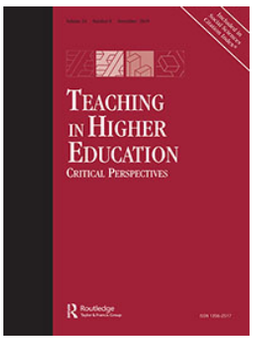

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Rainbow Tsai-Hung Chen

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University lecturers' experiences of teaching in English in an international classroom

Rainbow Tsai-Hung Chen

Foreign Language Center, National Chengchi University, Taipei City, Taiwan

ABSTRACT

Demand for English-taught courses (ETCs) is growing exponentially in non-English speaking universities. These courses require new teaching competences of lecturers, most obviously English language proficiency and intercultural skills. Given the high workloads academics are currently burdened with, it can be expected that this form of teaching is presenting them with a considerable challenge. Despite this, little is known about their ETC teaching experiences. This study addressed this issue by examining and comparing beginning and experienced ETC lecturers' perspectives on their practices. The study was conducted at a university in Taiwan. Ten academics were interviewed in-depth, some two to three times over a two-year period. The study found the two groups' experiences were polar opposites. This paper argues an awareness of English as a lingua franca accompanied by student-centered teacher concerns led to the senior cohort's positive ETC teaching experiences, while a lack thereof gave rise to the beginning lecturers' unfavorable experiences.

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English-taught courses; English as a medium of instruction; English as a lingua franca; teacher concerns; novice teachers

Introduction

English-taught courses (ETCs) are proliferating in non-English speaking universities due to the universities' efforts to internationalize. In addition to serving as a means to attract international students, ETCs also have the capacity to raise a university's international profile, as well as enhance teachers' and students' competitiveness by expanding their English language skills, and also their global perspectives thanks to the multicultural student demographics in the courses. For this educational initiative to achieve its potential, it requires at a minimum that the teaching staff possess additional teaching competences, such as English proficiency and intercultural knowledge (Kling 2016; van der Werf 2012). Given the teaching, research and administrative workloads academics are already heavily burdened with (Sabagh, Hall, and Saroyan 2018; Shin and Jung 2014), it can be expected that ETC teaching is presenting many of them with a considerable challenge. However, despite the escalating demand on academics to undertake this form of teaching, compared with other aspects of internationalization, such as student mobility and curriculum internationalization, their ETC teaching experiences remain largely unexplored. As an attempt

CONTACT Rainbow Tsai-Hung Chen rchen@nccu.edu.tw Foreign Language Center, National Chengchi University, No.64, Sec.2, ZhiNan Rd., Taipei City 11605, Taiwan

to start bridging this gap in the literature, the study reported in this paper investigated ten lecturers' ETC teaching experiences at a Taiwanese university. It is envisaged that the findings of the study can inform the implementation of ETCs at universities in other non-English speaking countries since the teaching staff there are likely to be faced with similar expectations as Taiwanese lecturers due to the increasingly similar student demographics in ETCs in today's higher education.

The Taiwan context

Regarding the Taiwan context, the latest available information shows that of the 161 universities, 131 were offering ETCs, and that the total number of courses had reached 24,077 in 2014, having grown 50% from five years earlier (Tsou and Kao 2017). With the constant and ongoing financial incentives provided by the government for universities to internationalize the campus and universities' pressure to recruit foreign students to cope with the shrinking domestic student market, the number of ETCs is expected to continue to rise. In implementing ETCs, a great challenge confronting the universities is to meet the expanding demand for ETC lecturers. As in most Asian countries, such as Japan, Korea and China, English is learned as a school subject and generally not used in everyday life in Taiwan. Accordingly, most Taiwanese academics' use of the English language is limited to academic purposes, namely, academic publishing and presentations. Teaching in English, therefore, tends to entail a great amount of additional class preparation; as a result, typically only a small number of academics are willing to take on ETC teaching. One way to address this shortage of ETC lecturers, as adopted by most universities, is to require new faculty members to teach at least one ETC for a minimum period of time, usually three years. To ensure they have sufficient English proficiency for, and commitment to, teaching the courses, an ability and willingness to offer ETCs has become a common selection criterion for faculty recruitment at Taiwanese universities. Unfortunately, new faculty members tend to withdraw from ETC teaching after completing their initial obligation, resulting in the situation where there are either relatively new or very experienced ETC lecturers.

