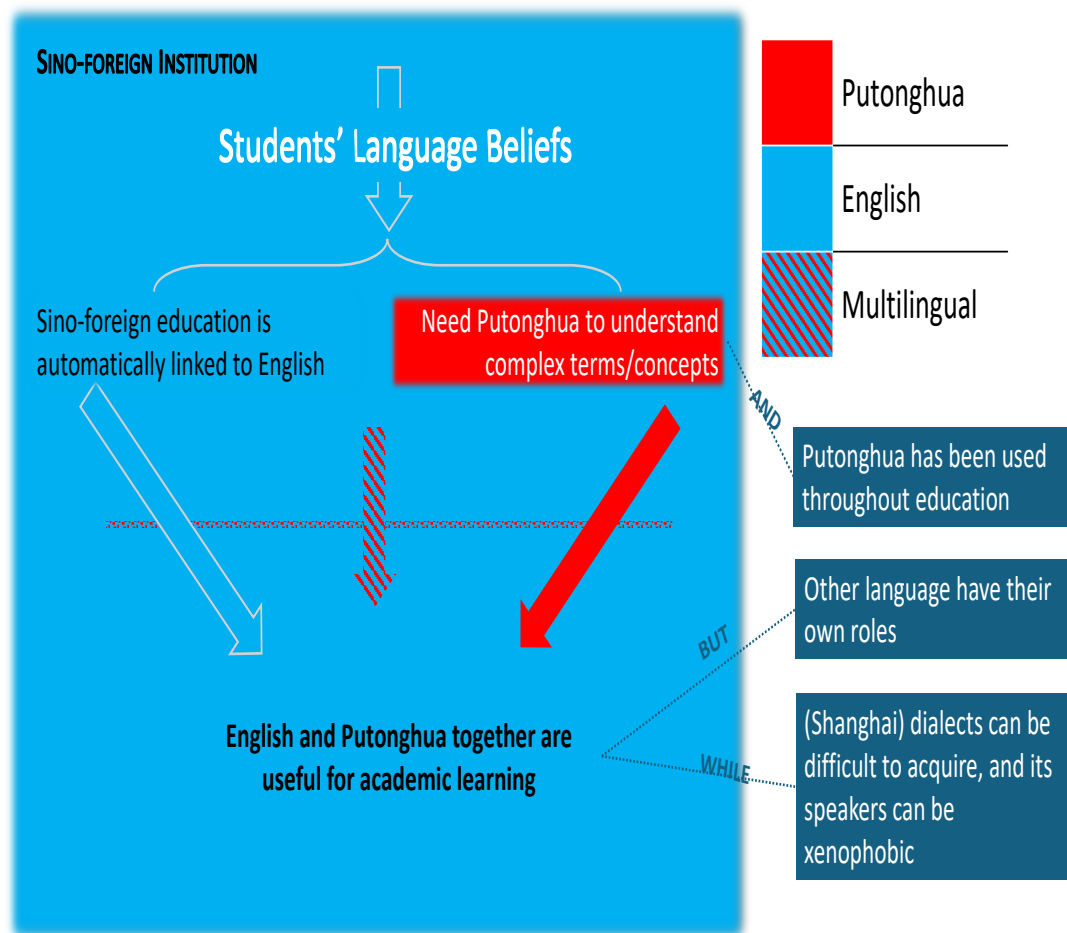
Now I'm teaching them some Malay words. It is only to break the ice. And mainly to allow them to have a break, mentally. I think students are very exhausted....So I taught them a couple of words like today a word "Senang", which is just relaxing because the students are highly stressed.... Also when they did very terrible work, I find that using Chinese would not help, using English would not help. So I would teach them a word in Malay, which is the word "Tolong". it means please, please, listen carefully, I beg you, you know. (Excerpt 18, 1301–1307)

¹³ *Gaon du* (戇度) is a curse word that can also be affectionately used within an inner circle.

5.6.2.3 Students' Language Beliefs

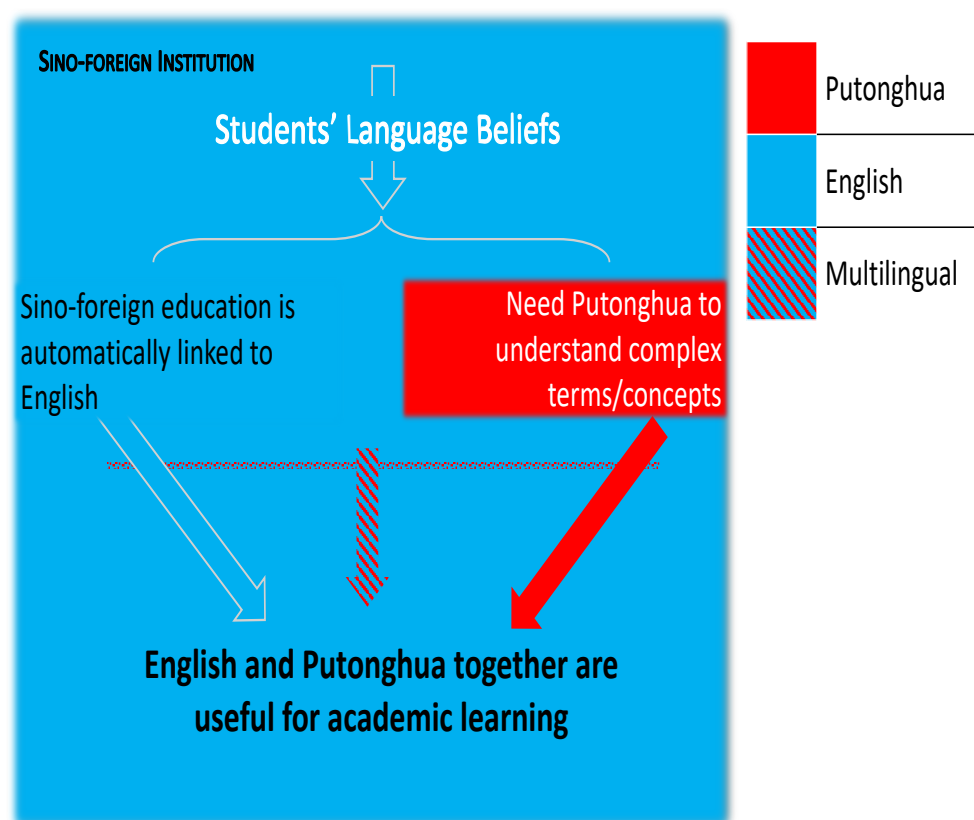
Students' language practices were guided by their language beliefs. Shown in 5.7, two themes of language beliefs guided students' language practices: English and Chinese together are useful for academic learning; Other languages can exist, but not academically.

Figure 5.7 Themes from Interview: Students' Language Beliefs



5.6.2.3.1 English and Chinese Together are Useful for Academic Learning

Figure 5.8 Theme 1 of Students' Language Beliefs



During the interviews, students tended to associate their English language practices with Sino-foreign education, and they would always add their actual practice of both English and Chinese. For example, IBS01 mentioned that:

Everyone chooses this Sino-foreign education because we think English is useful, and we hope the teacher will teach in Chinese for major courses, hoping to thoroughly understand professional knowledge. (Excerpt 19,117–119)

All Chinese students interviewed said that they preferred a mix of Chinese and English for their learning. The reason is due to the complexity of academic terms in English. As IBS03 answered:

Hm, I hope English accounts for 70%, and Chinese for 30%, still hoping for a higher proportion of English, but completely in English might not be feasible either, because some complex words, and professional vocabulary, might still need to be understood in Chinese. Just understand first, then with English, it would be better to delve deeper. And English can improve our English skills. And if we choose to go to graduate school or work in foreign companies or communicate with foreign customers after graduation, English would be more beneficial. (Excerpt 20, 551–556)

Students preferred English but faced challenges in learning terms and concepts. IBS02

explained his preference for Putonghua over English in his degree course:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| IBS02 | You can mention the term monopoly, but when you explain it, you can say what its features are, like "one mountain cannot accommodate two tigers." |
| Researcher | I understand, that is to say, for those proper nouns, you prefer everyone to use English, and when explaining, you can use Chinese to explain it. |
| IBS02 | I think it's a more effective method in that course. Personally, I think so. |
| Researcher | But if it's like the Korean teacher's class now, his explanation might all be in English, and he doesn't reach the same level as "one mountain cannot accommodate two tigers," which is so direct and precise. |
| IBS02 | Right, the teacher's professionalism is definitely higher than ours. What he thinks is precise, but we can't get that point, I think it's still a cultural perspective. |

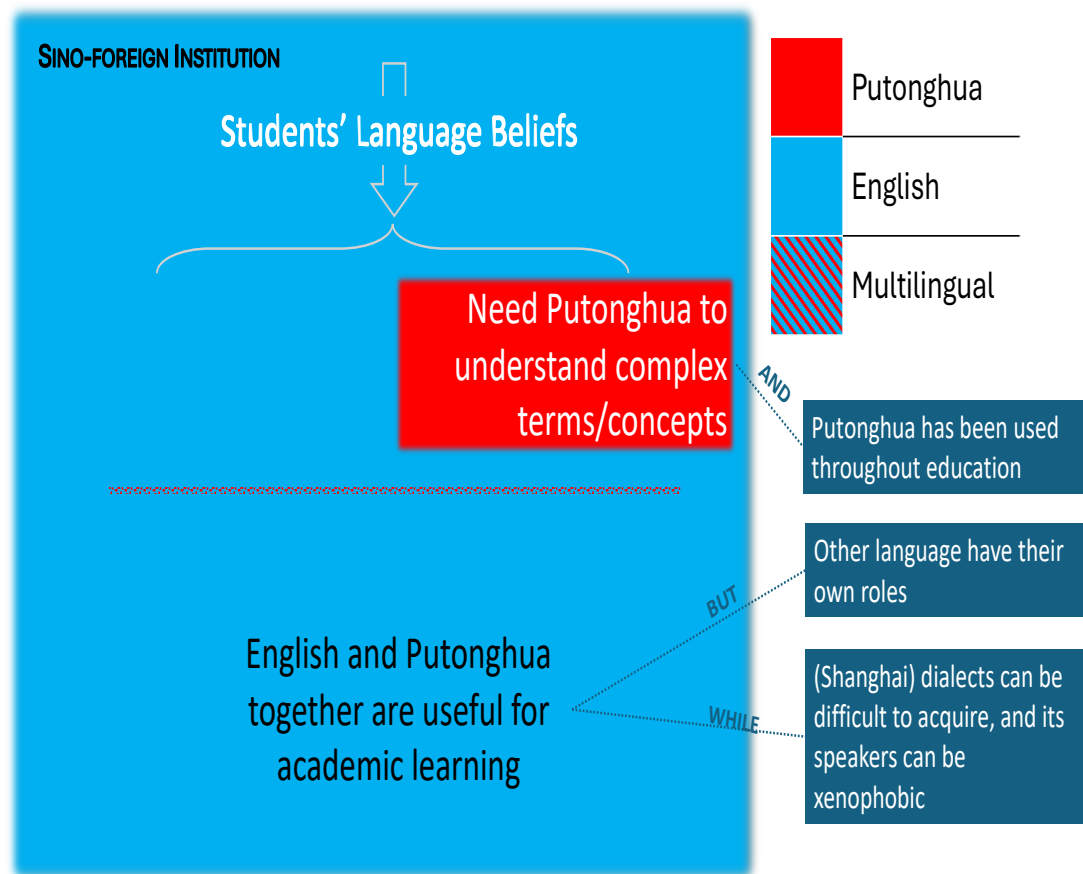
(Excerpt 21, 257–266)

In this excerpt, the student describes a metaphor in Chinese when describing learning the term monopoly: “One mountain cannot have two tigers” (一山不容二虎, *yi shan bu rong er hu*). This is a well-known Chinese idiom describing the situation where two strong adversaries cannot exist in the same place. The student attributed the difficulty in understanding monopoly to cultural differences.

5.6.2.3.2 Other Languages can Exist, but Not Academically

During interviews, students showed some awareness of the languages they heard on campus.

Figure 5.9 Theme 2 of Students' Language Beliefs



IBS01 was actively learning Cantonese, which he “*felt a bit of a different experience*” (Excerpt 22, IBS01, 136). IBS02 planned to “*maybe learn Japanese or Korean, [...] I think it could be useful*” (Excerpt 23, IBS02, 433–434). IBS04 shared that they were raised in Shanghai and learned the Shanghai dialect since kindergarten. But they felt that her Shanghai dialect was not ‘native’ enough when chatting with the locals, particularly in terms of the pronunciation of certain words. IBS03 migrated during primary school from her hometown to a municipality where the local language is different from hers.

Even though they still had opportunities to speak their dialect with one classmate, they shared that, “*since I went to [city name, capital city of a province] to study in primary school, I speak more Mandarin*” (Excerpt 24, 595–596).

When asked if they were the policy maker at their institution and if they would make policies to encourage the learning of Chinese dialects, students showed reluctance to support these efforts. IBT03 mentioned that though dialects were interesting, it would be ideal to share them in the format of dialect sharing meetups. Similarly, IBT02, for example, disagreed the policy prescription on dialects:

Researcher	[...]So now if you can make a decision, if you are a policy maker, would you encourage everyone to learn a little dialect, learn a little Shanghainese?
IBT02	I would encourage it. But I won't introduce policies.

(Excerpt 25, 379–381)

At the end of the interview, I asked if IBT02 had other questions. He added a further comment regarding his attitudes towards the Shanghai dialect and people from Shanghai:

Researcher	[...] Do you have any questions for me at the moment? You can ask anything.
IBS02	First, I want to talk about this fifth question, I think there is still prejudice.
Researcher:	What prejudice?
IBS02	Well, prejudice or discrimination, it may have been ten years ago, but now it may be, I think it should be that the whole country is developing.
Researcher:	Dialect prejudice?
IBS02	And now there is no such prejudice or discrimination. But in the past, I heard from my parents, other students say that in the past, Shanghai people were particularly discriminatory and exclusive to outsiders.
Researcher	Yes, it seems that there were many of them before.
IBS02	Because they were the first to open up.
Researcher	Their economic development is the fastest, right?
IBS02	Yes, and now. I think now, for example, a small country like the UK, if there are hundreds or even

more than a hundred or thousands of languages, I think it would be very chaotic, or in another word, there must be a dominant language to suppress or discriminate against something.

[...]

IBS02: No, I think it's a very deep consciousness, a subconscious and even deeper subconscious bias or discrimination against other regions. For example, what about people from say Henan, or people from some other places, what do they have in common?

Researcher: Yeah, it's a stereotype.

IBS02: Yeah, almost.

Researcher: But stereotypes don't only exist among Shanghai people and classmates, right? Maybe a student from Henan, he may also have stereotypes.

IBS02: Yeah, that's true.

Researcher: What you observed is that Shanghai classmates have this subconscious feeling that they are superior, and their city is superior.

IBS02: Well, I think there is still a bit, although many Shanghai people now, on short video platforms, they will say, there is nothing fun in Shanghai, or Beijing has nothing fun, the best food in Beijing is only McDonald's, or those things. Although they will say that on the surface, I think in the very deep subconscious, they may still think their place is better.

Researcher: Yeah, I understand, but does it have something to do with whether they speak Shanghainese or not?

IBS02: I think it has a bit to do with it, but not much.

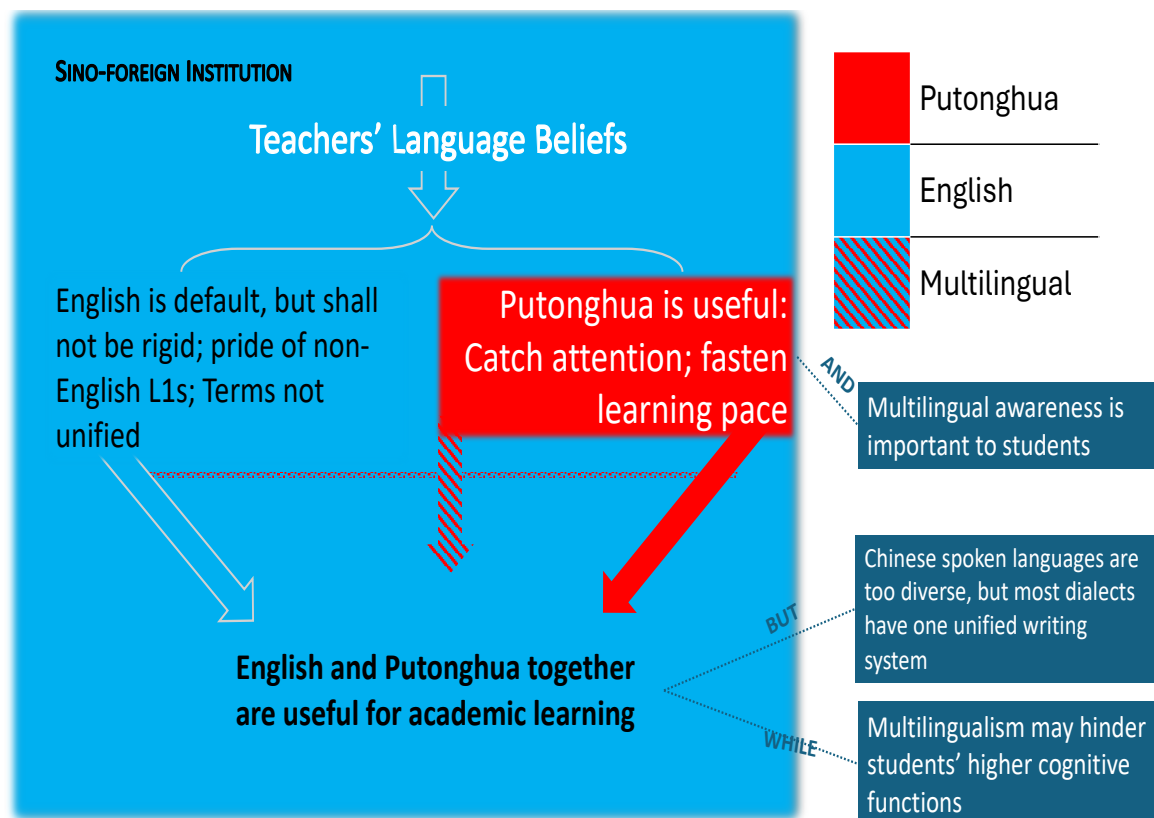
(Excerpt 26, IBS02, 328–366)

5.6.2.4 Teachers' Language Beliefs

Two main themes emerged from teachers' beliefs, shown in Figure 5.10. First, while teachers maintain that English is the *default* language at Sino-foreign institutions, they believe that teaching English or teaching in English should not be rigid. Their beliefs also include respecting the pride of non-English L1 speakers, and are influenced by the non-unified English terms in their industry. Second, teachers believe that other languages, such as Chinese, are useful for pedagogical purposes, such as catching attention, making jokes, and relieving students' stress. Further, while teachers believe that multilingual

awareness should be promoted among students, they also believe that the adoption of a unified Chinese writing system across diverse spoken Chinese languages facilitates communication. At the same time, some teachers also hold the belief that multilingualism may hinder students' higher cognitive functions.

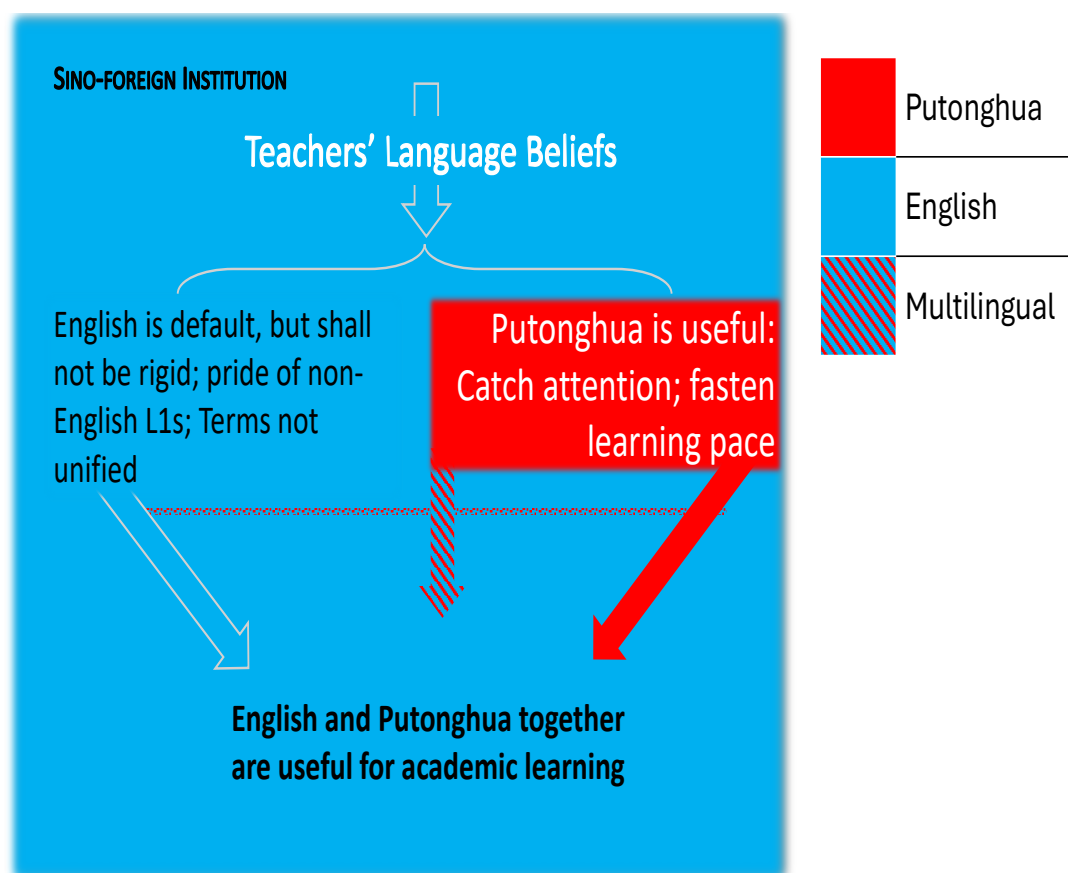
Figure 5.10 Themes from Interview: Teachers' Language Beliefs



5.6.2.4.1 English learning shall not be rigid; Respecting Non-English L1's Pride, and Non-Unified Disciplinary Terms

When asked about their attitudes towards English, teachers tended to point out that English learning should not be too rigid.

Figure 5.11 Theme 1 of Teachers' Language Beliefs



IAT02 stressed the importance of English because they taught an EAP course, but it shall not be rigid:

I mean, I just think with adults, or not with anybody really, but especially with adults, I mean, anything that seems too rigid too dictatorial, is going to be demotivating to a degree because it's, you're taking away people's autonomy, right? So you know I wouldn't wanna, I wouldn't wanna have a dress code for, for example, I mean, anything that's treating them like they're in a prison or something. So I guess I would look at it as being too harsh on it, just by stripping people of their autonomy, I think would be demotivating. Again, EAP I tend to encourage English. Yeah. I wouldn't be, you know dogmatic about it or anything. (Excerpt 27, 470–476)

IAT02 also shared that: “it's unnatural for you know, two Chinese people speaking English when they could easily do it in Chinese” (Excerpt 28, 294–295). It is natural for speakers of the same L1 to speak the same language. It is also for the respect of non-L1

English speakers that L1 English speaker used English. IAT02, a L1 English speaker who is fluent in Spanish, shared why he used English with non-L1 English speakers:

Yeah, but isn't that also a sort of, anyway, and you noticed this everywhere. There's kind of a pride thing, I think. That students feel like, oh, well. If I use, you know, Mandarin or another language, it's like I'm saying that I can't do this in English. And you know, I noticed again, I worked in Latin America for a long time. And like when I was in Mexico people who were not English teachers. Math teachers. Science teachers, they would all speak to me in Spanish. Okay. But none of the Mexican English teachers would speak to me in Spanish.

(Excerpt 29, 449–455)

The pride of non-English L1 speakers was observed by the L1 English speaker, and in his teaching with Chinese students, he deliberately chose to use English, although he is fluent in Chinese too.

Besides, ICT01 pointed out that in the discipline of film studies, industry-oriented terms in English were diverse:

ICT01	We fight for it [note: terms] because especially. The problem we have with the terms in the film industry is not unified on terms, so there's...
Researcher	Even in English or?
ICT01	Even in English, we have each country translates differently, for example. If you're speaking in English, with American or Canadians about the MV music videos, they will call it music videos. If you speak with a British person, it's a promo.
Researcher	It's a what?
ICT01	Promo.
Researcher	Promo. OK.
ICT01	And if.. the same thing, you're talking to somebody who's French or Italian or Spanish in English that is a video clip.
Researcher	OK.
ICT01	The same thing, and it happens with equipment. It happens with shot names. It happens with nomenclatures on data management. Absolutely everything has different spheres of influence based on American system or British system or French

system. Everything is divided because the 100 years of history of film have been independent industries. I'm sure because I don't have experience with the Indian. But Indians in English will probably have other terms because Bollywood the industry in India, right? So it has a microcosm. So. We fight among teachers how to call them.

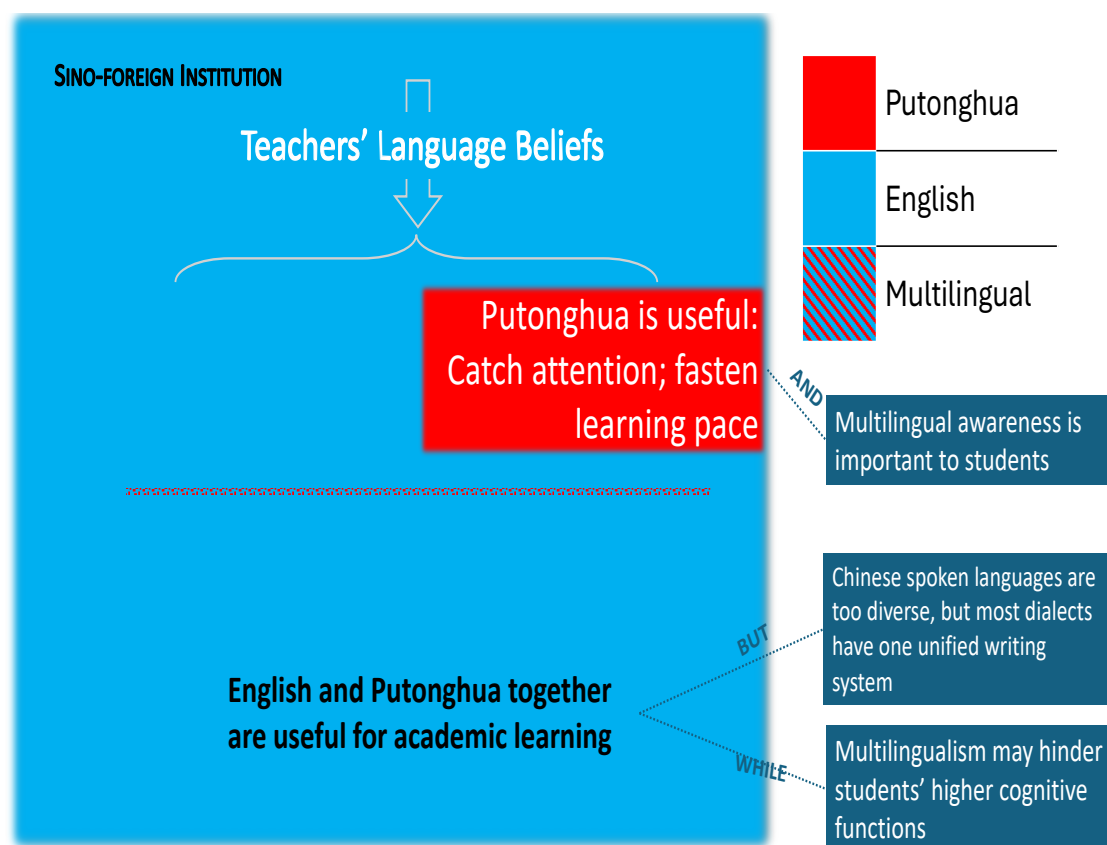
Researcher ICT01: I see.

the like: We also have... so that most of the time I have to tell kids. OK, so you will hear it like this or like this or this are all the same you know.

(Excerpt 30, 2316–2339)

5.6.2.4.2 Multilingualism is a Contested Concept

Figure 5.12 Theme 2 of Teachers' Language Beliefs



Teachers were open to using Putonghua for pedagogical purposes. Teachers believe Putonghua fasten the pace of their teaching; other than that, Putonghua is helpful in the classrooms for students to understand jokes, as shared by ICT01:

Sometimes I make a joke and they laugh. And then they laugh harder when the joke is in Chinese. So I know they were just laughing because [...] they didn't really understand what I was saying... (Excerpt 31, 2274–2276)

Teachers have different attitudes towards multilingualism. First, IBT02 believed the multilingual practices of their home country, Singapore, might reduce people's ability to think deeply.

- | | |
|---------------------|---|
| IBT02 | You can explore more, but I have found that this is not really true now in China, where kids are not able to use the language to the best of their ability, but still they are much able, to explore their thoughts more than Singaporeans, I think. |
| Researcher
IBT02 | You mean Singaporeans who speak more than... Multilingual. That means, for example, if I cannot find a word in Chinese, I will say it in Malay. If I cannot find... You know, so you will notice that it becomes a salad bowl where your language is mixed with so many different things. They cannot really go deep into your thoughts like the way the Chinese are able to. If you notice that in the, the villages, although they speak Chinese and maybe less educated I find that they are able to explore their thoughts much more and they can talk about their, experiences more than Singaporeans at the same age. Because you know, we can find the words in English, Chinese, or whatever dialects to express them. Not like monolingual people. |
| Researcher | That's a very fair point. |

(Excerpt 32, 1689–1701)

Teachers also addressed the diversity of Chinese dialects, inferring that multilingualism may not be feasible. For example, they pointed out the lack of mutual intelligibility even among Wu dialects (IAT03, IBT03), as well as the unified writing system in Chinese, “*But obviously Chinese is Chinese, right? You can't write in dialects, right?*” (Excerpt 33, IBT02, 1512–1513).

Some teachers believed multilingualism should be promoted as an awareness, although outside of the classroom. For example, IAT01 shared that “*my goal is simply just to kind of have something (referring languages) out there in the public space*” (Excerpt 34, 152–153). Besides the existence of multilingualism, IAT01 also believed that Chinese students, just as anybody else (referring international students in China) should be given chances to embrace linguistic diversity:

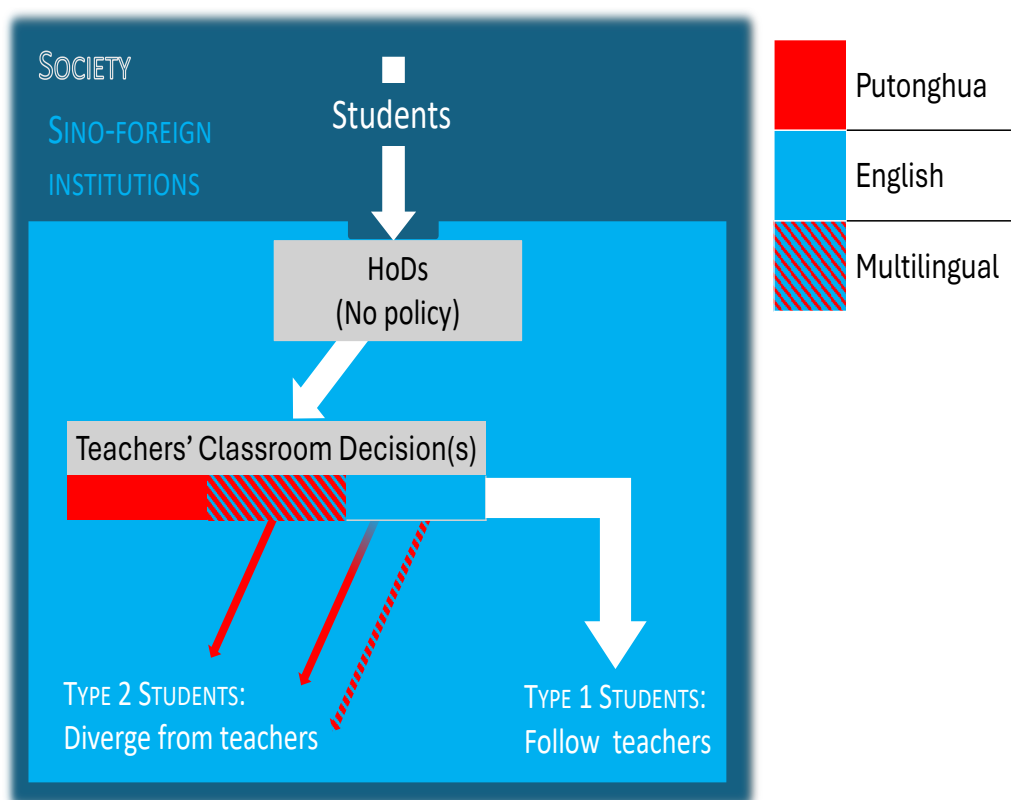
Frankly, if it's building kind of greater awareness of linguistic diversity, your target is the Chinese students just as much as anybody else, because most of them are not [...] from this area. And in a sense, you know, one goal is for somebody who does speak, [one Wu dialect] speakers [...] kind of give them a chance to come out and for this to be a good thing. (Excerpt 35, 243–248)

IAT01’s advocacy of multilingualism focused on linguistic awareness, and they paid attention to Chinese students’ monolingual Putonghua ideology while self-suppressing minoritised and dialect languages.

5.6.2.5 Language Management

Two themes emerged from the interview results concerning the language management strategies at Sino-foreign institutions, shown in Figure 5.13. The first theme concerns teachers' language management decisions in Sino-foreign classrooms, and the other theme examines students’ responses to those decisions.

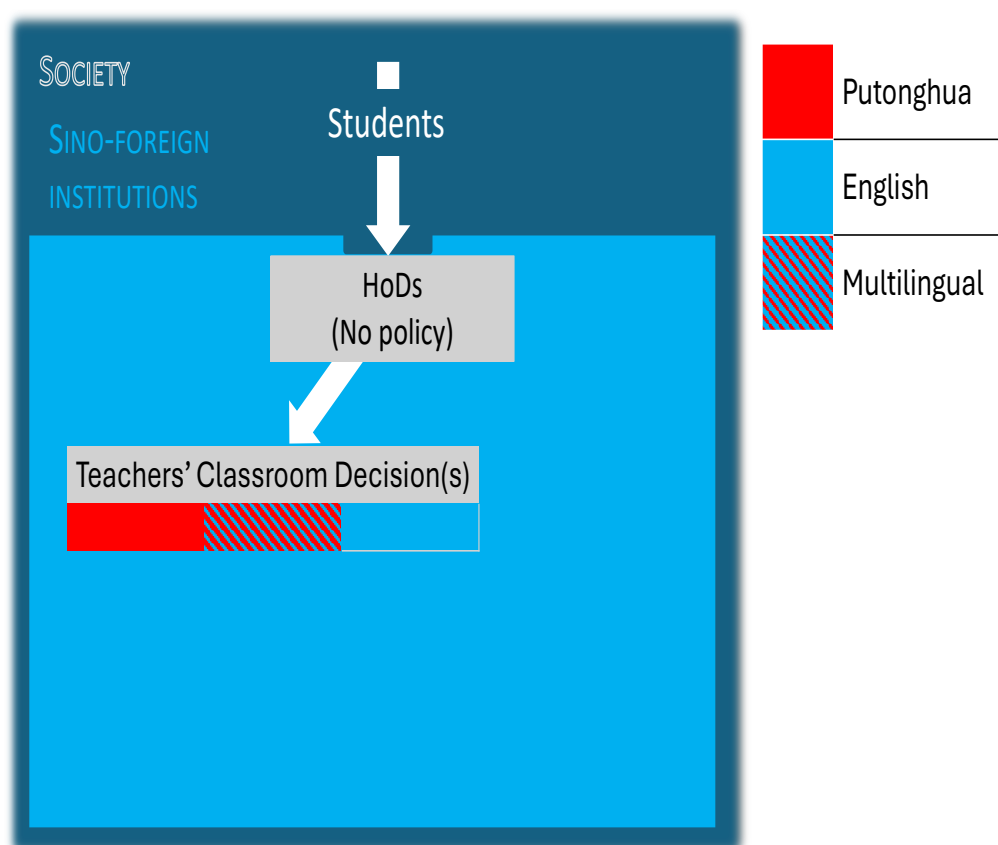
Figure 5.13 Themes from Interview: Language Management



5.6.2.5.1 Teachers Make Language Management Decisions in the Classrooms

During the interviews, both teachers and students reported that they had not received a language policy from their institutions. When asked about the language policies, they tended to say English is *default* language policy.

Figure 5.14 Theme 1: Teachers' Language Management



Among the nine teachers, two were directors/coordinators of their department. Neither prescribed any language policies in their departments, nor did they receive any such policies from their institutions.

IAT01: Now I'm switching from me as teacher to me as director. [University A] doesn't have a formal language policy beyond. The expectation that English is to be used in class. All right. So the trick is balancing between an English medium approach in the classroom, but a multilingual community. (Excerpt 36, 50–54)

IBT01: I mean, I've never really said that. It's always like so many other things that I'm trying to figure out and, and, you know, deal with. Yeah. So it's usually kind of one of the last things I, I think everybody knows that. (Excerpt 37, 1070–1073)

It is worth mentioning that all teachers at University B were fully aware of an auditing system which required EAP teachers to speak English at all times. However, as shown above on teachers' language practices, in fact they all used languages other than English

in the classroom. Teachers used Chinese to serve specific pedagogical purposes, such as clarifying concepts, providing specific requirements for assignments, refocusing students' attention back to the classroom, and speeding up the pace of the courses. Teachers also initiated language management in the classroom. IBT02, for example, encouraged students to use Chinese while taking notes during English listening exercises.

So basic idea is that during the discussion...like yesterday. I was talking to a kid, he was doing the... and I find that he was struggling to write the words in English because they need to take notes. And the kids were struggling to write the notes in English. And by the time they go to spell that word, the listening is already over. So he did not fulfil the task. So I asked him, why did you not use Chinese? You could have written the ideas in Chinese and you could have immediately, because when I see the English word, I could say it in Chinese. I said, could you do this? You see the Chinese word, are you able to think of the English word and he said, yes, then I said, right, then you try the next task when the English words are being said, you write now in Chinese and I asked him, has it improved? He said, yes.. So four kids heard what I did. And then they did that way and it helped them.
(Excerpt 38, IBT02, 1490–1499)

5.6.2.5.2 Language Management: Bottom-up Management from Students

As shown in Figure 5.13 above, in response to teachers' language management decisions in the classroom, students exhibited two types of responses. Type 1 students usually follow teachers' management, as inferred from IBT01's comments:

[Speaking Chinese] should be the last resort and not, [...] you should try to make them, force them to use English as much as possible. (Excerpt 39, 977–978)

Unlike University B students' compliance with their teachers, University C students showed some resistance when being pushed to speak more English, which presents Type 2 students who diverge from teachers' language management. ICT01 shared one scenario about the interpreter's failed language management with her students:

Researcher	OK. And how do students feel about it? Feel about the translation during the class?
ICT01	Oh, they're very picky. I had to let go one assistant (note: bilingual interpreters' job title at University C was teaching assistant) [...] [S]he forced them to try English as much as possible, so they tended to say, OK, try in English. So they complain so much. You know, we have reviews every two months. They have to fill a survey with the opinions of all the teachers and all the teachers assistants and their opinions were terrible.
Researcher	OK, that's interesting. So they don't like teachers who push them to speak English?
ICT01	They don't like it.

(Excerpt 40, 2258–2266)

5.7 Summary

This chapter has presented the dataset collected from the three research sites, including archival documents, classroom observations, a questionnaire, and interviews. Through a detailed account of each data collection method and instrument, the chapter establishes a clear foundation for subsequent analysis. The organised presentation of data ensures transparency and provides the necessary context for understanding the varied linguistic and institutional environments across the participating institutions, setting the stage for in-depth interpretation in the following chapters in response to the research questions.

Chapter 6 Discussion

This chapter presents discussions of the study's findings, structured around the four research questions introduced in Chapter 4. By analysing the emerging themes of language practices, beliefs, and management within the context of Sino-foreign higher education, this chapter situates the results within the proposed theoretical framework of a materialistic class theory of language policy in Chapter 3 and relevant scholarly literature. The following sections address each research question in turn, examining how the findings contribute to current knowledge and offering nuanced insights into the complexities of language practices, beliefs, and management in transnational academic environments.

6.1 RQ1: What language practices, language beliefs, and language management are in evidence in Sino-foreign education?

Triangulating data and themes from archival documents, observational notes, questionnaire results, and interview transcriptions, this section discusses the findings on language practices, beliefs, and management from three Sino-foreign institutions.

6.1.1 English and Chinese as Knowledge Transferring and Meaning-Making Practices

Data shows that English and Chinese are used together for transferring knowledge and meaning making.

6.1.1.1 Means of Knowledge Transferring

It is evident that both English and Chinese are practised for the purpose of knowledge transferring, especially through the teacher-student communication in the classrooms.

Observed in the Accounting classrooms, academic terms are used in English while the medium of instruction is Chinese: “看一下这个 asset report, 我们的目的是计

算。 。 。 ”. [look at this asset report, our aim is to calculate...] ((Session 4, University B

Online Observational Notes). Although sometimes it is the norm that academic terms are used in English, teachers still expect students to understand them by clarifying the meaning in Chinese, such as the cases in Session 6 of the online classroom observation when the teacher said: “cash forecast 是什么[what is cash forecast]”. The instructor uses terminology in English and explains in Chinese; and In-Person Classroom Observation Entry 01 when the teacher asked what the student meant by “a gesture of goodwill” in Accounting.