Relevant literature

As research investigating ETC practices is often found in the literature on English as a medium of instruction (EMI), in what follows, the two terms are used interchangeably, although it should be emphasized that the current paper only concerns EMI in a multicultural context. So far, the literature has yielded mixed results regarding learner responses to EMI but reported generally supportive attitudes by lecturers towards the practice. Most commonly cited reasons for the latter include lecturers' recognition of EMI as a fundamental means of internationalization (Dearden and Macaro 2016; Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Kotake 2017), benefits of teaching in English in honing their language abilities (Aguilar and Rodríguez 2012) and self-growth (Kotake 2017).

Nevertheless, challenges in using EMI have also been identified, with one study (Costa and Coleman 2013) revealing that some lecturers felt forced against their wishes to adopt EMI. Most of the challenges recorded in the past research were language-related, be it an apprehension by the lecturers about the hegemony of English in educational contexts or

language barriers confronting them in their practices (Dimova, Hultgren, and Jensen 2015; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013). In terms of language barriers, lecturers consistently reported difficulties in expressing themselves clearly, improvising what they wanted to say, and interacting or engaging in informal exchanges with students (Airey 2011; Helm and Guarda 2015; Tange 2010). In short, to lecturers, linguistic inflexibility was a major impediment to maintaining high teaching quality.

Another category of challenge, which scholars have alerted practitioners to, pertains to addressing cultural diversity among students in ETCs, where such diversity is apparent. However, despite the alert, research continues to find that lecturers perceive ETC teaching as involving primarily a change of the language of instruction (e.g. Cots 2013). For example, whereas scholars underscore the importance for lecturers to interrogate their existing pedagogical conceptions and approaches in order to cope with cross-cultural teaching (Leask 2015; Ryan 2013), lecturers did not consider adjusting their teaching methods for ETCs to be essential (Aguilar and Rodríguez 2012; Dearden and Macaro 2016). The consequences of this were documented in Chen (2014), in which international students reported not obtaining the type of knowledge they were seeking, and regarded the teaching practices as disengaging and demotivating. In an attempt to understand why some lecturers are able to successfully adapt their teaching to accommodate multicultural learners while others fail to do so, researchers have associated a transformation of lecturers' pedagogical values and practice, or a lack thereof, with how they make sense of their teaching roles or identity. Korhonen and Weil (2015), for example, argued that a positive ETC teaching experience requires the lecturer to take on a new role by exercising active agency to transcend cultural barriers and develop intercultural sensitivity. Likewise, Tran and Nguyen (2015) highlighted the identity of satisfied lecturers in cross-cultural teaching contexts as intercultural learners, themselves.

Aside from the concerns and challenges outlined above, also worth noting in prior research involving ETC lecturers are the differences in their perspectives according to age or seniority. Several studies found younger lecturers showed greater enthusiasm for teaching in English than their senior colleagues (Dearden and Macaro 2016; Jensen and Thøgersen 2011). These studies attributed the distinction to a generational difference, postulating that with more exposure to English in their education and upbringing, the younger generation was more comfortable using the language. On the other hand, Airey's (2011) study found relative inexperience in ETC teaching caused lecturers to suffer from linguistic limitations, and Vinke, Snippe and Jochems' (1998) investigation concluded that experienced lecturers were more likely to thrive in ETC teaching because of their ample opportunities to use English in various professional contexts. These inconsistencies may be accounted for by the fact that some studies examined lecturers' expectations rather than their actual experiences, and that some drew participants from professional development programs while others recruited participants from regular contexts. In other words, the specifics of the research context have a substantial bearing on the results.

Notwithstanding the limitations of the previous research, the issue of a possible distinction between junior and senior ETC lecturers is of particular relevance to the current study. As delineated above, ETC lecturers in the Taiwan context consist of two distinct groups: new faculty members who are expected to teach the courses for a minimum period of time and experienced ETC lecturers who are willing to continue offering the

courses. The situation has created a widening gap between novice and experienced lecturers in their development of expertise in ETC teaching, thus making it difficult to sustain the consistent quality of the courses. To address the problem, the first step is to understand how novice lecturers' ETC teaching experiences differ from their veteran counterparts', as this will shed light on what drives one to quit or continue their ETC practice, which may in turn help improve ETC lecturers' teaching experiences.