Moreover, during the interviews, both students and teachers reported using English and Chinese to understand their courses better. For teachers, the EAP teacher IAT03 who mentioned that when stuck there, Chinese students would use one word or two in Chinese, and after the teacher clarified in English, they moved on in English (Excerpt 3). EAP teacher IBT03 also mentioned she used Chinese to clarify concepts during her courses, and EAP teacher IBT04 used Chinese to teach one academic writing course to the first-year students to make the process go a little faster (Excerpt 15). On the students' side, they prefer both English and Chinese for academic learning because English is useful, while “professional vocabulary” is better understood in Chinese. The explanation in Chinese of “one mountain cannot have two tigers” for the English term

“monopoly” reflects students’ practice of thinking, even though the medium of the class is in English (Excerpt 22). Teachers are well aware that it is natural for students who share the same Chinese language to speak Chinese together (Excerpt 29, IAT02). Some teachers encourage Chinese students’ use of Chinese during EAP courses to improve their note-taking skills while listening to English audio (Excerpt 38, IBT02).

6.1.1.2 Means of Meaning Making

Both Chinese and English are used to convey meanings beyond the teacher-student interactions. Sino-foreign classrooms are often mixed with both international and Chinese students. Teachers and students tended to point out that the reason they used English was because of the international populations (Excerpt 1 IBS1, and Excerpt 2 IAT01).

However, international populations do not take English for granted and actively use Chinese for meaning-making. For example, in University B In-Person Observational Notes Entry 02, at the point that the Chinese teaching assistant did not get what the international student meant, the international student switched to Chinese to make meaning of the interaction process. Such is also the case reported by the international student IBS05 that “I would go to like individually in private and then ask him in Chinese. And then like also please explain in Chinese” (Excerpt 6).

The use of both English and Chinese was also reflected in the questionnaire results that for academic purposes such as give a presentation to the class, 80% responses reported using English and 48% in Chinese Putonghua. This dual use of English and Chinese Putonghua aligns with the existing literature on translanguaging practices in supposedly EMI classrooms with homogenous Chinese populations (Fang et al., 2023; Fang & Liu, 2020; Liu et al., 2024) and highly proficient elite EMI institutions where students and teachers adopt translanguaging to co-construct knowledge (Song, 2024;

Zheng & Qiu, 2024). This finding extends to the international populations' translanguaging practices in supposedly EMI classrooms. It indicates that some proficiency in the languages of the hosting countries also promotes their meaning-making processes.

6.1.2 Multilingualism as Encountered Repertoire at Sino-foreign Institutions

Data show that multilingualism exists, but in the form of encountered repertoire. I explain repertoire first and present multilingualism as encountered repertoire at Sino-foreign institutions.

6.1.2.1 Repertoire

In Chapter 3, I have pointed out the many layers of the term multilingualism. Rather than a “collection of ‘languages’ that a speaker controls”, multilingualism is a “complex of *specific* semiotic resources”. Such resources can be “named languages”, but also concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities etc. (Blommaert, 2010). The findings of multilingual practices in three Sino-foreign institutions can be better described with the concept of *repertoire*, explained by Blommaert and Backus (2013) as:

the word we use to describe all the “means of speaking” i.e. all those means that people know *how to use and why* while they communicate, and such means, as we have seen, range from linguistic ones (language varieties) over cultural ones (genres, styles) and social ones (norms for the production and understanding of language) (p. 3)

There is a vast range of ways in which people acquire or learn a certain repertoire. For example, we acquire certain languages while being brought up, and we learn languages by degrees such as formal learning, or informal learning. Categorised by Blommaert and

Backus (2013), besides comprehensive and specialised language learning, there are also “encounters” with language and “embedded language learning”. In our diverse world, “people and linguistic resources are mobile; consequently, one can come across particular bits of language, learn them in particular ways, and use them” (p. 11). There are many forms of “encounters” with languages, such as age-group slang learning, temporary language learning (e.g., in a restaurant with local people), single-word learning, or recognising languages.

For “embedded language learning”, it may exist in situations when we “learn bits of language that can only be used if another language is used as well” (p. 14). Blommaert and Backus (2013) describe embedded language learning “forms of learning in which the finality of learning is to perform code-switching in an appropriate way”, such as Dutch IT engineers’ speaking Dutch with English vocabulary embedded (p. 14). As described above in 6.1.1, such embedded learning is practised using both English and Chinese in Sino-foreign classrooms, especially when the students and teacher are homogeneous Chinese speakers. The following section presents data on multilingualism as encountered repertoire at Sino-foreign institutions.

6.1.2.2 Multilingualism as Encountered Repertoire

First, all three institutions offer multilingual activities at the institutional level. Presented in Figure 5.13 on students’ language practices, University A has a language table where students and teachers can engage in conversations with hosts who speak languages other than English or Chinese Putonghua; University B offers intercultural communication courses, and cultural festivals during which languages other than English and Putonghua were shared; for University C, based on the creative nature of their majors, it is reported from the interview that students are enthusiastic about using dialects to shoot their films

because “they feel it [is] special. It’s more authentic” (Excerpt 11). The multilingual practices of using other languages for their creation at University C are more student-initiated but are supported by their institution. However, as the teacher observes, when speaking Shanghainese, “it sounds fake”, and it is not easy to find actors who speak such languages (Excerpt 11). Similarly, for the language table at University A, IAT03 pointed out that it attracted people who were already familiar with such languages, such as the Wu dialect she spoke. Other than that, “they [colleagues and students at University A] are intimidated by” the dialects (Excerpt 7). The intercultural activities hosted by University B are restricted to certain events with specific groups of people. In fact, though using or learning multilingualism, they all belong to temporary language learning that may enable them to recognise and say some single words in specific languages, such as the prevalent Shanghainese *Gaon du* (Excerpt 17).

In a diversified world, most people typically know and can speak at least some words in other languages as well as the dominant variety. Although the self-reported L1 in the questionnaire results show that 38/51 were monolingual Putonghua speakers, the interviews and questionnaire results show a certain number of languages in students’ and teachers’ repertoires. Chinese dialects such as Sichuan, Wenzhou, and Cantonese were frequently mentioned as being heard of at their institutions, besides Shanghai and Suzhou, where the institutions are located. As shown in Table 5.9 from the questionnaire about students’ language practices, around 11 % respondents speak Wu dialect with Wu-speaking classmates and 15 % speak other languages with classmates. Students barely mentioned that languages other than English and Putonghua were used for academic purposes. Teachers, too, although almost everyone possesses a multilingual repertoire, a few of them applied multilingualism in their teaching. Rare examples are the

Shanghainese *Gaon du*, and IBT02's use of Malay words such as *Senang* to soothe the students' nerves (Excerpt 18).

This finding on multilingual repertoires at Sino-foreign institutions reflects the multilingual reality in China, where Putonghua is the dominant language in Chinese education and society (H. Xu, 2019). In Excerpt 8, IAT01 mentioned that the students were reluctant to mention their ethnic minority. Several Chinese dialects were mentioned, but exist in encountered repertoires that are “particular bits of language” (Blommaert & Backus, 2013, p. 11) and are barely used in academic learning. This finding is echoed in Fang and Hu's (2022) the results of an EMI programme with Teochew-speaking students from South China. Their interview results show that the regional language Teochew is seldom used in academic settings, although it is expressed as a means of identity. On another note, multilingual repertoires might be the ethos of non-dominant languages in educational settings. Shown in Lasagabaster (2024), with 6.4% of L1 isiXhosa speakers at an English and Afrikaans speaking academic institution, it might not be very likely that isiXhosa would be selected for educational purposes.

6.1.3 Hierarchical Multilingualism at Sino-foreign Education

In the two sections above on language practices, I have analysed how multilingualism exists in individuals' linguistic repertoires. English and Chinese are primarily for comprehensive learning, while other languages are for communication. Although Sino-foreign institutions often portray themselves as multicultural or international learning spaces, multilingualism is usually manifested in English or English and Chinese bilingualism. English and Chinese are both useful for academic learning, perceptions towards the two languages are hierarchical. This section presents the hierarchical multilingualism from three aspects: English and Chinese, students' monolingualism

towards Putonghua while embrace multilingualism, and teachers' monolingualism towards English while utilising multilingualism.

6.1.3.1 English and Chinese are Both Useful, but English is More Useful

Among the two languages chosen: English and Chinese, data also shows that English is the *default* language for Sino-foreign institutions. During the interviews, teachers frequently used the word *default* to describe their English practice. Teachers mentioned that: “Everybody knows that they are supposed to just speak English” (Excerpt 12, IBT01). “I am an English teacher, so I mainly use English” (Excerpt 13, IBT03). Note that all teachers are at least bilingual in English and Chinese. Some teacher reported using Chinese for pedagogical purposes, such as clarifying concepts, fasten the academic learning pace, tell jokes, or catch students attention, as ICT01 shared “sometimes I make a joke and they laugh. And then they laugh harder when the joke is in Chinese” (Excerpt 31); at the same time, some teachers deliberately chose not to use Chinese in their classes for the purpose of students' learning of English (Excerpt 14) and respecting the pride non-L1 English speakers who have demonstrated their English proficiency (Excerpt 29).

For students, the English language is often associated with Sino-foreign space, as IBS01 mentioned, “Everyone chooses this Sino-foreign education because we think English is useful, and we hope the teacher will teach in Chinese for major courses, hoping to thoroughly understand professional knowledge” (Excerpt 19). While students believe English and Chinese both are useful, their usefulness lies in different areas. English is mainly for future purposes, such as studying abroad or better job prospects. As mentioned by IBS03, “if we choose to go to graduate school or work in foreign companies or communicate with foreign customers after graduation, English would be more beneficial.” (Excerpt 20). The roles of Chinese are to assist the learning, while English is not sufficient. The example is IBS02's understanding of the English term “monopoly” by

using the Chinese idiom “one mountain cannot accommodate two tigers” (Excerpt 21). Students frequently associate the use of Chinese with the difficulty of academic terms that are difficult to “delve deeper” in English (Excerpt 20).

The supporting role of Chinese, or shared L1 in EMI classrooms, resonates with the emerging translanguaging literature in EMI contexts with a dominating Chinese-speaking group. Fang and Liu's (2020) mixed methods study shows the five types of translanguaging practices of teachers in EMI classrooms, and they are “concept/language point explanation, comprehension check, content knowledge localisation, instruction reinforcement and creation of class rapport”. Learning the students’ and teachers’ attitudes towards translanguaging, Fang and Liu (2020) show students’ neutral-to-positive attitudes towards translanguaging pedagogy and “using all English is not always meaningful”. Such is also the case in Qiu et al. (2023), in which they report the students realised “relying on English is still troublesome” so students actively use their Chinese and Japanese multilingual repertoire.

The findings challenges the translanguaging literature by questioning the seemingly equal usefulness of English and other multilingual repertoires. First, while translanguaging “transcend the boundaries between named languages, named varieties, and language and other semiotic systems” (Li Wei, 2018, p.9), the ultimate goal of practising translanguaging is to master English, or any target language. Slembrouck (2024) provides an example questioning the boundaries of translanguaging. He described a proud group of immigrants who successfully reached the CEFR¹⁴-B2 level of Dutch. The named language Dutch ensures that the immigrants capitalise what they have achieved. Moreover, while translanguaging literature seems to celebrate the triumph of shared L1 or multilingual repertoire, some concerns have not been adequately addressed.

¹⁴ Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

For example, while translanguaging is promoted in the learning, English is still the language of assessment (Antia, 2017b; Vogt & Antia, 2024; Wang & East, 2024). Furthermore, echoing existing literature on the situations when translanguaging happened, such as sided translanguaging among students' talk (Antia, 2017a; Moody et al., 2019), this study shows English enjoys a higher hierarchy than Chinese, indicating from in-class and outside-class division of different language practices. Noted by IAT01 that “[s]o then what we had was a pretty clear division of labour, where in class it was English. And outside class, it was mostly Chinese” (Excerpt 5). It is fair to say to master English is the goal in Sino-foreign classrooms, while the methods in the process may include multilingual learning atmosphere, and translanguaging as pedagogy.

6.1.3.2 Students' Putonghua Monolingualism and Embracing Multilingualism

Results show that Sino-foreign students hold a strong monolingual ideology towards Putonghua. During interviews, when asked if they were policymakers and if they would make policies to encourage the learning of Chinese dialects, students showed reluctance to support such policy efforts (Excerpt 25). All four Chinese student participants had migration experience to urban China. Shared by IBS03, who spoke a regional dialect at home, but they moved to the capital city of a province since primary school and “I speak more Mandarin” (Excerpt 24). IBS04 was raised in Shanghai and learned the Shanghai dialect since kindergarten, but she still felt her Shanghai dialect was not native enough to chat with the locals. Echoing the questionnaire results, 38 of 51 students are monolingual Putonghua speakers, indicating the prevalence of migration in urban China. I explain this in detail while answering RQ2.

This monolingualism ideology also occurs in speakers of ethnic minorities. Shared by IAT01, one Manchu speaker reluctantly admitted to the professor that they were

Manchu, and two Manchu speakers did not recognise each other's existence at the same programme. Presented in Excerpt 8 by IAT01: "And the fun thing was, I was asking her questions about her poster and whatever, and then she kind of quietly said to me, you know, I haven't told anybody, but actually I am Manchurian and the beautiful moment was I said, okay, go over there to that poster and talk to one of my students because she is too. They didn't know each other[...]."

Besides strong monolingualism towards Putonghua, students still embrace multilingualism. Noted by IBS02, they were planning to learn Japanese or Korean because "it could be useful" (Excerpt 23). IBS01 was actively learning Cantonese, which he "felt a bit of a different experience" (Excerpt 22). At University C, students are also utilising multilingual resources in their film production (Excerpt 11). Noted by IAT03 that "[students] think that I can choose a foreign language to be able to, for example, look better in the resume, and then maybe they also think that I can use it when I go to Spain, when I go to France to travel." (Excerpt 7). Students embrace multilingualism, which includes prestigious languages such as Cantonese, French, and Spanish. As IAT03 observed, students prefer French and Spanish to the Wu dialect because "the reward is not the same" (Excerpt 7).

Students' monolingual ideology and multilingual pursuit align with what De Costa et al. (2016) define as linguistic entrepreneurship that is an "act of aligning with the moral imperative to strategically exploit language-related resources for enhancing one's worth in the world" (p. 696) especially when facing neoliberalism in the linguistic market. In this study, linguistic entrepreneurship is manifested in students' pursuit of EMI and foreign cultures and languages. As discussed above, students at Sino-foreign institutions fully utilise their repertoire (mainly Putonghua) to learn terms of their courses, hoping to

become accustomed to EMI instruction and ultimately study abroad and secure better jobs.

6.1.3.3 Teachers' English Monolingualism and Utilisation of Multilingualism

Results show that teachers tend to lean towards English monolingualism. EAP teachers especially, consciously chose to use English as a *default* (IAT02, Excerpt 14). However, they showed openness to language practices, respect for students' autonomy, and avoidance of rigidity or dictatorial behaviours (IAT02, Excerpt 27). As discussed above, teachers fully utilised their own and students' linguistic repertoires in the teaching process, but some teachers expressed concerns about multilingualism. IBT02 noted that multilingualism in some situations makes "your language is mixed with so many different things", then people "cannot really go deep into your thoughts" (Excerpt 32). Still, teachers consciously promote multilingualism awareness on campus. Shown in Excerpts 34 and 35, IAT01 aimed to have some multilingualism in the public space and encourage people who speak non-dominant languages to "come out".

Teachers show what Canagarajah (2013) defines as dialogical cosmopolitanism, which refers to a mode of global citizenship through translingual practices, performative competence and cooperative disposition. All teachers, during the interviews and classroom observations, practise pedagogical translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter, 2021) in knowledge transferring and communication. It aligns with Han's (2022) findings that Sino-foreign students show positive experiences towards pedagogical experiences. Dialogical cosmopolitanism, while commendable, is unevenly accessible. Unlike precariously employed and inexperienced EMI instructors (Dafouz, 2018; Y. Han & Dong, 2024) who face burdens and insecurities, teacher participants in this study were very experienced and enjoy stable urban lives, which grant them latitude to initiate

dialogues, update pedagogies, and, most importantly, encourage and motivate their students.

6.1.4 Teachers and Students as Language Managers at Sino-foreign Education

Data shows that Sino-foreign institutions barely present an institutional level of language policies. Given the often absent language policy, teachers and students can serve as language managers in Sino-foreign classrooms.

6.1.4.1 Invisible English Language Policy

The consensus from teachers and students from the interview data shows that there is no explicit language policy at their institutions. Two of the interviewees (IAT01 and IBT02) are heads of the EAP departments, and both were reluctant to make language-related policies at their institutions. IAT01 pointed out “[t]he expectation that English is to be used in class” (Excerpt 36), and IBT01 mentioned that “I think everybody knows that [English should be used in the classrooms]” (Excerpt 37). The archival data point to a similar path in language management: there was no direct mention of a medium-of-education policy, but all universities used their own wording to indicate it. For example, institutional missions showed the institutions’ efforts were characterised in terms of “rooted globalism” and “internationalisation and localisation”. Although the institutions barely mentioned the languages of instruction. However, wording from the student recruiting documents was often indicative: the institutions were (or had connections with) “overseas universities” (University B), employing “bilingual teachers” (University C), and with “language courses ... required in English, Chinese, or potentially a third language” (University A), strongly indicating the critical roles of English and Chinese.

Moreover, while presenting the individuals' testimonies, the role of English in students' studying abroad, academic learning, and publishing was also highlighted.

Literature on EMI has shown that the English language is gradually perceived to be neutral in multilingual contexts where national languages might cause ideological debates (Janssens et al., 2013; Lasagabaster, 2024). The invisible EMI policy in Sino-foreign institutions continues to demonstrate its power as a global language (Kachru, 1992; O'Regan, 2021; Phillipson, 1992), evolving from neutral to invisibly powerful.

6.1.4.2 Teachers' Language Arbiter Role

From the data, teachers reported that they decided which languages were best for learning and teaching. Even with the auditing system at University B, which requires EAP teachers always to speak English in the classroom, EAP teachers do not take the auditing policy very seriously. As shown in Figure 5.14, teachers at least used Chinese besides English for pedagogical purposes, and some multilingual teachers used their repertoire to encourage and motivate students. Content teachers at University B as well. They decided the choice of medium of instruction most of the time. As shown in Session 7, University B Online Observational Notes:

The session today starts with the teacher's comment saying in Chinese that “今天没有留学生，那么用中文？”[no international student today so Chinese it is], some 20 minutes later, an international student arrived. The late student apologised in English. Simultaneously, the teacher switched to English without any explanation.

This finding acknowledges the teachers' arbitrating role (Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Menken & García, 2010) in the choice of medium of instruction. As IAT02 noted, it might be easier for two Chinese people to speak Chinese together instead of English;

shared L1 is deemed for easier communication and as a medium of instruction. The negotiation goes from English to L1; on the other hand, if there is an international population, it is not necessarily a negotiation. As shown in the above case, English is used immediately upon the international student's arrival. The teacher's negotiation of instructional language echoes the findings reported by De Soete (2025): with the absence of an international student in an EMI class, the Dutch-speaking instructor initiated and led the negotiation of the medium-of-instruction from English to their shared L1: Dutch. However, in the following section, I argue that English has a higher status in managing the language policies than the teachers.

6.1.4.3 International Population and Students' English Proficiency

Data show two factors in the classroom that affect teachers' language-choice decisions. The first is the presence of the international population in Sino-foreign classrooms that largely determines the EMI practices. The three universities present different ratios of Chinese and international students. For example, IAT01, when asked about their language practices, they mentioned the student composition at University A which accounts for 30 per cent (Excerpt 2). As shown in the section above, the content teacher negotiated with the Chinese students at the beginning of their class with the absence of international students, while when the international population appeared in the classrooms, the teacher did not negotiate, but switched to English without explanation (Session 7, University B Online Observational Notes).

The second factor that impacts the language practices is English language proficiency, especially those of the students. The higher proficiency in English one possesses, the more one actively practices in English in the classroom. University A students may "sometimes [get] stuck there and used one word or two in Chinese. People

would laugh and I would say do you mean...in English and they keep speaking English” (IAT 03, Excerpt 2); University C students tried English at the beginning, when it gets more complicated, they changed to Chinese (Excerpt 3); University B students “hope English accounts for 70% and Chinese for 30%” (Excerpt 19). The questionnaire results for University B students’ self-reported language test levels are equivalent to CEFR B1. For University C students, their English language test levels are at CEFR A2 level inferred from my classroom observations. Recorded in entries 01 and 02 in University C In-Person Observational Notes, students struggled a lot with grammar and pronunciation, and did not respond to questions in English, such as “Do you enjoy chatting with a group of people or with individuals?” The low English proficiency does not restrict to students in Sino-foreign education, as pointed out by international student IBS05, who said they spoke Chinese with the Chinese teacher because “his English wasn’t the best” (Excerpt 5).