Method

The study addressed two research questions:

(1) What are novice lecturers' experiences and perceptions of teaching an ETC that enrolls students from different cultural backgrounds?
(2) How do these experiences and perceptions compare with those of experienced ETC lecturers?

In this study, a novice lecturer was defined as one with less than six semesters of ETC teaching experience, and the rest of the ETC lecturers were considered experienced ETC lecturers. As the purpose of the research was to understand how the participants '[made] sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world' (Creswell 1994, 145), a qualitative approach was employed. The study was conducted at one of the most internationalized universities in Taiwan (hereafter, the University), where approximately 20% of the courses were ETCs at the time of the research, and the ETCs investigated in this study were those in which at least one-third of the students came from non-Asian countries. At the University, the majority of these students are from Europe and South America, most of whom do not speak Chinese.

Participants were 10 lecturers, comprising 5 novices (A∼E, Table 1) and 5 veterans (F∼J, Table 1). They were recruited from the College of Commerce and the College of Social Sciences, the two colleges that provided the majority of ETCs at the University. All of the participants were full-time, tenure-track Taiwanese academics with a doctoral degree obtained from English-speaking countries. These characteristics are typical of ETC lecturers at the University. Except for H and I, all participants had experience of working as a teaching assistant while studying overseas. In current Taiwanese higher education, academics with this background are generally considered to be equipped with the

Table 1. Demographic information about participants.

Participant	Gender	University teaching experience (years)	ETC teaching experience (semesters)	Number of interviews
A	Male	2.5	3	1
B	Female	0.5, 1.5*	1, 3*	2
C	Male	0.5, 1.5*	1, 3*	3
D	Female	0.5, 2.5*	1, 2*	2
E	Male	1	2	1
F	Female	3, 5*	5, 6*	2
G	Female	8	6	1
H	Male	>10	6	1
I	Male	>10	>10	1
J	Male	>10	>10	1

*The two numbers indicate the amount of experience the participant had at the first and the last interview, respectively.

language proficiency required to teach ETCs. Table 1 provides the demographic information about the participants.

I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with the participants, some over a span of two years. Six of the participants were interviewed once, and the other four were interviewed multiple times, depending on whether further information was needed from them and their availability. However, since novices' experiences and perceptions are likely to change, all the novice lecturers were invited to follow-up interviews. Three of them accepted the invitation. The other two expressed a preference for responding to my further questions through emails due to their busy work schedule, so I followed up with them in this manner. During the interviews, the participants were first invited to describe their practices, and based on their descriptions, they were then prompted to discuss the benefits, challenges, and other perceptions of ETC teaching. The interview questions were used mainly as a guide; the participants were also free to discuss any issues that they considered important to their practices. Each interview lasted from one to two hours, and the data was transcribed verbatim for analysis.

A thematic analysis was performed on the data using an inductive approach. The data was first classified into two broad categories of benefits and challenges; within each category, open coding was then conducted. Through constant comparison, different levels of codes were established. The analysis culminated in a small number of overarching themes, as presented in the next section.

Results and discussion

Analysis of the data indicated that the two groups of participants differed greatly in their experiences and perceptions of ETC teaching. Overall, the junior cohort was found to hold an unfavorable view of their experiences, while the senior cohort considered their experiences positively. The two groups expressed conflicting perspectives towards a number of issues, which can be classified into two categories: the impact of teaching in English on professional identity, and the impact of cultural diversity on teaching. This section is divided into two parts, each presenting one category of impact. In each part, the novices' perspective will be reported before their experienced colleagues' perspective, and a brief discussion comparing the two will then be provided.