The relationship between the English language proficiency and the EMI practices has been frequently pointed out in EMI literature. Hu and Lei’s (2014) case study of a Chinese EMI programme report insufficient English proficiency among teachers and students, resulting in a mismatch between policy and practice. The problems seem to be increasingly prevalent as reported by Yuan et al. (2024) in different Chinese universities’ EMI programmes, that “teachers and students in Chinese higher education do not seem to be ready to implement full EMI courses” (p. 8–9). While the lack of English proficiency may still be a fact in Chinese EMI programmes, the study of three Sino-foreign institutions shows that it depends on the institutions. The higher prestige an institution is, the higher overall English proficiency its students and staff possess; therefore, the better they practice EMI. And by comparing the results on language practices and beliefs of three Sino-foreign institutions, only University A may be “ready” to embrace EMI.

Although there is no direct evidence on University A students' English proficiency, it is reasonable to assume that University A students' English level is higher than that of University B's (circa CEFR B). On another note, University A students need to achieve a higher-than-average score on the *Gaokao* as one of the requirements for admission. Although the English language is one of the many subjects that are being tested in *Gaokao*, it reflects students' high achievement academically.

This finding aligns with the existing literature on the neoliberal nature of EMI policies (De Costa et al., 2022; Piller & Cho, 2013) in that the high level of EMI depends on a high level of English proficiency, which in fact depends on the high prestige of their institution. In fact, the unequal English proficiency at the seemingly similar EMI institutions may stem from previous learning experience and academic achievement. It is also reasonable to assume that the level of English proficiency and degrees of EMI reproduce the students' future development. At the same time, the existence of an international population is often automatically associated with EMI. At least on the surface, the more international students one institution has, the higher EMI level it practices. As reminded by Han and Dong's (2024) study with international students enrolled in a peripheral region in China, the recruitment of international students is often one of the efforts that Chinese higher education achieves internationalisation. However, under the internationalisation pursuit, EMI practices at Chinese higher education have reinforced the hegemony of English and reproduced inequality under the discourses of welcoming diversity.

6.1.4.3 Students' Agency as Language Managers

Data from the interview show students' agency in managing languages. As shown in Excerpt 40, ICT01 stated that she had to let go of a Chinese-English interpreter. Because

Chinese students did not like the interpreter who forced them to try English. At University C, for each English-taught course, a Chinese-English bilingual interpreter summarised the key points as the teacher lectured. The interpreting was not supposed to be rigid, but to help the students learn. As observed during the in-person classes, the teacher frequently checked with the students and asked, “do we need *fanyi* [interpreting]” (University C In-Person Observational Notes, Entry03).

From interview results with University B students, even though there were some obstacles with EMI, such as the understanding of academic terms, students were willing to learn English for pragmatic purposes (shown in 6.1.3.2). At the same time, teachers forcing them to use English as much as possible do not receive much resistance, noted by IBT01: “[Speaking Chinese] should be the last resort and not, [...] you should try to force them to use English as much as possible. (Excerpt 39). Teachers force towards students’ English practices at University B worked, as shown in the final open-ended questions results from the questionnaire: one participant mentioned that “Depending on the requirement of the assignments. Some presentations can be in the format of slides in English plus speaking in Chinese; some require full English. We comply with those requirements”. When University C students did not like being pushed, they had the collective power (rating low in the teachers’ teaching quality survey) to let go of the interpreter. Although this does not mean that University C students do not like speaking English, as noted by ICT01, when they communicate, students try English first and, when it gets complicated, switch to Chinese (Excerpt 4).

It may also be inferred from the University C students’ resistance to English that discipline-specific considerations matter in adopting English. ICT01 pointed out that the terms in the film industry lack consensus. For example, what North Americans call MV music is called promo by the British, and video clip by the French, Italians, or Spanish

(Excerpt 30). On the other hand, as shown in literature, social science teachers have leaned towards the use of the national language instead of science teachers' reliance on EMI (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014). The creative-oriented film production courses at University C might serve as a model for extending disciplinary discussions of language practices.

6.2 RQ2: In what ways does capital produce and reproduce language practices and management at Sino-foreign institutions?

This section is dedicated to discussing the second research question centring on the role of capital reflected in the practices of Sino-foreign institutions. Mainly guided by the theoretical framework of the materialistic class theory that prioritising structure, this question aims to understand the logic of capital through the similarities and differences in language practices and management across three Sino-foreign institutions.

6.2.1 Cultural Capital, Capital, EMI, and Sino-foreign Education

Researchers have highlighted English and EMI as linguistic, social, and cultural capital in China and in Chinese education (Dong et al., 2025; Zhang, 2007). An increasing number of studies have recognised that Sino-foreign or other types of transnational education, e.g., study abroad, have also contributed to the understanding of English as cultural or symbolic capital (Guo & Miao, 2024; Mu & Dooley, 2023; J. Yu, 2021). Similarly, the results of this study align with the Bourdieuan perspective (Bourdieu, 1986) that cultural and social capital under certain conditions are convertible to economic capital. For example, when discussing the beliefs that guided their Chinese and English practices, IBS03 noted that English would be beneficial if they “go to graduate school or work in

foreign companies or communicate with foreign customers” (Excerpt 20). In fact, these prospects are all achievable, as shown in the students’ testimonies. Sino-foreign graduates either go to graduate schools abroad (PAS01, PAS04, PAS07) or secure good job opportunities, such as at high-ranking consulting firms (PBS01).

While research on EMI and English has discussed the commodification of English and English-oriented education (Zheng, 2014), this study emphasises that capital serves as a gatekeeper to Sino-foreign education and high level of EMI. As a representative top-tier Sino-foreign institution, University A charges an annual tuition fee of around RMB 200,000 for Chinese students. It is about 40 times higher than the prices at Chinese public universities. University C charges about RMB 80,000 for tuition. The tuition fee at University B is not extremely high, largely due to its strong association with the hosting public Chinese university. University B’s double degree programme charges approximately RMB 30,000 annually, and RMB 50,000 for single degrees. Guo and Miao (2024) reported study-abroad returnees’ identity negotiation in urban China. Study-abroad returnees have constructed their own version of “middle-class” that aligns with the family’s conception of a middle-class profession. At the same time, they show agency to build a social network of study abroad returnees that sustains their linguistic practices, taste, and living style, while encountering local dilemmas and conflicts (p. 1354). In their study, the authors noted that the cultural capital that enabled study-abroad returnees to utilise was built on their parents' economic capital, most of whom worked at state-owned enterprises. In this study, although there is only one result from PAS06 indicating that the students’ parents were graduates of Ivy League schools, it is fair to conclude that without economic capital, access to this Sino-foreign educational field is not possible. The following section explains detailed reasons from Chinese domestic migration.

6.2.2 Capital, Chinese Domestic Migration, and Monolingual Putonghua

The results of the monolingual Putonghua practices in Sino-foreign education contribute to the materialistic class theory of language policy in that capital serves as a gatekeeper to higher education in urban China. I have briefly mentioned above that students' monolingual ideology towards Putonghua was, in fact, a direct result of Chinese domestic migration or Chinese urbanisation. As shown above in 6.1.3.2, all four Chinese students have experience of domestic migration. IBS02, in more depth, shared their observation of xenophobic Shanghai people, the city in which they grew up and studied but held no permanent residence. In Excerpt 26, they mentioned that "I heard from my parents, other students said that in the past, Shanghai people were particularly discriminatory and exclusive to outsiders", because "they [Shanghai] were the first to open up". IBS02 also felt that xenophobia is not obvious but "subconscious" nowadays because "the whole country is developing". There are two layers to unpack from the migration experience of students.

First, migration in urban China is mainly driven by economic incentives. As reviewed in Chapter 2, in 2023, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in Shanghai ranks the first nationwide (Xinmin Wanbao, 2024). According to the 7th census in Shanghai, residents with no permanent Shanghai residency account for 42.1% of the population in the city (Pengpai news, 2021). Due to the *hukou* policy that classifies individuals as rural or urban residents and ties access to social welfare (Chan & Zhang, 1999), almost half of the Shanghai population does not have full access to education, health care, and other social welfare. For students whose parents are migrants, such as IBS02 and IBS04, they might have studied in Shanghai since childhood but had to take the *Gaokao* in their home provinces. This means their chances of attending higher education in Shanghai, which is of high quality, are lower than those of students who hold Shanghai residence. Sino-

foreign education, especially single-degree programmes that do not require *Gaokao* in urban China, provides a space for economic migrants who do not have full access to public education. It is fair to say the role of capital serves a more important role to urban migrants than locals in that without capital, urban migrants barely had education opportunities in urban China. Shen and Ma (2023, p. 559) pointed out that Sino-foreign education “catered to the growing middle class’s demand for international education, and at the same time brought significant economic benefits to participating education. For the government, this has been a way to solve people’s educational needs without public investment”. These results extend the understanding that Sino-foreign education caters to the economic middle class’s demand for education in urban China, thereby enabling the accumulation of social capital. Note that graduates with an overseas degree from a top 500 university are eligible to apply for permanent Shanghai residency.

Second, the prevalent monolingual Putonghua ideology in Chinese higher education is a result of nation-wide economic development. For migrant students in urban China, they have more or less experienced xenophobia because they do not speak the local languages, therefore it pushes them to recognise Putonghua, which is nationally promoted. In the final open-ended question of the questionnaire asking for their comments on this study, one comment read “Why teaching in dialect? So odd. Non-Shanghai students cannot understand?! Feeling that some people really are xenophobic”. Meanwhile, the reality is that “people from Shanghai” do not really speak this language that much. As observed by IBS02 during the interview, the subconsciously proud Shanghai classmates do not really speak Shanghai dialect (Excerpt 26). It aligns with the studies on language attitudes within Chinese domestic languages. In a cross-city study of dialect attitudes reported by Wang and King (2022), even though families in Shanghai

have the highest level of pro-dialect ideology among the three cities, their adult children “still shift to Mandarin” (p. 13).

Given Shanghai's status as a leading economy and a hub of domestic Chinese migration, the Shanghai dialect enjoys prestige. However, the prestige does not help the Shanghai dialect to be transmitted across generations; rather, it has gradually lost speakers (Q. Shen, 2016). Borrowing O'Regan's (2021) analysis on the “free ride” the English language has taken since the 16th century, I argue that Putonghua has taken the “free ride” with Chinese economic development since 1978, when the market economy reform started. This argument also applies to the monolingual ideology among students who have ethnic minority backgrounds.

As shown above in 6.1.3, the monolingual ideology also exists among students who have an ethnic minority background. Studies focused on multilingualism in China have pointed out the marginalisation of ethnic minority languages in the Chinese job market and education (G. Wang, 2015; H. Xu, 2019). This study did not collect empirical data from students who have ethnic minority backgrounds; however, it sustains the argument that economic development and Chinese domestic migration contribute to the monolingual ideology. As presented in section 2.6.1, the Promoting Putonghua Policy was initiated in the 1950s. At the beginning of the 21st century, research showed that approximately 80% of Mongolian speakers lived in Mongolia (Caodaobateer, 2004), and promoting Putonghua efforts faced difficulty in Xinjiang due to a lack of language education (Blanchford, 2004). However, recent research in such areas shows that Chinese Putonghua gains increasing appearance and increasing proficiency among the younger ethnic minority generations (Gu et al., 2022; Yao et al., 2021). Between the newly established nation-state of 1949 and China's joining the World Trade Organisation in 2001, the strong state power did not make Putonghua the dominant language for 50 years.

Over the past 20 years of rapid economic development in China, Putonghua has become dominant in most aspects of the country.

6.2.3 Capital, Elites, and Sino-foreign Education

Economic capital allows migrant Chinese students to enter Sino-foreign education and ascend to become English and Chinese bilingual elites, therefore enabling themselves to convert their cultural and social capital into economic capital, such as those described above in Guo and Miao (2024). At this point, it is almost certain that students who are admitted to independent Sino-foreign institutions and double-degree institutions already possess higher English proficiency. It highlights the importance of pre-college education that allows students to reproduce their linguistic capital and likely sustain their elite status. In an ethnographic study of privileged adolescents in China, Chiang (2022) reported top-level high school students in Beijing and their trajectories after high school. Students inherit capital from their elite parents in urban China and enter top universities both at home and abroad, thereby sustaining their elite status. On the other end of the capital spectrum, Lin Xiaoying 林小英 (2023) studied Chinese secondary education in an economically less-developed county-level¹⁵ where most high school students lack access to higher education.

For all Sino-foreign students, they are experiencing “M–C” cycle as they are utilising money from their parents to purchase education as a commodity. The difference between students from high- and low-prestige Sino-foreign institutions, i.e., University A and University C, lies in the level of their “M–C” cycle. For parents of University A students, their surplus labour or money have helped them with capital accumulation,

¹⁵ The three levels of government in China are provincial, country, and township.

therefore, it is highly likely University A parents have produced cultural capital themselves such as knowledge on good parenting or choice of higher education. University A students, in this sense, participate in transnational multilingual higher education for the purpose of reproducing the cultural capital. For University C students, they have started possible conversion of economic capital to cultural capital with the help of transnational higher education, however, the positive outcome is not always guaranteed. Recently, with the economic slowdown that resulted in fierce competition and social “involution” (内卷, *nei juan*)¹⁶, overseas returnees plan to go abroad again due to the immediate frustrations they face upon their return to China (J. Zhang, 2022). Cultural capital such as degrees from abroad and English proficiency do not seem to guarantee an economically stable and promising future in urban China. After all, as Goodman (2014) argues, “contemporary China is a society characterized by its low social mobility and high intergenerational transfer of privilege and disadvantage (p. 33)”. On a positive side, capital provides the University C students and their families with upward social mobility opportunities in urban China; meanwhile, it also shows the power of structure, in that economic capital is the prerequisite of cultural capital and their (im)possible conversions.

6.3 RQ3: What cultural or identity factors influence, and are influenced by, language practices and management in Sino-foreign education?

This section answers the third research question on the cultural or identity factors that may impact the language practices, beliefs, and management at Sino-foreign institutions.

¹⁶ The concept involution Phillip. C. C. Huang (2020 [1986]) in his study of Chinese peasant economy. It refers to the rise of cotton economy that is at the cost of reduced marginal returns per day of labour input (p. 5). Readers who are interested in the original use of involution in agriculture may consult Clifford Geertz (1963) in his study of rice agriculture in Indonesia.

6.3.1 Monolingual Chinese Language Ideology and Multilingual Chinese Cultures

Data from this study show that diverse Chinese cultures are appreciated at Sino-foreign institutions, but this does not necessarily relate to Chinese language practices. During interviews, when asked whether they practice or have heard of languages other than English and Putonghua, Chinese students tended to point to cultural events and elements they had experienced. For example, IBS04 shared that “[d]uring the event, we had a printmaking activity from Henan, where you could use some pigment and a template to replicate a painting, or you could offer them some Xinyang Maojian tea or Hu Noodle Soup” (Excerpt 10).

The multilingual China is often represented by its diverse cultures; however, the diverse Chinese languages can be intimidating. Shared by IAT03 in Excerpt 7 that “Chinese students will feel that it seems to be afraid not to speak or speak well. Let alone foreigners, [...] foreign colleagues would look at the table of Wu dialect when they passed by, and then they would say that I have not learnt Chinese well, it's too difficult, I'm not coming, bye bye”. Moreover, data from the testimonies of international students from both University A and University B emphasised elements such as “Chinese food and culture” that often convey positive connotations. In contrast, the Chinese language is always an obstacle upon their arrival in China.

The monolingual Putonghua ideology may be linked to the unified writing system for most Chinese dialects. Pointed out by IBT02, “But obviously Chinese is Chinese, right? You can't write in dialects, right?” (Excerpt 33), inferring the necessity of the *lingua franca* Putonghua. While Chinese cultural elements are celebrated and treasured by Chinese and internationals, Chinese students who are from “Chinese culture” and speak its languages do not seem to be celebrating it, as shown in 6.1.3.2 through the Manchu speakers.

6.3.2 Chinese Culture, Language, and Economy

One can appreciate or identify with Chinese cultures without speaking Chinese languages. The culturally and linguistically rich and diverse ethnic minorities in China do not necessarily express their distinctiveness through language. As shown by the data of this study, the proud Shanghai people do not necessarily speak their local dialect either. I have discussed in Chapter 3, in Europe, for example, national languages and cultures are often utilised to defend national interests, especially in face of an increasing diverse society (Wodak, 2021). In a similar fashion, however, on a different level, urban Chinese tended to be xenophobic towards migrants from other parts of China in defence of their local culture and language. For example, IBS02 shared their observation of xenophobic Shanghai people. In Excerpt 26, they mentioned that “I heard from my parents, other students said that in the past, Shanghai people were particularly discriminatory and exclusive to outsiders”, because “they [Shanghai] were the first to open up”. This regional discrimination happened mainly in economically developed regions in China. Reported by Gao (2012), Cantonese-speaking netizens who failed to bring the Cantonese dialect back to their radio station commented online “Don’t we have enough people in Guangzhou”, showing people’s defence of language is associated with exclusiveness.

While student interview participants showed their appreciation of Chinese culture via various cultural elements such as food, tea, and artefacts, some showed emotions towards the Putonghua, or rather, the Chinese language. In the first part of the questionnaire, asking students’ self-reported L1, responses read “love China”, and “long live the Chinese language (中文万岁[*zhongwen wansui*])”. As Ramsey (2002) argues that the promotion of Putonghua is the product of modern nationalism, the long live the Chinese language sentiment has shown the intertwined connotations of the Chinese language(s) and promoted *lingua franca* Putonghua. It is tempting to lead the discussion

to the formation of pragmatic nationalism via the patriotic education in the Chinese curriculum (Zhao, 2004), therefore, consolidating Chinese students' national identity as *zhong hua min zu* [中华民族], a single or unified Chinese ethnicity (Y. Chu, 2017). In the present case, the data is limited and does not fully support such an argument. However, I will explain in RQ4 that the national identity serves as a hidden force of language policy in institutional governance upon the absence of institutional language policies.

Although, it can be carefully inferred that the discussions over national identity are always associated with national interests or individual economic rights. Pointed out by IBS02 in Excerpt 26, the development is the key. IBS02 also felt that xenophobia is not obvious but “subconscious” nowadays because “the whole country is developing”. Political scientists have observed that in China: “many of these people began to concur with the communist state that economic development and political stability rather than liberal democracy were most pressing for China” (Zhao, 2004, p. 242). It is, however, the fact that most people may be in urgent need to seek economic stability. The preference for economic interests and associate the culture with economic robustness support the theoretical framework: the materialistic class theory of language policy, which holds that the economy is the power and that, if the majority enjoys high status and societal influence, cultural directions are likely to align with their preferences and values, shaping the social landscape accordingly.

6.4 RQ4: Do Sino-foreign institutions differ in their language practices and management strategies? How and Why?

This research question attempts to understand how and why different Sino-foreign institutions manage their language practices. The first research question shows that at the

classroom level, teachers as language arbiters decide language choices based on the composition of students, i.e. if there is any international student and mainly the students' English proficiency. Among the three Sino-foreign institutions that I examined, University A has the highest amount of international student population and students from University A possess the highest English proficiency; therefore, University A enjoys the highest level of EMI practices.

When answering the second research question, I have inferred that University A students own the highest degree of capital among the students of the three institutions, in that the high English proficiency level is one of the reifications of the elite status of their parental generation. In Chapter 2, I have presented that, as an independent Sino-foreign institution, University A enjoys the highest reputation for two reasons: it has the strictest admission criteria, requiring both a high *Gaokao* score and a university-level English proficiency test; and it charges the highest tuition fees among Sino-foreign institutions. It all seems natural for University A students, as bilingual/multilingual elites, to practice EMI at a high level and produce and reproduce the capital at home and abroad. While answering the third research question that centred on the cultural and identity aspects that may influence the language practices or beliefs, the discussions shed light on the Putonghua monolingual ideology that results from Chinese domestic development and urbanisation. The monolingual Putonghua ideology is also associated with the Chinese *zhong hua min zu* national identity that has been consolidated throughout Chinese students' education (Chu, 2017; Zhao, 2004). Although the *zhong hua min zu* identity is a complex result of the political economy in China.

This fourth research question synthesises the discussions from the first three research questions. It investigates the wind and viewing governance strategy (H. Yu &

Johnson, 2023) of Sino-foreign institutions of varying prestige, all under the same umbrella term.