Impact of teaching in English on professional identity

The most pronounced theme running across the interviews with the novices was their concerns about the negative effects teaching in English may have on their teaching quality. All of them stated they had sufficient English proficiency to teach in English, but more than half of them (A, C, D) expressed disappointment with local students' harsh criticism of their English in course evaluations. For example, Participant C, who was interviewed multiple times, repeatedly uttered his anger over his perception of being unfairly judged by his English pronunciation, describing the criticism as 'a thorn in [his] side':

> When I taught in the U.S., I did encounter students mentioning I had an accent, but no one had ever said I wasn't capable of expressing myself in English or teaching in English. … The complaints [from local students] about my English are really a thorn in my side. (C, third interview; hereafter, C-3)

Another interview revealed this participant's worry that his students may have associated his English competence with his professional abilities, 'Once they dismiss my English abilities, they seem to dismiss my professional capabilities as well' (C-2). The same reason caused another participant, who regarded herself as a highly competent teacher, to conclude that ETC teaching was 'not worth the effort' (D-2):

> ETC students are also picky … I don't need to spend as much time preparing for my regular classes as my ETCs, but I always receive very high scores and very positive student feedback in the course evaluations for those classes. I've lost interest in teaching ETCs because of the poor evaluation results … It's really not worth the effort. (D-2)

Despite their seeming confidence in their English proficiency, most of them (A, B, C, E) acknowledged the limitation of their ability to provide spontaneous examples to illustrate their points or to react to unexpected situations in class, which, they noted, compromised their teaching quality. Such remarks were often articulated with a palpable sense of frustration. For example, one participant referred to occasions in which he failed to respond to students adequately because he could not understand their English. As the following statement indicates, situations like this raise self-doubt about one's ability as a teacher:

> You're under pressure because you clearly sense you are disadvantaged because of language. You worry about the random questions students may raise, and the possibility that you are unable to understand their English. Often, *you feel you are not capable* of leading a discussion because once the discussion digresses to other topics, you may not be able to handle it. I would panic in that kind of situation. (C-1, italics added)

In another case, this perceived incapability to interact with students due to language barriers extended beyond the classroom, with the participant stating she changed into a different person in front of her ETC students. In the following extract, this participant narrated how she wanted to nurture a friendly relationship with her students by socializing with them outside of class, only to end up doing the opposite when language problems were present:

> I wish I could feel more connected to my students and their life. I feel if I could talk about things with them at a personal level, I would feel a greater sense of achievement as their teacher. But now, when I hear my international students chatting outside of class, I won't join them because … I know it'll get to the point when I can't understand what they're talking about. So I normally leave the classroom as soon as a class finishes, and I'll take the elevator at the far end of the hall to avoid bumping into them and putting myself in an embarrassing situation. It's a shame because I would never do that to my Taiwanese students. (B-2)

For Participant B, teaching in English also prevented her students from seeing her as a fun person, a trait she prided herself on having and held to be important for being a good teacher. 'All my friends said it's unfortunate I have to teach in English because,' she commented with obvious disappointment, 'my students wouldn't be able to see the comedian side of me' (B-2).

In relation to their perceived benefits of teaching in English, the novice group unanimously highlighted the opportunities to use the language on a regular basis, which they expected would give them a competitive advantage in academia.

Now turning to the veteran teachers, in contrast to the frequent references to linguistic challenges in the interviews with the junior lecturers, a relatively small percentage of the

data collected from the veteran group addressed this issue. Wherever this issue was discussed, the experienced lecturers focused on how speaking 'standard' English was not essential in teaching ETCs. One explained he in fact explicitly communicated this view to students by underscoring the world's being globalized and the importance of a teacher's professional knowledge:

> In the first class, I always say to my students, 'I'm sure many of you speak better English than I do, but you need to get used to the way every teacher speaks English and their accent. This is what's going to happen if you go overseas to study anyway. Your teacher there may be from Korea, China, India, or Italy … . Not every teacher speaks standard English, not even those at the world-renown universities, but why are they qualified to teach there? They are there because of their professional knowledge, not English. (J)

Such assertiveness appeared to develop with time. For example, another participant admitted language issues were indeed one of her concerns when teaching her first few ETC courses, but she gradually realized English was a foreign language to her as well as to many international students. She concurred with Participant J's view that she did not need to speak perfect English to teach an ETC well. Emphasizing English is just a communication tool, she added,