6.4.1 Wind and Viewing by Different Sino-foreign Institutions

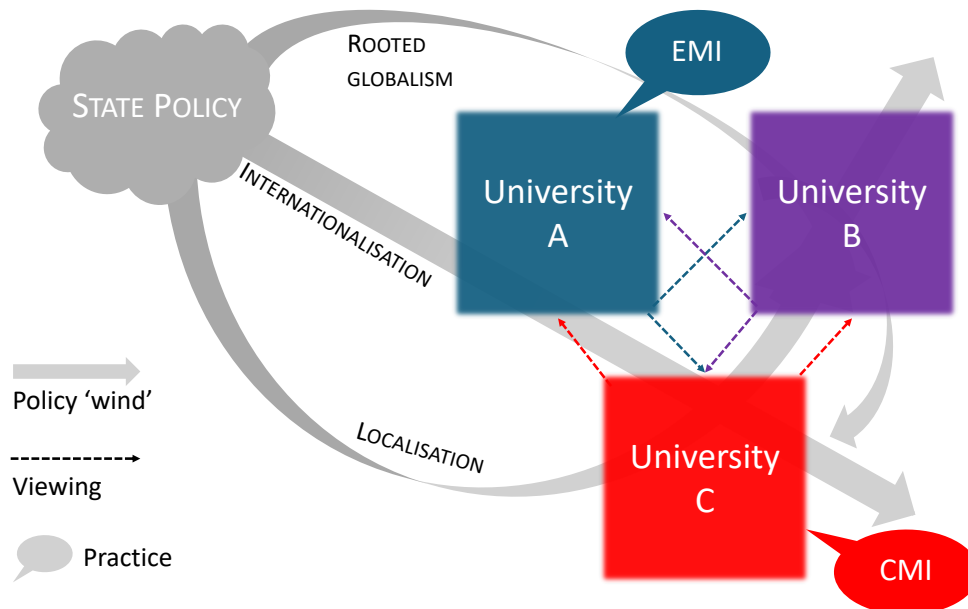
First, the wind from the state was viewed by each Sino-foreign institution. As shown in Chapter 2, Sino-foreign education is characterised by the internationalisation goal of Chinese higher education (Yang, 2014; Yang & Xie, 2015), however the state-level of policy: the Regulations prescribe that: “A Chinese-foreign cooperatively-run school may, if necessary, use foreign languages in teaching, but shall use the standard Chinese language and standard Chinese characters as the basic teaching language” (Article 31). The same regulation prescribes that “Chinese-foreign cooperation in running schools is an undertaking beneficial to public interests and forms a component of China's educational cause” [中国教育事业的组成部分] (Article 3).

Viewing the state policy, each Sino-foreign institution presents its understanding of the internationalisation efforts and “China’s educational cause”. For University A, they present a high level of EMI practices with high proficiency in English among students, and they put “rooted globalism” as one of their institutional goals, which is also an abstract concept; University B shows a slightly lower level of EMI practices than University A, but they present a strong inclination towards Party and League Building (党团建设) at their institution. Shown from the archival documents, students at University B were actively engaged in the building and promotion of the Communist Party of China (CPC) and the Communist Youth League of China (CYLC) in their local academic circles and communities (PBS03, PBS04, and PBS06). The integration of personal growth with

national and regional strategic development (个人成长融入国家战略和城市建设) was regularly used as a phrase to praise individuals at University B; University C's understanding of internationalisation is reflected in their institutional goal that incorporates industry approaches from North America into the Chinese higher education system. While University C presents bilingual teachers in its student recruiting documents, students' primary practice in their learning processes is in Chinese.

6.4.2 Viewing Among the Sino-foreign Institutions

Figure 6.1 Wind and Viewing Governance at Sino-foreign Institutions of Varying Prestige



Illustrated in Figure 6.1, under the same umbrella term, Sino-foreign education, institutions are likely viewing each other's practices. Although there is only one piece of evidence from the student testimonies that PBS05 intentionally chose University B, while holding both offers from University A and University B. For institutions of lower prestige, such as University C, their most direct understanding of Sino-foreign education may be a result of viewing high prestige institutions. EMI and English learning, along with internationalisation efforts and the foreign population can be elements of a prototype Sino-foreign institution. After all, EMI and its reproduction may be the most attractive parts for linguistic entrepreneurship, such as study abroad and future job prospects. On the contrary, Sino-foreign institutions of high prestige, in fact, practice EMI and its students and staff engage globally, but they do not advertise EMI or use the term internationalisation. Otherwise, they emphasise their institutional mission as rooted globalism, inferring that it is ultimately rooted somewhere, maybe China. This rootedness

is exemplified at University B, where students aspire to combine their personal development with the local and national development strategies.

The contradiction of EMI in practice, but rootedness in portrayal for high-prestige institutions, results from viewing from high- to low-prestige institutions. As shown in 6.3, Chinese students exhibit some degree of nationalism associated with the monolingual Putonghua ideology. The rootedness of institutional mission in high-prestige institutions is a response, or rather, a caveat, to the potential nationalist ideology in the dichotomy between English and Chinese. Therefore, the bilingual elites present themselves as what Appiah (1997) calls cosmopolitan patriots who combine liberal pursuits with nationalist sentiments.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has presented a discussion of how language practices, beliefs, and management operate within Sino-foreign higher education, structured around four guiding research questions. The findings suggest that both English and Chinese function as essential tools for knowledge transfer and meaning-making, with teachers and students routinely engaging in translanguaging to navigate academic content and clarify complex concepts. While these institutions publicly embrace multilingualism, the practical realities often reduce to hierarchical multilingualism, privileging English as the *default* academic language and utilising Chinese primarily for support and deeper comprehension. Multilingual repertoires exist largely on the periphery, with dialects and minority languages seldom occupying central roles in academic contexts. Language practices and policies are further shaped by factors such as institutional prestige, economic and cultural capital, and patterns of domestic migration and urbanisation, which collectively determine access to elite educational opportunities and reinforce monolingual Putonghua ideologies.

Teachers and students both serve as language managers within these environments, yet the perceived value of English frequently eclipses even institutional language policy. Culturally, while participants appreciate China's diverse traditions, languages beyond Putonghua rarely feature in everyday academic or institutional interactions, underscoring the entwined influence of capital, educational policy, and pragmatic identity construction in China's educational scene.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

This chapter brings together the key findings and major discussions of this study, providing a comprehensive conclusion to the research. The chapter begins by revisiting the four central research questions and summarising the main outcomes for each. It further explores the broader implications of the findings and contributions: both theoretical and practical, particularly in relation to language policy, methodological considerations, and policy-making within the context of transnational education. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the study's limitations. It offers potential directions for future research, ensuring a holistic closure that aligns with the aims and scope of the study.

7.2 Summary of Findings

Building on key elements from the field of language policy: language practice, management, and ideology, this study proposes a materialist class theory for the examination of language policy, stressing the importance of structure over culture in the often complex contributors to language policy studies. Adopting a qualitative-driven mixed methods methodology, this study collected data from three Sino-foreign institutions of varying prestige, focusing on language practices, beliefs, and management.

7.2.1 RQ1: What language practices, beliefs, and management are in evidence in Sino-foreign education?

Triangulating data from interview themes, the institutional level of archival documents, classroom observation, and a questionnaire, this study answers the first research question with four themes:

- English and Chinese as knowledge transferring and meaning making practices;
- Multilingualism as encountered repertoire
- Hierarchical multilingualism at Sino-foreign institutions
- Teachers and students as language managers at Sino-foreign institutions upon the absence of institutional language policy

The first two themes are focused on language practices, followed by a theme on language belief, and the last reports on the language management element.

English and Chinese are both used for knowledge transfer and meaning-making in Sino-foreign classrooms. Multilingualism is present and often encouraged by institutions through institutional-level activities; however, the practice of multilingualism exists in individuals' encountered repertoires, meaning languages such as Wu dialects and other named languages were used only with limited proficiency and under certain circumstances. This leads to the discussion on the language beliefs at Sino-foreign institutions, where multilingualism is hierarchical.

As shown in the data, multilingualism is hierarchical in that Chinese is used first to assist learning when English is insufficient. Second, both students and teachers embrace multilingualism, but at the same time, students hold a monolingual ideology

towards Putonghua, while teachers hold a monolingual ideology towards English. Students display linguistic entrepreneurship (De Costa et al., 2016) through their language practices. Multilingualism is and can be a resource for instrumental purposes to students, such as study abroad and future job prospects; teachers present dialogical cosmopolitanism (Canagarajah, 2013) because they fully utilise their multilingual resources for pedagogical purposes and actively fostering conversations while making meaning of the courses they teach. However, teachers' main goal is to help students achieve higher English proficiency and become accustomed to EMI learning.

As for the language management element, no evidence shows a written-down or top-down language policy at the institutional level. Internationalisation is often expressed at the institutional level through camouflaged English-medium instruction. With the invisible English medium language policy, teachers and students can both decide language practices in different circumstances. Teachers' roles in the classrooms align with language arbiter from other contexts (Johnson & Johnson, 2015; Menken & García, 2010). In this study, teachers make decisions on language practices in the classrooms based on two factors: one is the presence of an international population, and the other is students' English language proficiency. Given the presence of international populations, teachers typically choose English for instruction; however, if the teacher and students are homogeneous Chinese, teachers still arbitrate language practices based on students' English proficiency. Surprisingly, this study found that students with low English proficiency show their agency in negotiating a language policy at their film production courses. While students did not like to be pushed towards EMI, they used their collective power (rate low on teaching quality survey) to let go of a Chinese English interpreter who suggested that students use more English through their film production courses.

7.2.2 RQ2: In what ways does capital produce and reproduce language practices, beliefs, and management at Sino-foreign institutions?

The second research question asked the role of capital on language practices, beliefs, or management in Sino-foreign institutions. Results show that beyond the prevalent cultural capital that is often discussed with EMI, capital itself shows its power and deciding factor in the language practices at Sino-foreign education. Capital is manifested in two aspects. First, for students who are enrolled in low prestige Sino-foreign education, capital is the deciding factor to grant them access to higher education. Student with low *Gaokao* results or students with Chinese domestic migration backgrounds often lack access to higher education in urban China, Sino-foreign education with single-degree options by and large provides an opportunity for economic elites. Second, this study infers that students at high-prestige Sino-foreign institutions have inherited more capital from their parental generation than those from low-prestige ones. It is reasonable to infer that students of high-prestigious Sino-foreign institutions are from families that have completed the reproduction of cultural capital, therefore strengthening their economic capital. This is reflected in the already high English proficiency upon admission to their prestigious Sino-foreign institutions, indicating that their pre-college education has successfully reproduced the high status in higher education. The conclusion is that capital is decisive as a gatekeeper for low-proficiency English-speaking students ascending to become English-Chinese bilinguals, and the already bilingual elites at high-prestige Sino-foreign institutions are highly likely to sustain their status.

7.2.3 RQ3: What cultural or identity factors influence and are influenced by language practices and management at Sino-foreign institutions?

The third research question focused on the role of culture or identity in language practice, belief, and management at Sino-foreign institutions. Cultural aspects were mainly reflected in Chinese culture, while the diverse Chinese cultures are not necessarily associated with their languages. Students' multilingual awareness was often reflected in their understanding of multicultural China. At the same time, Chinese students hold a strong monolingual ideology towards Putonghua. Results and analysis from this study associate such monolingual ideology with the economic development and urbanisation in China. Borrowing O'Regan's (2021) analogy of the free ride English takes with the capitalist world economy, this study argues that the monolingual Putonghua ideology is a direct result of the Chinese economic development and domestic migration. While nationalist sentiments associated with the Putonghua monolingualism are present, the impact of culture and identity on the language practices, beliefs, and management at Sino-foreign institutions is far less than the role of economy.

7.2.4 RQ4: Do Sino-foreign institutions differ in their language practices, beliefs, and management, why and how?

Synthesising the first three research questions, the fourth research question examined differences and reasons for differences in language practices, beliefs, and management across three Sino-foreign institutions of varying prestige. Results align with H. Yu and Johnson's (2023) wind and viewing governmentality. Upon the often vague and self-contradictory national policies, Sino-foreign institutions view the national-level

internationalisation strategy and Sino-foreign education for China's cause differently. The high prestigious Sino-foreign institutions do not mention such national strategies while practising EMI and engaging research activities globally; the low prestigious Sino-foreign institutions tend to advertise and label their institution as internationalisation or bilingual; however, both emphasise their localisation efforts. While institutions view the state policy differently, they are likely viewing each other, and aware that they are being viewed, so that they adjust their institutional missions or practices accordingly. Mainly aware of the possible nationalistic ideologies developed via the monolingual Putonghua throughout the Chinese education, Sino-foreign institutions of high prestige do not stress their high proficiency in English and high level of EMI practices, but they emphasise their rootedness.

The findings of this study primarily contribute to the field of language policy in Sino-foreign education. It also offers implications to transnational institutions, students, and teachers who have been, are being, or are going to be transnational individuals.

7.3 Contributions and Implications

This section outlines the main contributions and implications of the findings summarised above.

7.3.1 Practiced-based Examination of Language Policy

This study has extended the discussions on the elements of studying language policy. Results have shown that language practices and beliefs that guided language practices cannot necessarily be separated. Language practices and beliefs often coexist and are better to be co-examined. Language management is usually manifested in the form of

language practices, at least at a micro-level, such as in classrooms. Language management, from the institutional level, is a form of governance. This study has shown that the institutional level of governance can be understood within a system, i.e., by comparing similar forms of Sino-foreign institutions and their language practices and beliefs. That is to say, language management can be a systematic governance that consists of individuals, institutions, and their intertwined relationships. The result of the study of language management is aligned with what Shohamy (2006) calls mechanism, or the hidden language policy that guides practices and beliefs. This finding extends discussions on language practice-based studies of language policy, orienting future studies to begin with language practices and related beliefs within the domain, thereby linking these practices and beliefs to broader levels. Language management, however, need to associate the micro- and meso-levels of practices and may better be examined with perspectives from governmentality.

In response to the vagueness between language beliefs and ideology from existing studies in language policy, as well as the increasingly liberal use of language ideology, i.e. language ideology includes anything that explains “what they think they should do” (Spolsky, 2021, p. 127), this study suggests that language ideologies and language beliefs are separated concepts. First, as elaborated above, language beliefs are closely intertwined with language practices, so the two elements shall be examined together. Second, commonly perceived as language ideologies, monolingualism and multilingualism are more of language practices and beliefs. From this study, I have shown that the monolingualism and multilingualism are phenomena that result from something of a broader ideology. Through the investigation of the capital and cultural perspectives, this study has shown some aspects of ideologies such as nationalism or liberalism that result

in the monolingual or multilingual practices. Careful attention should be given while examining language ideologies and their intertwined concepts.

7.3.2 Theoretical and Methodological Contribution: Towards a Materialistic Class Theory of Language Policy

The study proposes a materialist class theory of language policy in the analysis of language practice, management, ideology and related components, and it prioritises structural over cultural conditions that shape language policy processes and outcomes. In explaining the theoretical framework, I have pointed out that multilingual transnational elites who engage in the culturalist debates can be problematic. The results from capital and cultural perspectives support this argument. First, this study agrees with and verifies previous studies on the neoliberal language policy and students' linguistic entrepreneurship that are prevalent in EMI institutions. Second, using the window and viewing governance lens among three Sino-foreign institutions, I have pointed out that multilingual/bilingual elites at high-prestigious Sino-foreign institutions are well aware of the cultural and ideological elements within the Sino-foreign educational scene. That is to say, while the low prestige institutions view higher prestigious one from the perspectives of EMI levels; at the same time, high prestigious institutions also view low prestigious ones from the perspectives of cultural and identity elements.

This study has no intention of defending neoliberalism, but with the study of three Sino-foreign institutions, I report the role of capital in granting economic elites with migration background with education opportunities in urban China. Possibly, it is the beginning of their capital reproduction. Same as elite appropriateness of EMI programmes in multilingual South Asian contexts (Sah & Karki, 2023), the economic elites from Chinese transnational higher education have consolidated the inequality of

educational resources. However, as reminded by the materialistic class theory, the only solution to the capitalist structure is individual resistance, especially in the absence of possibilities of group resistance.

This materialistic class theory of language policy works across contexts. It echoes isiXhosa L1 speakers' preference for English, other than Afrikaans, or isiXhosa, or translanguaging in that they "have worked their entire lives to be proficient in English in order to accommodate others" and they "have undergone their entire schooling transitioning to English as best they could" (Lasagabaster, 2024, p. 229). Even though isiXhosa L1 speakers "want to speak Afrikaans", they found it unfair to use Afrikaans as an academic language, in that Afrikaans L1 speakers have their whole schooling in Afrikaans already. For isiXhosa L1 and Chinese migrant language speakers, their L1 is not always eligible for academic purposes; regional languages of prestige (Afrikaans and Shanghai dialect) do not favour them. Therefore, they choose some useful languages, i.e., English and Putonghua because they are useful in individuals' resistance when facing the powerful structure. For isiXhosa L1 and Chinese migrant dialect speakers, they may possess more "cultural" elements than Putonghua or Afrikaans speakers, but culture is causal mediator for non-elites. We have seen clearly that cultural elements can work as capital for the multilingual elites, in that culture for them serves the role of causal transmission within the capitalist structure.

The materialistic class theory perspective calls for sober reflection in the field of EMI and language policy, especially in multilingual educational contexts. In this time and age, educational institutions are more of "education ensemble" as Robertson and Dale (2015) defined. Education ensemble is a unity of multiple determinations that may contain elements such as 'civilisational projects; forms of local/regional/national/global education; a common form of educational organisation; and a relationship to the economy

– albeit largely capitalist’ (p. 15). While culturalist claims, such as advocating regional cultures and languages, might be possible solutions to forge collective solidarity, it is by no means realistic or transformative. As I have argued, the overwhelming culturalist claims only benefit the already well-resourced elites. We have to admit that the practices of EMI at Sino-foreign education, by and large, provide a group of economic migrants with educational opportunities in urban China.

7.3.3 Contribution to the Field of Transnational Education

This study sets out to investigate language practices, beliefs, and management in the field of transnational education, including the sociopolitical factors that may influence these elements. I have navigated the linguistic entrepreneurship among students and dialogical cosmopolitanism among teachers while presenting the language beliefs that guide students’ and teachers’ language practices. Such beliefs are reflected in students’ monolingualism towards Putonghua and teachers’ monolingualism towards English; meanwhile, both students and teachers are inclined to multilingualism. I have argued that monolingualism towards Putonghua and English are closely associated with the Chinese and world economy. It echoes the literature that the market after all drives transnational education (Yang, 2023). However, capital often meets resistance from national interests. Transnational education, after all, is within the borders of some nation-states. This study discusses how, through the wind and viewing governance strategy, Sino-foreign institutions demonstrate their own understanding of the broad, often vague national policy on Sino-foreign education that prioritises Putonghua and “China’s educational cause”, while promoting the internationalisation of Chinese higher education. Sino-foreign institutions, with the viewing and being viewed governance strategy amongst each other, present themselves as globally informed, locally rooted, and patriotic.

This study's findings contribute to the prevalent discussions on country-branded transnational higher education (Wilkins & Huisman, 2025). It provides insights into language practices, beliefs, and management in China-hosted transnational education, thereby contributing to fields such as transnational education governance and political and language ideologies. Furthermore, it contributes to the sustainable development of this field. First, in China, Yang (2014) has pointed out that China does not treat transnational education as an integral part of Chinese education, but supplementary during certain stages of their higher education development (p.156). No matter an integral part of Chinese education or supplementary during certain stage, this study suggests that the urgent need is to allocate educational resources to economically underdeveloped rural areas with limited educational resources. Second, for collaborators of transnational education, it is necessary to assess the needs of students who pursue Sino-foreign education. The needs can be personal development such as overseas study or work; and needs from specific disciplines students learn. Third, the results show little evidence on the ideological conflict within the Sino-foreign educational field. Rather, it is the institutions' self-governance in compliance with their understandings of national policies. As an important place of critical thinking, higher education should not be afraid of ideological debates. Therefore, it calls for dialogical cosmopolitans at a higher level, such as policy makers at the institutional or higher levels, to promote openness from both sides of the collaborators. Only with open and straightforward discussions, the educational field will not be prone to political manipulation.

7.4 Limitations

This study acknowledges the following limitations. First, the uneven sampling across three institutions limits the interpretability of the findings. The substantial disparity in

sample sizes means that the institution that has all sets of data collection instruments, i.e. University B, may disproportionately drive the overall results, potentially underrepresenting nuanced features from other sites. This imbalance arose primarily due to factors beyond control, including rejected access to certain sites, the unavailability of specific documents such as testimonies, and constrained timelines that prevented a fuller schedule of teacher interviews at University C. Such barriers to equitable data collection are beyond control. Consequently, while the rich data from University B provides a comprehensive foundation for the analysis, this imbalance means that the perspectives of Universities A and C are less fully represented.

Second, this study was designed to carry out online classroom observation. Conducting observations via digital platforms meant that subtle but meaningful cues such as body language, eye contact, side conversations, and physical classroom dynamics were largely inaccessible to the researcher. This limitation existed because of the travel restrictions of the researcher due to COVID-19 prevented in-person visits to the institutions. Although I paid visits to the sites after the travel restrictions were lifted and observed several in-person classes at Universities B and C, this created an inconsistency in the observational data. The nature of data captured remain different. Online observations were inherently limited to what could be seen and heard through a screen, typically focusing on the instructor and limited number of students. While in-person observations allowed for peripheral vision, awareness of physical classroom arrangements, and access to classroom interactions and body languages. This limitation persisted despite methodological consistency such as using the same observational protocol and note-taking methods for both online and in-person observations. While the observational data provides valuable insights into language practices in the classrooms, future studies should be designed to ensure consistent, in-person observations across all

sites to capture the full richness of classroom dynamics and enable more robust cross-institutional comparisons.

Third, there is significant variability in the length of interviews across participants. The duration of interviews ranged considerably, with some lasting approximately 30 minutes while some almost 60 minutes. Differences in interview length were attributed to intermittent internet connection and to some teachers' greater engagement, reflected in their asking more questions about the study. The difference, however, did not impact the analysis because all teachers were asked the same interview prompts. Fourth, the relatively small dataset may restrict the explanatory power of the findings. The limited number of in-person classroom observation hours and the small sample of international students observed or interviewed have constrained the depth and diversity of perspectives captured in this study.

Lastly, a further limitation of this study concerns researcher positionality, specifically the multiple roles the researcher undertook throughout the research process. During data analysis, transcription and translation were conducted by a single researcher, which could introduce subjectivity despite efforts to minimise it through iterative checks and reflexive practices. The researcher's position as both the primary instrument of data collection and the sole interpreter of meaning means that my background, assumptions, and interpretive lens inevitable shape the presentation and framing of findings. The limitation existed because the nature of qualitative-driven inquiry, particularly in small-scale cross-institutional studies. While triangulation has been applied throughout, the influence of researcher subjectivity cannot be eliminated. Future research should benefit from member checking transcriptions or follow-up discussions with participants if time permits. Consequently, although data have been triangulated throughout the process, the

study's conclusions are not intended to be generalisable in a statistical sense, but rather to offer an in-depth, contextualised understanding of the phenomena under investigation.

7.5 Future Research Orientations

This study's findings open several avenues for further research. First, future research on language policy in Sino-foreign higher education could benefit from a broader comparative approach, including linguistic and institutional contexts both within and beyond China. Moreover, the interplay between capital and cultural elements in the multilingual educational field deserves more detailed exploration, particularly with the aim of an equity-oriented language policy that forges solidarity and empowers the masses. Longitudinal studies would also be valuable to track how language practices, identities, and institutional strategies change over time, especially when students start their transnational mobility. Further, research exploring student and staff experiences in the neoliberal learning atmosphere may reveal important insights into how such environments impact engagement, motivation, and overall well-being. Yu and Luo (2025) reported that due to the pervasive influence of audit culture, high-achieving Chinese students engaged in everyday politics of examination and have formed a performance-based identity. The neoliberalism informed Sino-foreign field may need more attention to its students' and teachers' "value, morality, imagination, well-being, empathy, care, the gift, hope, time and change" (Robbins, 2013, p. 457).

7.6 Summary

This chapter has synthesised the main findings of the study, explored their theoretical, methodological, and contextual implications, acknowledged the limitations of the present

study, and has proposed some directions for future research. Collectively, the contributions of this study expand the field of language policy research and encourage further exploration of the lived experiences and aspirations of those navigating multilingual environments in transnational education.

References

- Adamson, B. (2004). *China's English: A history of English in Chinese education* (Vol. 1). Hong Kong University Press.
- Airey, J. (2011). The disciplinary literacy discussion matrix: A heuristic tool for initiating collaboration in higher education. *Across the Disciplines*, 8(3), 1–9.
- Aizawa, I., & Rose, H. (2019). An analysis of Japan's English as medium of instruction initiatives within higher education: the gap between meso-level policy and micro-level practice. *Higher Education*, 77(6), 1125–1142. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-018-0323-5>
- Angrosino, M., & Rosenberg, J. (2011). Observations on observation. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 4, 467–478.
- Antia, B. E. (2015). University multilingualism: A critical narrative from the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36(6), 571–586. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2014.978870>
- Antia, B. E. (2017a). Shh, hushed multilingualism! Accounting for the discreet genre of translanguaged siding in lecture halls at a South African university. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2017(243), 183–198.
- Antia, B. E. (2017b). Multilingual terminology and cognition in assessment. In R. H. Kaschula, P. Maseko, & H. E. Wolff (Eds.), *Multilingualism and Intercultural Communication* (pp. 92–111). Wits University Press. <https://doi.org/10.18772/22017050268.13>
- Antia, B. E., & Makoni, S. (Eds.). (2022). *Southernizing sociolinguistics: Colonialism, racism, and patriarchy in language in the global south*. Taylor & Francis.
- Antia, B. E., & Van Der Merwe, C. (2019). Speaking with a forked tongue about multilingualism in the language policy of a South African university. *Language Policy*, 18, 407–429.
- Appiah, K. A. (1997). Cosmopolitan patriots. *Critical Inquiry*, 23(3), 617–639.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and language* (Vol. 83). Multilingual Matters.
- Barakos, E., & Selleck, C. (2019). Elite multilingualism: discourses, practices, and debates. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 40(5), 361–374. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1543691>
- Barakos, E., & Unger, J. W. (2016). Introduction: Why are discursive approaches to language policy necessary? In E. Barakos & J. W. Unger (Eds.), *Discursive Approaches to Language Policy* (pp. 1–9). Palgrave Macmillan UK. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-53134-6_1

- BBC. (2021). Budapest protest against China's Fudan University campus. Retrieved April 26, 2024, from <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-57372653>
- Bell, D. (1960). *The end of ideology: on the exhaustion of political ideas in the fifties*. Harvard University Press.
- Bertelsen, R. G. (2020). The history and international relations of American and French missionary universities in the Middle East and East Asia as a case of transnational professional relations. *Cultural and Social History*, 17(1), 87–112.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2019.1595871>
- Blanchford, D. R. (2004). Language spread versus language maintenance: policy making and implementation process. In M. Zhou & H. Sun (Eds.), *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Blommaert, J. (2006). Language ideology. In K. Brown (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Language & Linguistics (Second Edition)* (pp. 510–522). Elsevier.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/B0-08-044854-2/03029-7>
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization*. Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan. (2011). The long language-ideological debate in Belgium. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 6(3), 241–256.
- Blommaert, J. M. E., & Backus, A. (2013). Repertoires revisited: 'Knowing language' in superdiversity. (Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies; Vol. 67). King's College. <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/sspp/departments/education/research/ldc/publications/workingpapers/67.pdf>
- Bonacina-Pugh, F. (2024). Introducing language policy as practice. In F. Bonacina-Pugh (Ed.), *Language Policy as Practice: Advancing the Empirical Turn in Language Policy Research* (pp. 7–23). Springer International Publishing.
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-55783-5_2
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (pp. 241–258).
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429494338>
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2021). *Thematic Analysis: A Practical Guide*. SAGE Publications.
- Canagarajah, S. (2011). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2(2011), 1–28.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110239331.1>
- Canagarajah, S. (2013). *Translingual practice: Global Englishes and cosmopolitan relations*. Routledge.

- Caodaobateer. (2004). The use and development of Mongol and its writing systems in China. In M. Zhou & H. Sun (Eds.), *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Carnicer, J. A., & Fürstenau, S. (2021). Transnational mobility, education and social positioning between Brazil and Germany. In D. Cairns (Ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Youth Mobility and Educational Migration* (pp. 107–117). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-64235-8_11
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2020). Pedagogical translanguaging: An introduction. *System*, 92, 102269. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2020.102269>
- Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2021). *Pedagogical translanguaging*. Cambridge University Press.
- Chan, K. W., & Zhang, L. (1999). The Hukou system and rural-urban migration in China: processes and changes. *The China Quarterly*, 160, 818–855. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/S0305741000001351>
- Chiang, Y.-L. (2022). *Study Gods: How the new Chinese elite prepare for global competition*. Princeton University Press. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/9780691237190>
- Chibber, V. (2022a). *Confronting capitalism: How the world works and how to change it*. Verso Books.
- Chibber, V. (2022b). *The class matrix: Social theory after the cultural turn*. Harvard University Press.
- Chinese Statistical Bureau. (2021, May 11). *The Seventh National Census*. http://www.gov.cn/guoqing/2021-05/13/content_5606149.htm
- Chu, Y. (2017). Constructing minzu: the representation of minzu and Zhonghua Minzu in Chinese elementary textbooks. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 39(6), 941–953. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2017.1310715>
- Cino Pagliarello, M. (2022). Higher education in the single market between (trans)national integration and supranationalisation: Exploring the European universities initiative. *Journal of European Integration*, 44(1), 149–164. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07036337.2021.2011266>
- Cooper, R. L. (1989). *Language planning and social change*. Cambridge University Press.
- Council of Europe, Directorate General IV: Education, Culture and Heritage, Youth and Sport (Directorate of School, Out-of-School and Higher Education / Higher Education and Research Division). (2002, January 31). *Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education* (DGIV/EDU/HE (2002) 8). Council of Europe. <https://rm.coe.int/0900000168097c674>

- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* (4th edition). SAGE Publications.
- Creswell, J. W., & Poth, C. N. (2018). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches* (4th edition). SAGE Publications.
- Crotty, M. J. (1998). The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process. *The Foundations of Social Research*. Sage.
- Curle, S., Rose, H., & Yuksel, D. (2024). English medium instruction in emerging contexts: An editorial introduction to the special issue. *System*, 122(February), 103262. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2024.103262>
- Dafouz, E. (2018). English-medium instruction and teacher education programmes in higher education: Ideological forces and imagined identities at work. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 21(5), 540–552. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2018.1487926>
- Dafouz, E. (2021). Exploring the conceptualisation of linguistic diversity and multilingualism in the construction of (Transnational) European Universities: the case of UNA Europa. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1920964>
- Dafouz, E., & Smit, U. (2020). Road-mapping English medium education in the internationalised university. In *Miscelanea* (Vol. 61). https://doi.org/10.26754/OJS_MISC/MJ.20205144
- Darvin, R., & Norton, B. (2015). Identity and a model of investment in applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 36–56. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/S0267190514000191>
- Das Gupta, J. (1977). Language planning in India: Authority and organization. In J. Rubin, B. H. Jernudd, J. Das Gupta, J. A. Fishman, & C. A. Ferguson (Eds.), *Language planning processes*. Mouton.
- Dearden, J. (2014). English as a medium of instruction– a growing global phenomenon. British Council. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367854850-10>
- De Costa, P. I., Green-Eneix, C. A., & Li, W. (2022). Problematizing EMI language policy in a transnational world: China’s entry into the global higher education market. *English Today*, 38(2), 80–87.
- De Costa, P., Park, J., & Wee, L. (2016). Language learning as linguistic entrepreneurship: Implications for language education. *Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 25(5–6), 695–702. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-016-0302-5>
- De Soete, A. (2025). “So, you’re speaking Dutch?” An interdisciplinary analysis of language policy negotiation in the EMI classroom. *Journal of English-Medium Instruction*.

- De Soete, A., & Slembrouck, S. (2023). The EMI content lecturer as a street-level bureaucrat: discretionary actions and coping mechanisms in micro-level language policy-as-produced. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2023.2229801>
- de Sousa Santos, B. (2015). *Epistemologies of the South: Justice against epistemicide*. Routledge.
- De Swaan, A. (2013). *Words of the world: The global language system*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Department of Higher Education and Training. (2020). *Language policy framework for public higher education institutions*. Republic of South Africa.
- Deumert, A., & Makoni, S. (2023). *From southern theory to decolonizing sociolinguistics: Voices, questions and alternatives* (Vol. 5). Channel View Publications.
- Deutschmann, E. (2022). *Mapping the transnational world: How we move and communicate across borders, and why it matters*. Princeton University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1998). *The essential Dewey* (Vol. 1): Pragmatism, education, democracy (L. A. Hickman & T. M. Alexander, Eds.). Indiana University Press.
- Dong, J., Han, Y., & Zhang, T. (2025). Conflicting language ideologies and practices of English medium instruction policy for international students in China's higher education. *Higher Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-025-01408-0>
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007). *Research methods in applied linguistics: Quantitative, qualitative and mixed methodologies*. Oxford University Press.
- Dörnyei, Z., & Dewaele, J.-M. (2023). *Questionnaires in second language research* (3rd ed.). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781410606525-6>
- Durkheim, E. (1983). *Pragmatism and sociology*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dworkin, D. (1997). *Cultural Marxism in postwar Britain: History, the New Left, and the origins of cultural studies*. Duke University Press.
- EduCity Iskandar Malaysia. (n.d.). About us. EduCity. <https://educity.com.my/about-us/>
- Fang, F., Jiang, L., & Yang, J. (2023). To impart knowledge or to adhere to policy: Unpacking language ideologies and practices in Chinese EMI courses through a translanguaging lens. *Language Teaching Research*, 13621688231183772. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13621688231183771>
- Fang, F., & Hu, G. (2022). English medium instruction, identity construction and negotiation of Teochew-speaking learners of English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2051711>

- Fang, F., & Liu, Y. (2020). 'Using all English is not always meaningful': Stakeholders' perspectives on the use of and attitudes towards translanguaging at a Chinese university. *Lingua*, 247, 102959.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2020.102959>
- Fanning, B., & Mutwarasibo, F. (2007). Nationals/non-nationals: immigration, citizenship and politics in the Republic of Ireland. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(3), 439–460.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870701217506>
- Fehrenbach, H., & Huisman, J. (2022). A systematic literature review of transnational alliances in higher education: The gaps in strategic perspectives. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 28(1), 33–51.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/10283153221137680>
- Fellman, J., & Fishman, J. A. (1977). Language planning in Israel: Solving terminological problems. In J. Rubin, B. H. Jernudd, J. Das Gupta, J. A. Fishman, & C. A. Ferguson (Eds.), *Language planning processes*. Mouton.
- Fishman, J. A. (1973). *Language and nationalism : Two integrative essays*. Newbury House Publishers.
- Fishman, J. A., Ferguson, C. A., & Gupta, J. D. (Eds.). (1968). *Language problems of developing nations*. Wiley.
- Flick, U. (2022). Revitalising triangulation for designing multi-perspective qualitative research. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research design* (pp. 652–664). Sage Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault effect: Studies in governmentality* (pp. 87–104). University of Chicago Press.
- Fukuyama, F. (1989). The end of history? *The National Interest*, 16, 3–18.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/24027184>
- Fukuyama, F. (2012[1992]). *The end of history and the last man* (20th Anniv.Ed.). Free Press. (Original work published 1992).
- Gao, X. (2012). 'Cantonese is not a dialect': Chinese netizens' defence of Cantonese as a regional lingua franca. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(5), 449–464. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2012.680461>
- García, O., Flores, N., Seltzer, K., Wei, L., Otheguy, R., & Rosa, J. (2021). Rejecting abyssal thinking in the language and education of racialized bilinguals: A manifesto. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 18(3), 203–228.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15427587.2021.1935957>
- García, O., & Wei, L. (2014). Translanguaging, bilingualism, and bilingual education. *The Handbook of Bilingual and Multilingual Education*, 223–240.

- Garvin, T. (2006). National identity in Ireland. *Studies: An Irish Quarterly Review*, 95(379), 241–250. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30095838>
- Gazzola, M. (2023). Language policy as public policy. In M. Gazzola, F. Gobbo, D. C. Johnson, & J. A. Leoni de León (Eds.), *Epistemological and Theoretical Foundations in Language Policy and Planning* (pp. 41–71). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-22315-0_3
- Goodman, D. S. G. (2014). *Class in contemporary China*. Polity.
- Government of the Netherlands. (2024, May 13). Aiming for a balanced internationalisation of universities and universities of applied sciences. <https://www.government.nl/latest/news/2024/05/13/aiming-for-a-balanced-internationalisation-of-universities-and-universities-of-applied-sciences>
- Grin, F., & Vaillancourt, F. (2015). The economics of language policy: An introduction to evaluation work. *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning: A Practical Guide*, 118–129.
- Gu, M. M., Han, Y., & Tang, L. (2022). Family language policy in a multilingual Mongolian family in China: A cross-generation exploration. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2099876>
- Guimón, J., & Narula, R. (2020). When developing countries meet transnational universities: Searching for complementarity and dealing with dual embeddedness. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 24(3), 314–336. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315319835536>
- Guo L. (2004). The relationship between Putonghua and Chinese dialects. In M. Zhou & H. Sun (Eds.), *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China*. Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Guo, X. (Grace), & Miao, L. (2024). From capital to habitus: understanding urban overseas returnees' class identity construction. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 45(5), 1342–1357. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1970171>
- Han, S. (2022). English medium instruction at Sino-foreign cooperative education institutions in China: is internationalising teaching and learning possible? *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2022.2032127>
- Han, Y., & Dong, J. (2024). Reproducing inequality while celebrating diversity: an ethnographic study of international students' EMI learning experiences in China. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 25(1), 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2023.2170622>

- Haugen, E. (1993[1959]). Planning for a standard language in modern Norway. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 1(3), 8–21.
- Haugen, E. (1966). Linguistics and language planning. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964*. Mouton
- Heller, M., & Duchêne, A. (2012). Pride and profit changing: discourses of language, capital and nation-state. In M. Heller & A. Duchêne (Eds.), *Language in late capitalism: Pride and profit* (1st ed.). Routledge.
- Heller, M., & McElhinny, B. (2017). *Language, capitalism, colonialism: Toward a critical history*. University of Toronto Press.
- Hesse-Biber, S. (2022). Mixed methods research designs in qualitatively driven research. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research design* (pp. 618–635). SAGE Publications.
- Heugh, K., Harding-Esch, P., & Coleman, H. (2021). Southern multilingualisms, translanguaging and transknowledging in inclusive and sustainable education. *Language and the Sustainable Development Goals*, 37–47.
- Hill, N. W. (2015). Languages: Tibetan. In J. A. Silk (Ed.), *Brill's Encyclopedia of Buddhism*. Volume One (pp. 917–924). Brill.
- Hopkyns, S., Dovchin, S., & Sultana, S. (2025). The politics of distraction in English-medium higher education across three global settings: A collaborative autoethnography. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 26(3), 371–391. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2024.2358692>
- Hornberger, N. H. (2004). The continua of biliteracy and the bilingual educator: Educational linguistics in practice. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 7(2–3), 155–171.
- Hornberger, N. H., & Johnson, D. C. (2007). Slicing the onion ethnographically : Layers and spaces in multilingual language education policy and practice. *TESOL Quarterly*, 41(3), 509–532.
- Hornberger, N. H. (2010). Language and education: A Limpopo lens. In N. H. Hornberger & S. L. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Education* (pp. 549–564). Multilingual Matters. <https://doi.org/doi:10.21832/9781847692849-022>
- Hornberger, N. H. (2015). Selecting Appropriate Research Methods in LPP Research: Methodological Rich Points. In F. M. Hult & D. C. Johnson (Eds.), *Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning*. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Hornberger, N. H., Tapia, A. A., Hanks, D. H., Dueñas, F. K., & Lee, S. (2018). Ethnography of language planning and policy. *Language Teaching*, 51(2), 152–186.

- Hornberger, N. H. (2022). Researching and teaching (with) the continua of biliteracy. *Educational Linguistics*, 1(1), 108–133.
- Hu, G. (2007). The juggernaut of Chinese-English bilingual education. In A. Feng (Ed.), *Bilingual Education in China Practices, Policies and Concepts* (Vol. 64, p. 94). Multilingual Matters
- Hu, G. (2009). The craze for English-medium education in China: driving forces and looming consequences. *English Today*, 25(4), 47–54. [https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S0266078409990472](https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/S0266078409990472)
- Hu, G., & Lei, J. (2014). English-medium instruction in Chinese higher education: A case study. *Higher Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-013-9661-5>
- Hu, Y. (2008). China's English language policy for primary schools. *World Englishes*, 27(3–4), 516–534. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2008.00582.x>
- Huang, Bin, Tani, M., Wei, Y., & Zhu, Y. (2022). Returns to education in China: Evidence from the great higher education expansion. *China Economic Review*, 74, 101804. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chieco.2022.101804>
- Huang, Borong, & Liao, X. (2017). 现代汉语 (第六版) *Xiandai hanyu (6th Edition)* [Modern Chinese]. Higher Education.
- Huang, P. C. C. (2020[1986]). The theory of peasant economy and involution and de-involution. *Rural China*, 17(2), 173–193. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1163/22136746-01702001>
- Hult, F. M., & Johnson, D. C. (Eds.). (2015). *Research methods in language policy and planning: A practical guide* (Vol. 7). John Wiley & Sons.
- Hultgren, A. K., Yuksel, D., Zuaro, B., Nao, M., & Wingrove, P. (2025). Opening up research on English-medium instruction: New interdisciplinary perspectives. *Journal of English-Medium Instruction*, 4(1).
- James, W. (1970). *Essays in pragmatism* (Issue 7). Simon and Schuster.
- Janssens, R., Mamadouh, V., & Marácz, L. (2013). Multilingual higher education in European regions. *Acta Universitatis Sapientiae, European and Regional Studies*, 3, 5–23.
- Johnson, R. B., & Onwuegbuzie, A. J. (2004). Mixed methods research: A research paradigm whose time has come. *Educational Researcher*, 33(7), 14–26. <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X033007014>
- Johnson, D. C. (2009). Ethnography of language policy. *Language Policy*, 8(2). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-009-9136-9>
- Johnson, D. C. (2013). *Language policy*. Palgrave Macmillan.

- Johnson, D. C. (2016). Critical ethnography of language policy: A semi-confessional tale. In *Researching Multilingualism* (pp. 119–134). Routledge.
- Johnson, D. C. (2023). Critical empirical approaches in language policy and planning. In M. Gazzola, F. Gobbo, D. C. Johnson, & J. A. Leoni de León (Eds.), *Epistemological and theoretical foundations in language policy and planning* (pp. 15–40). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-22315-0_2
- Johnson, D. C., & Ricento, T. (2013). Conceptual and theoretical perspectives in language planning and policy: situating the ethnography of language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2013(219), 7–21. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/ijsl-2013-0002>
- Johnson, D. C., & Johnson, E. J. (2015). Power and agency in language policy appropriation. *Language Policy*, 14(3), 221–243. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-014-9333-z>
- Johnson, D. C., & Stephens, C. (2018). Language policy and planning. In A. Phakiti, P. De Costa, L. Plonsky, & S. Starfield (Eds.), *The Palgrave handbook of applied linguistics research methodology* (pp. 811–827). Palgrave Macmillan. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-59900-1_37
- Joseph, M., & Ramani, E. (2004). Academic excellence through language equity: A new bilingual BA degree. *Curriculum Responsiveness: Case Studies in Higher Education*, 237–26
- Kachru, B. B. (1992). World Englishes: Approaches, issues and resources. *Language Teaching*, 25(1), 1–14.
- Källkvist, M., & Hult, F. M. (2016). Discursive mechanisms and human agency in language policy formation: Negotiating bilingualism and parallel language use at a Swedish university. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 19(1), 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.956044>
- Knight, J. (2015). Transnational education remodeled: Toward a common TNE framework and definitions. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 20(1), 34–47. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315315602927>
- Knight, J., & Lee, J. (2012). International joint, double, and consecutive degree programs: New developments, issues, and challenges. In D. Deardorff, H. de Wit, J. Heyl, & T. Adams (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of international higher education* (pp. 345–363). Sage
- Kuteeva, M., & Airey, J. (2014). Disciplinary differences in the use of English in higher education: Reflections on recent language policy developments. *Higher Education*, 67(5), 533–549. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-013-9660-6>

- Kuteeva, M., & Kaufhold, K. (2024). An “E” for “elite” in EMI? Global, local and elite dimensions in the promotion of English-medium university programmes. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2024.2393707>
- Lagunas, R. M. (2019). Nahuatl in Coatepec: Ideologies, practices and management for linguistic and cultural continuance. *International Review of Education*, 1, 67–86.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11159-019-09765-6>
- Lasagabaster, D. (2009). The implementation of CLIL and attitudes towards trilingualism. *ITL-International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 157(1), 23–43.
- Lasagabaster, D. (2022). *English-Medium Instruction in Higher Education*. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/9781108903493>
- Lasagabaster, D. (2024). “Because guess what? I don’t even want to speak English”: English as an obstacle for the development of multilingualism at a South African institution. *Language Policy*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-024-09707-5>
- Lasagabaster, D. (2025). An analysis of South African university students’ multilingual mindsets based on a holistic approach to language attitudes. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2025.2546736>
- Li, C., & Ruan, Z. (2015). Changes in beliefs about language learning among Chinese EAP learners in an EMI context in Mainland China: A socio-cultural perspective. *System*, 55, 43–52. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2015.08.010>
- Li, Wei (2018). Translanguaging as a practical theory of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 9–30.
- Li, Wei (2022). Translanguaging as method. *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*, 1(3), 100026. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.rmal.2022.100026>
- Li, Wei, & García, O. (2022). Not a first language but one repertoire: Translanguaging as a decolonizing project. *RELC Journal*, 53(2), 313–324.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/00336882221092841>
- Lin, N. (2011). Capitalism in China: A centrally managed capitalism (CMC) and its future. *Management and Organization Review*, 7(1), 63–96.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1740-8784.2010.00203.x>
- 林小英[Lin, X.]. (2023). 县中的孩子: 中国县域教育生态 [*Xianzhong de haizi: zhongguo xuanyu jiaoyu shengtai*][Children in County-level Schools: The Ecology of Education in Chinese Counties]. 上海人民出版社.[Shanghai People’s Press]

- Liontou, M. (2021). Conceptions of assessment as an integral part of language learning: A case study of Finnish and Chinese university students. *Languages*, 6(4), Article 201. <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages6040201>
- Liu, D., Deng, Y., & Wimpenny, K. (2024). Students' perceptions and experiences of translanguaging pedagogy in teaching English for academic purposes in China. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 29(5), 1234–1252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13562517.2022.2129961>
- Macaro, E. (2018). *English medium instruction*. Oxford University Press.
- Macaro, E., Curle, S., Pun, J., An, J., & Dearden, J. (2018). A systematic review of English medium instruction in higher education. *Language Teaching*, 51(1), 36–76. <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.1017/S0261444817000350>
- MacNamara, J. (1971). The Irish language and nationalism. *The Crane Bag*, 1(2), 40–44. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30059442>
- Martin, F. (2018). Overseas study as zone of suspension: Chinese students re-negotiating youth, gender, and intimacy. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 39(6), 688–703.
- Martin, F. (2023). Enterprising self and bohemian nomad: Emerging subjectivities in Chinese education mobilities. *Mobilities*, 18(2), 312–327.
- Marx, K. (1887). *Capital: A critique of political economy* (Vol. I). Progress Publishers. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351128704-11>
- Marx, K., & Engels, F. (1848). *Manifesto of the Communist Party*. Marxists Internet Archive (marxists.org) 1987, 2000, 2010. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315742564-9>
- McKinley, J., & Galloway, N. (2022). *English-medium instruction practices in higher education: International perspectives*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
- McKinley, J., Rose, H., & Zhou, S. (2021). Transnational universities and English Medium Instruction in China: how admissions, language support and language use differ in Chinese universities. *RELC Journal*, 52(2), 236–252.
- McKinney, C., & Tyler, R. (2024). (Trans) languaging-for-learning: A perspective from the South. *Reading & Writing-Journal of the Literacy Association of South Africa*, 15(1), 508.
- Menken, K., & García, O. (2010). Negotiating language policies in schools. *Educators as Policymakers*. Routledge.
- Ministry of Education. (2001). Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language of the People's Republic of China - Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/laws_policies/201506/t20150626_191388.html

- Ministry of Education, the PRC (2003). *中华人民共和国教育部 中外合作办学监管工作信息平台*[zhonghua renmin gongheguo jiaoyubu zhongwai hezuo banxue jianguan gongzuo xinxi pingtai, *Chinese foreign collaborative in running schools regulations platform*]. Retrieved November 14, 2023, from <https://www.crs.jsj.edu.cn/aproval/getbyarea/2>
- Ministry of Education, the PRC. (2017). *Zhongguo yuyan wenzi qingkuang*. [Language situations in China] https://www.gov.cn/guoqing/2017-11/22/content_5241528.htm
- Ministry of Education, the PRC. (2003). *Regulations of the People's Republic of China on Chinese-Foreign Cooperation in Running Schools*. <https://www.crs.jsj.edu.cn/news/index/3>
- Ministry of Education, the PRC. (2021, June 3). China sees rising number of Mandarin speakers http://en.moe.gov.cn/news/media_highlights/202106/t20210604_535511.html
- Mirhosseini, S.-A., & De Costa, P. I. (2025). *Critical views of English medium instruction*. In S.-A. Mirhosseini & P. I. De Costa (Eds.), *Critical English medium instruction in higher education*. Cambridge University Press.
- Montgomery, C. (2016). Transnational partnerships in higher education in China: The diversity and complexity of elite strategic alliances. *London Review of Education*, 14(1), 70–85.
- Moody, S., Chowdhury, M., & Eslami, Z. (2019). Graduate students' perceptions of translanguaging. *English Teaching & Learning*, 43(1), 85–103. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42321-018-0019-z>
- Mu, G. M., & Dooley, K. (2023). Bourdieu and Chinese higher education beyond the nation: Structures, strategies, and practices of advantage. In *Bourdieu and Sino-Foreign Higher Education* (pp. 1–18). Routledge.
- National Bureau of Statistics of China. (May 10, 2021). *Main Data of the Seventh National Population Census* https://www.stats.gov.cn/english/PressRelease/202105/t20210510_1817185.htmlOpens a new window
- New York University Shanghai. (n.d.). *Academic Bulletin*. NYU Shanghai. Retrieved [November 14, 2023], from <https://shanghai.nyu.edu/academics/curriculum/bulletin>
- Ngeow, C.-B. (2022). China's universities go to Southeast Asia: Transnational knowledge transfer, soft power, sharp power. *China Review*, 22(1), 221–248.
- Norman, J. (2003). The Manchus and Their Language (Presidential Address). *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 123(3), 483–491. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3217747>

- O'Regan, J. P. (2021). *Global English and political economy*. Routledge.
- Pan, L. (2011). English language ideologies in the Chinese foreign language education policies: A world-system perspective. *Language Policy*.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-011-9205-8>
- Pan, L. (2015). English as a global language in China. *English Language Education*, 2, 90362–90366.
- Peirce, C. S. (1965). Lectures on pragmaticism. In C. Hartshorne & P. Weiss (Eds.), *Collected papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Vol. 5, pp. 13–74). Harvard University Press.
- Pengpai news. (2021, May 18). 上海市第七次全国人口普查主要数据情况公布 [*Shanghaishi diqici quanguo renkou pucha zhuyao shuju qingkuang gongbu*] [*the publication of main data from the 7th National census*]
https://m.thepaper.cn/baijiahao_12735772
- Pennycook, A. (2007). *Global Englishes and transcultural flows*. Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203088807>
- Perry, E. J., & Chen, H. (2019). 异同之间：中国近代教会大学个案研究 [*Similar yet different: Case studies of China's modern Christian colleges*]. Zhejiang University Press.
- Perry, E. J., & Tu, H. (2020). Cultural imperialism redux? Reassessing the Christian colleges of Republican China. *Tsinghua Journal of Education*, 41(2), 30–40.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.
- Piller, I. (2015). Language ideologies. *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*, 2, 917–927.
- Piller, I., & Cho, J. (2013). Neoliberalism as language policy. *Language in Society*, 42(1), 23–44.
- Prada, J. (2019). Exploring the role of translanguaging in linguistic ideological and attitudinal reconfigurations in the Spanish classroom for heritage speakers. *Classroom Discourse*, 10(3–4), 306–322.
- Qatar Foundation. (n.d.). *About Qatar Foundation*. <https://www.qf.org.qa/about>
- Qiu, Y., Zheng, Y., & Liu, J. (2023). ‘So, only relying on English is still troublesome’: a critical examination of Japan’s English medium instruction policy at multiple levels. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 44(7), 608–625.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2100402>

- Ramani, E., & Joseph, M. (2002). Breaking new ground: Introducing an African language as medium of instruction at the University of the North: New developments and research. *Perspectives in Education*, 20(1), 233–240.
- Ramani, E., Kekana, T., Modiba, M., & Joseph, M. (2007). Terminology development versus concept development through discourse: insights from a dual-medium BA degree. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 25(2), 207–223.
- Ramsey, S. R. (2002). The languages of China. In S. D. Blum & L. M. Jensen (Eds.), *Mapping the margins of the Middle Kingdom* (pp. 45–64). University of Hawaii Press. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9780824861834-007>
- Resch, K., & Enzenhofer, E. (2018). Collecting data in other languages—strategies for cross-language research in multilingual societies. *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Collection*, 55, 131–146.
- Ricento, T. (2000). Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4(2), 196–213. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00111>
- Ricento, T. (Ed.). (2006). *An introduction to language policy: Theory and method*. Blackwell Publishing
- Ricento, T. K., & Hornberger, N. H. (1996). Unpeeling the onion: Language planning and policy and the ELT professional. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 401–427.
- Robertson, S. L., & Dale, R. (2015). Toward a critical cultural political economy of the globalisation of education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 13(1), 149–170. Author's version: <https://susan-lee-robertson.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/10/robertson-and-dale-2015-critical-cultural-political-economy-education.pdf>
- Robbins, J. (2013). Beyond the suffering subject: toward an anthropology of the good. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 19(3), 447–462. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42001631>
- Rose, H., & Galloway, N. (2019). *Global Englishes for language teaching*. Cambridge University Press.
- Rose, H., & McKinley, J. (2018). Japan's English-medium instruction initiatives and the globalization of higher education. *Higher Education*, 75(1), 111–129. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-017-0125-1>
- Rubin, J. (1977). Language standardization in Indonesia. In J. Rubin, B. H. Jernudd, J. Das Gupta, J. A. Fishman, & C. A. Ferguson (Eds.), *Language planning processes*. Mouton Publishers.
- Rubin, J., Jernudd, B. H., Das Gupta, J., Fishman, J. A., & Ferguson, C. A. (Eds.). (1977). *Language planning processes*. Mouton Publishers.

- Rui, Y. (2014). China's Strategy for the Internationalization of Higher Education: An Overview. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 9, 151–162.
<https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.3868/s110-003-014-0014-x>
- Sah, P. K. (2022). English medium instruction in South Asia's multilingual schools: unpacking the dynamics of ideological orientations, policy/practices, and democratic questions. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 25(2), 742–755. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2020.1718591>
- Sah, P. K., & Karki, J. (2023). Elite appropriation of English as a medium of instruction policy and epistemic inequalities in Himalayan schools. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 44(1), 20–34.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2020.1789154>
- Shen, J. (2025). Welcome to the Home Page of Dr. Jianfa SHEN.
<https://www.grm.cuhk.edu.hk/~jfshen/#smaps>
- Shen, Q. (2016). Saving Shanghai Dialect: A case for bottom-up language planning in China. *Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 25(5–6), 713–722.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s40299-016-0312-3>
- Shen, Q., & Gao, X. (2019). Multilingualism and policy making in Greater China: ideological and implementational spaces. *Language Policy*, 18(1), 1–16.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-018-9473-7>
- Shen, W., & Ma, W. (2023). China: Historical and contemporary development of higher education. In D. Kapur, L. Kong, F. Lo, & D. M. Malone (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Higher Education in the Asia-Pacific Region* (pp. 553–573) Oxford University Press
- Shohamy, E. (2006). *Language policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches*. Routledge.
- Sino-French Institute of Renmin University of China. (2022, January 25). Sino-French Institute of Renmin University of China | Sorbonne Université| Sorbonne université.
<https://www.sorbonne-universite.fr/en/sino-french-institute-renmin-university-china>
- Slembrouck, S. (2024). The various guises of translanguaging and its theoretical airstrip. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 45(3), 696–707.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2151602>
- Song, Y. (2021). 'Uneven consequences' of international English-medium-instruction programmes in China: A critical epistemological perspective. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 42(4), 342–356.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2019.1694525>
- Song, Y. (2024). Translanguaging as decoloniality-informed knowledge co-construction: A nexus analysis of an English-medium-instruction program in China. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 15(2), 713–736. <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2022-0020>

- Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511615245>
- Spolsky, B. (2007). Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL) Towards a theory of language policy. *Number 1 Special Issue on Language Policy and Planning Article*, 22(1), 4–5. <http://repository.upenn.edu/wpel/vol22/iss1/1>
- Spolsky, B. (2009). *Language management*. Cambridge university press.
- Spolsky, B. (Ed.) (2012). *The Cambridge handbook of language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Spolsky, B. (2021). *Rethinking language policy*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Staller, K. M., & Chen, Y. (2022). Choosing a research design for qualitative research – a Ferris wheel of approaches. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The sage handbook of qualitative research design* (pp. 69–86). SAGE Publications.
- Stambach, A. (2014). *Confucius and crisis in American universities: Culture, capital, and diplomacy in US public higher education*. Routledge.
- Sweezy, P. (1942). *The theory of capitalist development principles of Marxian political economy*. Dubson books.
- Teddle, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *Foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating quantitative and qualitative approaches in the social and behavioral sciences*. Sage.
- European Ministers of Education. (June 19, 1999). *The Bologna Declaration: Joint declaration of the European Ministers of Education convened in Bologna on the 19th of June 1999*.
https://ehea.info/media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial_conferences/02/8/1999_Bologna_Declaration_English_553028.pdf
- Thiong'o, N. wa. (1986). *Decolonising the mind: The politics of language in African literature*. Currey.
- Ting, S.-H. (2003). Impact of language planning on language attitudes: A case study in Sarawak. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 24(3), 195–210.
- Tollefson, J. W. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: Language policy in the community*. Longman Group.
- Tollefson, J. W., & Pérez-Milans, M. (Eds.). (2018). *The Oxford handbook of language policy and planning*. Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780190458898.001.0001>
- Trow, M. (1973). Problems in the transition from elite to mass higher education. Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.

- Tyler, R. (2023). *Translanguaging, coloniality and decolonial cracks: Bilingual science learning in South Africa* (Vol. 4). Channel View Publications.
- UK Parliament. (2006). *Additional Written Evidence*. House of Commons - Home Affairs <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200506/cmselect/cmhaff/775/775awe31.htm>
- UK Parliament. (2019). *A cautious embrace: defending democracy in an age of autocracies - Foreign Affairs Committee* - House of Commons. <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201919/cmselect/cmfaaff/109/10905.htm>
- UNA Europa. (2023). Una Europa 2030 Strategy. <https://www.una-europa.eu/stories/una-europa-2030-strategy-shaping-our-shared-future-for-the-better>
- Union, European (2022). Multilingualism: The language of the European Union. *European Parliamentary Research Service*.
- University of Michigan to End Joint Institute with Chinese University. (2025). U.S. House of Representatives Select Committee on the CCP. <https://selectcommitteeontheccp.house.gov/media/press-releases/university-michigan-end-joint-institute-chinese-university>
- Van Avermaet, P. (2009). Fortress Europe: Language policy regimes for immigration and citizenship. In G. Hogan-Brun, C. Mar-Molinero, & P. Stevenson (Eds.), *Discourses on Language and Integration* (pp. 15–44). John Benjamins.
- Van Der Wildt, A., Van Avermaet, P., & Van Houtte, M. (2015). Do birds singing the same song flock together? A mixed-method study on language as a tool for changing social homophily in primary schools in Flanders (Belgium). *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 49, 168–182. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.10.002>
- Van Oss, V., Van Avermaet, P., Struys, E., & Vantieghem, W. (2021). An empirical validation study of Spolsky's language policy model. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 23(1), 77–95. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2021.1907060>
- Van Raemdonck, M., Tyler, R., Van Avermaet, P., & Vantieghem, W. (2024). School actors navigating between implementor & arbiter – a qualitative study on the dynamics in multilingual schools' language policy. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 25(3), 285–305. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2023.2283654>
- Ventresca, M. J., & Mohr, J. W. (2001). Archival research methods [Author's manuscript]. In J. A. C. Baum (Ed.), *The Blackwell companion to organizations*. Blackwell Publishers https://www.academia.edu/6010212/Archival_Research_Methods
- Vogel, A. (2020). Transnational institutions of higher education and their contribution to the national innovation system: The case of the German University of Technology in

- Oman. *Transnational German Education and Comparative Education Systems: Research and Practice*, 155–172.
- Vogt, K., & Antia, B. E. (2024). *Multilingual Assessment – Finding the Nexus?* Peter Lang Verlag. <https://doi.org/10.3726/b21992>
- Vora, N. (2018). *Teach for Arabia: American Universities, Liberalism, and Transnational Qatar*. Stanford University Press.
- Wang, D. (2024). Translanguaging as a decolonising approach: students' perspectives towards integrating Indigenous epistemology in language teaching. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 15(4), 1385–1406. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/applirev-2022-0127>
- Wang, D., & East, M. (2024). Integrating translanguaging into assessment: students' responses and perceptions. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 15(5), 1911–1937. <https://doi.org/doi:10.1515/applirev-2023-0087>
- Wang, G. (2015). Ethnic multilingual education in China: A critical observation. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics* 30(2): 35–47, 2015 // www.gse.upenn.edu/wpel
- Wang, L., & King, K. (2022). Language ideologies, language policies, and shifting regional dialect proficiencies in three Chinese cities. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2044339>
- Wang, X., & Liu, Y. (2023). Desire for cosmopolitanism and entrepreneurialism in the age of de-globalisation. In Mu, G. M. & Dooley, K. (Eds.), *Bourdieu and Sino–Foreign Higher Education* (pp. 82–102). Routledge.
- Wallerstein, I. M. (2000). *The essential Wallerstein*. New Press
- Widodo, H. P. (2014). Methodological considerations in interview data transcription. *International Journal of Innovation in English Language Teaching and Research*, 3(1), 101–107.
- Wilkins, S., & Huisman, J. (2021). Institution strategy in transnational higher education: late entrants in mature markets – the case of international branch campuses in the United Arab Emirates. *Studies in Higher Education*, 46(4), 704–720. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2019.1649386>
- Wilkins, S., & Huisman, J. (2025). Country-branded universities: a framework for country brand authenticity in transnational higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 50(4), 676–693. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2024.2351099>
- Wilson, C., Janes, G., & Williams, J. (2022). Identity, positionality and reflexivity: relevance and application to research paramedics. *British Paramedic Journal*, 7(2), 43–49.
- Wingrove, P. (2025). Who offers English-medium instruction? Exploring university

- characteristics with random forests. *Studies in Higher Education*, 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/03075079.2025.2562935>
- Wodak, R. (2021). Re/nationalising EU-rope: National identities, right-wing populism, and border- and body-politics. In J. Kertzer & M. K. Book (Eds.), *National stereotyping, identity politics, European crises* (pp. 95–121). Brill.
- Woldegiorgis, E. T. (2021). Decolonising a higher education system which has never been colonised'. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 53(9), 894–906.
- Woolard, K. A. (2020). Language ideology. In *The International Encyclopedia of Linguistic Anthropology* (pp. 1–21).
<https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118786093.iela0217>
- Woolard, K. A., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1994). Language ideology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23(1), 55–82.
- Wragg, T. (2011). *An introduction to classroom observation (Classic edition)*. Routledge.
- Wright, S. (2004). *Language policy and language planning: From nationalism to globalisation*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Xinmin Wanbao. (2024, January 28). 2023年上海实现GDP47218.66亿元 经济总量继续保持全国经济中心城市首位. [2023 nian shanghai shixian GDP 47218.66 yiyuan jingji zongliang jixu baochi quanguo jingji zhognxin chengshi shouwei] [In 2023, Shanghai achieved its GDP target of 4,721.866 billion yuan, continuing to maintain its position as a national economic centre city.] <https://news.sina.com.cn/zx/gj/2024-01-28/doc-inafawfe2038041.shtml>
- Xu, H. (2019). Putonghua as “admission ticket” to linguistic market in minority regions in China. *Language Policy*, 18(1), 17–37. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-018-9462-x>
- Xu, X. (2023). Towards a Chinese definition of higher education internationalisation? A systematic review of the Chinese and English literature. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 44(3), 364–388.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01596306.2023.2200075>
- Xu, X., Rose, H., McKinley, J., & Zhou, S. (2021). The incentivisation of English medium instruction in Chinese universities: Policy misfires and misalignments. *Applied Linguistics Review*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2021-0181>
- Yang, R. (2008). Transnational higher education in China: Contexts, characteristics and concerns. *Australian Journal of Education*.
- Yang, R. (2023). Globalization and internationalisation of higher education in the Asia-Pacific. In W. O. Lee, P. Brown, A. L. Goodwin, & A. Green (Eds.), *International Handbook on Education Development in the Asia-Pacific* (pp. 1205–1221). Springer.

- Yang, R., & Xie, M. (2015). Leaning toward the Centers: International Networking at China's Five C9 League Universities. *Frontiers of Education in China*, 10(1), 66–90. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03397053>
- Yao, J., Pan, S., Zhang, X., & Nie, P. (2021). Linguistic landscape as a way to reflect the tension between mandated language policies and residents' language preferences: the case of Kashgar in China. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–17. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2022.2046008>
- Yeo, Sarah, & Han, Seunghoon. (2025). Which Quotations to Use? Guidance on Selecting and Reporting Quotations in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 24, 1–11. <https://doi.org/10.1177/16094069251353449>
- Yin, S., Liu, C., & Li, J. (2025). Capital, identity, and ideology: An investigation of Chinese students' investments in English-mediated practices in EMEMUS in Mainland China. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 0(0), 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2025.2525381>
- Yu, H., & Johnson, D. C. (2023). Language policy and governmentality: Chanting the Chinese Classics. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 24(2), 123–140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2022.2047513>
- Yu, H., & Luo, H. (2025). High-achieving learner identity in the everyday politics of examination in China: A critical narrative inquiry. *Educational Review*, 1–19.
- Yu, J. (2021). Consuming UK transnational higher education in China: A Bourdieusian approach to Chinese students' perceptions and experiences. *Sociological Research Online*, 26(1), 222–239. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1360780420957040>
- Yu, J. (2022). Mobile educational space and imaginative travellers in-situ: A case study of a UK international branch campus in China. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 24(8), 1342–1361. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2022.2055780>
- Yuan, L., Fang, F., & Hu, G. (2024). Are students prepared and supported for English medium instruction in Chinese higher education to promote educational equality? *System*, 125, 103423. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2024.103423>
- Yuksel, D., Wingrove, P., Nao, M., Zuaro, B., & Hultgren, A. K. (2025). A critical approach to the rise of EMI: Why, how, and by whom are decisions made? In S.-A. Mirhosseini & P. I. De Costa (Eds.), *Critical English medium instruction in higher education* (pp. 87–104). Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009386456.008>
- Zhang, J. (2022, August). 'Rùn!' (Part 1): Why is China's urban youth searching for a way out? MoLab Inventory of Mobilities and Socioeconomic Changes. Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology. <https://doi.org/10.48509/MoLab.3467>

- Zhang, L., & Kinser, K. (2016). Independent Chinese-foreign collaborative universities and their quest for legitimacy. *Chinese Education & Society*, 49(4–5), 324–342. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10611932.2016.1237852>
- Zhang, Q. (2007). Cosmopolitanism and linguistic capital in China: Language, gender and the transition to a globalized market economy in Beijing. In McElhinny, B (Ed). *Words, Worlds, and Material Girls Language, Gender, Globalization* (pp. 403–422). <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110198805.4.403>
- Zhang, Y., Mok, K. H., Gao, X., & Zhang, Q. (2024). Understanding the Chinese–Foreign cooperation in running schools: From the perspective of loose coupling theory. *Journal of Asian Public Policy*, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17516234.2024.2395021>
- Zhao, S. (2004). *A nation-state by construction: Dynamics of modern Chinese nationalism*. Stanford University Press.
- Zheng, Y. (2014). A phantom to kill: The challenges for Chinese learners to use English as a global language: Why should we encourage a bilingual user identity of global English? *English Today*, 30(4), 34–39. <https://doi.org/DOI:10.1017/S0266078414000388>
- Zheng, Y., & Qiu, Y. (2024). Epistemic (in)justice in English medium instruction: transnational teachers’ and students’ negotiation of knowledge participation through translanguaging. *Language and Education*, 38(1), 97–117. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2023.2248968>
- Zhou, S., McKinley, J., Rose, H., & Xu, X. (2021). English medium higher education in China: challenges and ELT support. *ELT Journal*, 76(2), 261–271. <https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/ccab082>

Appendix A

Interview Questions for Students

1. What language do you mainly speak in your major classes? Do you think using this language in classroom helps your learning process?
2. Do you think your language skills fit your major classrooms? Do you need extra clarification when the teacher lectures?
3. Have you heard about language management policies from school? For example, you shall use English/Chinese in classrooms?
4. If you could choose, which language would you like to use in the classroom and why?
5. Have you heard your fellow students talk in other languages (e.g. Shanghai dialect) in classrooms, and how do you think of this dialect? Would you consider learning this dialect if you have the chance?

学生访谈问题：

- 1、在你的专业课上你主要使用什么语言？你觉得使用这个语言能帮助到你的学习吗？
- 2、你觉得你的语言水平和你的专业课堂里的语言使用契合吗？你会不会有时候不大明白，需要老师再解释一下？
- 3、你听过你的学校的语言政策吗？比如说，学校有规定要在课堂使用英文或者中文？
- 4、如果你可以选择的话，你会想在课堂里使用什么语言？为什么？
- 5、你听过你的同学们在课堂里说其它语言吗，比如上海话？你怎么看待这门方言？如果你有机会的话，你会想学习这门方言吗？

Interview Questions for Teachers

1. Which language(s) do you use in teaching your major/content classes?
2. Have you received instructions from your supervisor(s) about your instructional languages? Or is there any policy that prescribes your language use in teaching?
3. Do you require all your students to speak English in classes? Do you accept it when they use Chinese to present their ideas? Ask questions? Or use Chinese to discuss among their discussion groups?
4. Do you need to clarify the contents in your classes because your students do not understand the instructional language? In which language (s) if you clarify? Would you sometimes switch to another language (Chinese/English/others) to help them understand?
5. Is there any chance that you use Suzhou/Shanghai dialect or other languages in your classes? How do you think if your students use Suzhou/Shanghai dialect in your classes? If

they would like to learn some Suzhou/Shanghai dialect, would you recommend them to learn?

教师访谈问题:

1. 您在教商科课程的时候使用什么语言?
2. 您的上级有没有跟您规定过上课应该使用的语言, 或者有没有相关的政策, 要求您应该使用什么样的语言进行授课?
3. 您会要求学生在课堂中使用英文吗? 如果他们使用中文来提出想法, 问问题, 小组讨论, 您觉得可以接受吗?
4. 有时候学生会不会因为授课语言的原因听不明白课程内容, 然后您会再解释一下? 解释的时候您会用什么语言呢比如中文、英文或者其它语言来帮助他们理解课程内容?
5. 您是否有时候会在课上使用苏州话, 上海话? 如果学生在课上使用苏州/上海话的话, 您会怎么认为? 如果您的学生想学习苏州/上海话的话, 您会建议他们去学习吗?

Appendix B

Appendix 1: Language practice and belief in Sino-foreign classrooms

You are invited to complete this anonymous survey about students' (Sino-foreign undergraduates) language practice and belief conducted by xxx. This survey is entirely voluntary and you can stop taking part in this study at any time without any consequences. It will **not** be possible to identify you from your answers to the questions. The answers you give will be kept confidentially and used only for the purpose of xxx project.

Part 1 Your language facts

1. What is your native language/first language? This study defines "native language" as the language you spoke with your caregivers in your childhood. You can select more than 1 answer if you are multilingual.

- ☐ Putonghua (Mandarin Chinese)
- ☐ English
- ☐ Wu dialect (example: Shanghai, Kunshan, Suzhou dialects etc.)
- ☐ Other Chinese dialect, for instance Cantonese, or simply put the place where the dialect is spoken, e.g. Mianyang dialect etc. If you speak other languages such as German, Spanish, Afrikaans etc. as your native language(s), please also specify in the following blank space.
- ☐ Other

2. If you are not a native speaker of Chinese (you speak neither Putonghua nor any other Chinese dialects), did you have any prior experience of learning Chinese before you enrolled in this university?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

3. Please select the statement that best describes your current proficiency in Chinese

- ☐ I know some very basic Chinese phrases although it is hard for me to make conversation in Chinese.
- ☐ I can understand and use simple everyday Chinese expressions which allow me to express my basic needs.
- ☐ I can communicate in Chinese for daily tasks requiring simple and direct exchanges of information on familiar and routine matters (personal and family information, shopping, transport etc.)
- ☐ I can understand the main points of clear standard Chinese about familiar matters regularly encountered at university and in my leisure time etc. I can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in Chinese-speaking areas.
- ☐ I can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning in Chinese. I can express myself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions.

4. Please select the statement that best describes your current proficiency in English

- ☐ I know some very basic English phrases although it is hard for me to make conversation in English.
- ☐ I can understand and use simple everyday English expressions which allow me to express my basic needs
- ☐ I can communicate in English for daily tasks requiring simple and direct exchanges of information on familiar and routine matters (personal and family information, shopping, transport etc.)
- ☐ I can understand the main points of clear standard English about familiar matters regularly encountered at university and in my leisure time etc. I can deal with most situations likely to arise whilst travelling in Chinese-speaking areas.
- ☐ I can understand a wide range of demanding, longer texts, and recognise implicit meaning in English. I can express myself fluently and spontaneously without much obvious searching for expressions.

5. If you have taken an English language proficiency test in the last 2 years, please provide the name of the test and your overall test score.

6. If you have taken a Chinese language proficiency test such as HSK in the last 2 years, please provide the name of the test and your overall test score.

7. If you'd like to leave any more information about your language background and what you define as your native or first language(s), please use the space below.

Part 2 Your language practice

8. Please indicate how often do you speak **English** in the following situations **in your major classes**.

	Always	Often	Occasionally	Never
When I give a presentation to the class	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with Chinese-speaking instructors	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with non-Chinese speaking instructors	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with Chinese-speaking classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with non-Chinese-speaking classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐

9. Please indicate how often do you speak **Putonghua (the following part uses Putonghua, Mandarin Chinese or Chinese interchangeably)** in the following situations in your major classes.

	Always	Often	Occasionally	Never
When I give a presentation to the class	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with Chinese-speaking instructors	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with non-Chinese speaking instructors	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with Chinese-speaking classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with non-Chinese-speaking classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐

10. Please indicate how often do you speak **Wu dialect** in the following situations in your major classes.

	Always	Often	Occasionally	Never
When I give a presentation to the class	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with Wu-speaking instructors	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with non-Wu speaking instructors	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with Wu-speaking classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with non-Wu-speaking classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐

11. Please indicate how often do you speak **any other languages or dialects** in the following situations in your major classes.

	Always	Often	Occasionally	Never
When I give a presentation to the class	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with instructors	☐	☐	☐	☐
When I speak with classmates	☐	☐	☐	☐

12. If you indicated above that you speak any other language(s) or dialect(s) in your major classes, please name the language(s)/dialects(s) here, e.g. French or Sichuan dialect etc.

Part 3 Your language belief

13. I think that **our major classes** should use **English**...

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
when students present their work	☐	☐	☐	☐
when students talk about course-related matters	☐	☐	☐	☐
when there are informal conversations e.g. lunch plan	☐	☐	☐	☐
when there is/are English-speaking person(s) presented	☐	☐	☐	☐

14. I think that **our major classes** should use **Putonghua**...

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
when students present their work	☐	☐	☐	☐
when students talk about course-related matters	☐	☐	☐	☐
when there are informal conversations e.g. lunch plan	☐	☐	☐	☐
when there is/are Chinese-speaking person(s) presented	☐	☐	☐	☐

15. I think that **our major classes** should use **Wu dialect**...

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
when students present their work	☐	☐	☐	☐
when students talk about course-related matters	☐	☐	☐	☐
when there are informal conversations e.g. lunch plan	☐	☐	☐	☐
when there is/are Wu-speaking person(s) presented	☐	☐	☐	☐

16. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the following statements

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I think English should be used all the time in all aspects of our major course classroom	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think Putonghua should be used all the time in all aspects of our major course classroom	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think that we should be flexible about the languages we use in our major course classroom	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think that a bilingual (Putonghua/English) model is the best one for our major course classroom	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think that all languages and dialects should be welcome in our major classroom	☐	☐	☐	☐
I think that Wu dialect eg. Shanghai dialect should have a place in the major classrooms in this university	☐	☐	☐	☐
I don't think that language use in our major classrooms matters	☐	☐	☐	☐

17. What is your preferred situation for your major classroom in terms of the instructor's language use? Please indicate your preferences where 1 = Least Preferred and 4 = Most Preferred

	1	2	3	4
Instructor mixes a variety of Chinese dialects with Chinese and English	☐	☐	☐	☐
Instructor mixes other languages with Chinese and English	☐	☐	☐	☐
Instructor uses English all the time	☐	☐	☐	☐
Instructor uses Chinese all the time	☐	☐	☐	☐
Instructor uses Chinese and English interchangeably	☐	☐	☐	☐

18. What is your preferred situation for your major classroom in terms of your classmates' language use? Please indicate your preferences where 1 = Least Preferred and 4 = Most Preferred

	1	2	3	4
Classmates mix a variety of Chinese dialects with Chinese and English	☐	☐	☐	☐
Classmates mix other languages with Chinese and English	☐	☐	☐	☐
Classmates use English all the time	☐	☐	☐	☐
Classmates use Chinese all the time	☐	☐	☐	☐
Classmates use Chinese and English interchangeably	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. If I were the instructor in a major course in my institution and if I could choose what to do,

	Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
I would use English as the main instructional language	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would use Putonghua as the main instructional language	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would use Wu dialect as the main instructional language	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would allow any other dialects/languages to be included as an additional instructional language	☐	☐	☐	☐
I would allow Wu dialect to be included as an additional instructional language	☐	☐	☐	☐

Part 4 Additional questions

20. Would you like to add anything about this topic that is not mentioned in the questions above?

21. If you are happy to be contacted by the researcher for a short follow-up interview (conducted online), please leave your email address below.

This content is neither created nor endorsed by Microsoft. The data you submit will be sent to the form owner.

 Microsoft Forms

Appendix C



Trinity College Dublin

Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath
The University of Dublin

Application	Academic Year 2022/23
Applicant Code	MT11/R1882
Applicant/Supervisor Name	Honghui Zhu / Prof Lorna Carson
Title of Research	Multilingualism and language policy in Sino-foreign tertiary education
Date of this letter	19/12/2022

Dear Honghui,

Your amended submission (dated 19/12/2022) for ethical approval for the research project above was considered by the Research Ethics Committee, School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin and has been approved in full.

Please note:

- (i) On completion of research projects, applicants should complete the *End of Project Report Form* (which can be found at: <https://www.tcd.ie/slscs/research/ethics/>) and submit one electronic copy (to slscs@tcd.ie)
- (ii) The REC requests, in particular, that you attend to your commitments regarding the storage and destruction of data arising from this research, in keeping with REC policy and General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) guidelines.

We wish you every luck with your research.

Best wishes,

Dr Ciarán Kenny
Chair, Research Ethics Committee
School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences



Trinity College Dublin

Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath

The University of Dublin

Application	Academic Year 2023/24
Applicant Code	MT11/R1882 2023-23
Applicant/Supervisor Name	Honghui Zhu / Professor Lorna Carson
Title of Research	Multilingualism and language policy in Sino-foreign tertiary education
Date of this letter	25.06.24

Dear Honghui,

Your amended submission (dated 20.06.24) for ethical approval for the research project above was considered by the Research Ethics Committee, School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin and has been approved in full.

Please note:

- (i) On completion of research projects, applicants should complete the *End of Project Report Form* (which can be found at: <https://www.tcd.ie/slscs/research/ethics/>) and submit one electronic copy (to slscs@tcd.ie)
- (ii) The REC requests, in particular, that you attend to your commitments regarding the storage and destruction of data arising from this research, in keeping with REC policy and General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) guidelines.

We wish you every luck with your research.

Best wishes,

Dr Bronagh Óatibúshí

Chair, Research Ethics Committee

School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences

Appendix D

Code for Selected Profiles	Current Situation	Key Events Portrayed	While at Sino-foreign Education	Personal Background; Prior to Sino-foreign education
PAS01	Master studies in the U.S.	Public health fieldwork in Africa	Research assistant experience Interdisciplinary training	Chinese
PAS02	Undergraduate	Passion for medical training and research	Mandarin learning Wide range of academic interests such as politics, and gender/sexuality Practice a variety of martial arts Join multiple clubs such as Model United Nations	International with Cantonese-speaking heritage Plays violin and practice martial arts
PAT03	Director of Counselling	Emphasis on the importance of students' mental health	Staff speak both English and Chinese, and welcomes speakers of other languages “as people tend to communicate emotional concepts better in their heart language” Foster intercultural atmosphere	Undergraduate in California Doctorate degree from the U.S. Top-tier private hospital in Shanghai, China
PAS04	Master's studies in the U.S.	Self-discovery and unconventional learning path	Strike a balance between liberal arts and sciences Great resources and opportunities for exploration Interdisciplinary discussion	Chinese Reads philosophy and plays a Chinese traditional musical instrument

				Was not accustomed to the teaching style and pace in high school
PAS05	Undergraduate	Explore new local cultures and explore the study field	Chinese language barrier and cultural hurdles	International
PAS06	Undergraduate	Choose University A other than a sports-oriented university as planned	Confident and self-reliant instead of following leads Abundant student clubs and facilities Expanded worldview by immersing in multicultural environment Overcome the English language barrier In the university sports team	Chinese Parents Ivy League graduates Top high school from Beijing Summer camp in the U.S first year of high school
PAS07/08	Chinese: Staff at University A; International: postgraduate study in Europe	Friendship	Share different perspectives over similar topics Travel together	Chinese-International friendship Oldest and youngest students in their cohort
PBS01	Top-tier consulting company	English plus Accounting majors as main advantage for job seeking	Engaged in multiple student clubs and collected soft power	Chinese
PBS02	Graduate school in the U.S.	Chinese-foreign intercultural communication	Multinational company internship High language proficiency (Mandarin, English etc.)	International

PBS03	Staff in a local public university	Consolidate finance knowledge by participating in competitions and research projects	Overcome the financial terms in English Business management related projects in China Focus on Party and League activities and promotion	Chinese
PBS04	Graduate School in China	Multilingual speaker and expert in business	Solid knowledge in business Exchange in Europe	International with Chinese heritage Interested to do business
PBS05	Graduate School in Australia	High achieving academically	Publish in top-tier academic journals Applies accounting related knowledge in business projects Student union lead and volunteering for education equality	Chinese Chose University B over University A with both offers
PBS06	Research/ think tank in China	High achieving academically and representative of members of Party and League	Promote the learning of the 20 th Party Congress spirits	Chinese
PBS07	In preparation for civil servant exam	A combination of academic learning and practice	Promotion of the Chinese multinational culture Interned in key official departments in ethnic region in China	Chinese