> Your English proficiency is not the most important factor that determines whether you're a good teacher. Students like you for many other reasons. This realization put me at ease. I can't change the way I speak English, but I'm fully capable of using the English I know to help my students understand what I am teaching them. (G)

To summarize, the two groups of participants who discussed these linguistic challenges were poles apart in their perspectives on using English as the medium of instruction. While the beginning lecturers prioritized the problems it had caused them, the veteran practitioners accentuated the importance of communicating to students what they deemed to be the appropriate role of English in the class. The three major problems voiced by the novices were: reduced authority in their subject knowledge, poor teaching quality resulting from lower interactivity, and an unrealized self-image. On a closer scrutiny, these worries can in fact be boiled down to a concern about an unfulfilled professional identity, whether as an expert in the field or as a witty professor (as in Participant B's case), which was caused by either students' criticism, or the participants' own trepidation, of their inadequacy in English proficiency.

The novice lecturers' susceptibility to criticism, or self-criticism, of their English abilities may have arisen from their perception of the language. They appeared to subscribe to the notion of English as a foreign language (EFL), as opposed to that of English as a lingua franca (ELF), a perception the senior group apparently embraced. The former notion considers the purpose of learning English is to ultimately be able to communicate with native speakers of English; hence, complying with native speaker norms is imperative when using the language (Hülmbauer, Bohringer, and Seidlhofer 2008). The latter notion, however, recognizes English as a means utilized by people from different linguacultural backgrounds to communicate with one another, with the appropriate forms of the language gradually emerging from negotiations between the interlocutors involved. Furthermore, as nonnative English speakers (NNES) presently outnumber native English speakers (NES) in ELF communication contexts, they accordingly do not feel obliged to approximate NES competence (Hülmbauer, Bohringer, and Seidlhofer 2008; Jenkins

2007; Seidlhofer 2011). These two distinct perceptions of English were exemplified respectively in the two groups' remarks about their experiences of using English as the medium of instruction.

As was seen, in stark contrast to the novices' problematizing linguistic challenges, the experienced lecturers' strong ELF awareness prevented them from viewing the challenges as constraints. The results outlined above also suggest this language awareness may evolve over time with gained experience of dealing with linguistic issues if one does not already have it in the first place. In either case, it is clear that the awareness enabled the veterans to be immune from feelings of intimidation in the linguistic aspect induced by the presence of NES students. It is also tenable to assume it allowed the lecturers to handle communication break-downs in a multicultural class with sufficient ease, leaving them with more emotional and intellectual capacity than the novices to engage in other aspects of their practices, as will be explicated in the next section.

Impact of cultural diversity on teaching

The other aspect of ETC teaching in which the two groups' views differ concerns the multicultural nature of the courses. Overall, the novices considered the presence of international students in class imposed two additional challenges on their practices: designing instructional materials that cater for the students' diverse cultural backgrounds, and dealing with what they perceived as these students' ill-adaptation to the Taiwanese educational system. One participant, for example, said he often had to change his teaching plan and materials at the last minute, which created 'a large burden' to him:

> When the semester started, I found the foreign students in that class were from different European countries, which wasn't what I was expecting. So I had to adjust my materials by adding cases about Asian contexts because I thought students would want to know more about the Asian market. I also deleted cases that I knew European students were already familiar with. I didn't think I needed to teach them what they already knew. Things like this took a lot of time. (C-1)

Although the other novices did not discuss specifically how they coped with the great diversity in students' cultural backgrounds, like Participant C, they all associated the diversity with an increased workload, explaining that unfamiliarity with individual students' formative education made it difficult for them to prepare for the class. Several participants who had taught in the U.S. or the U.K. (C, D, E) said in this regard it was easier teaching overseas as most students in their classes then were local Americans or English.

With respect to international students' ill-adaptation to the Taiwanese educational system, the novice lecturers were particularly concerned about their differing class participation behaviors from those of local Taiwanese students in the class. Admittedly, all the novice teachers mentioned international students' active contributions to discussions lightened up the class and encouraged local students, who otherwise tended to be quiet, to join the discussions. However, such comments were often immediately followed by an account of the undesirable consequences when, as in many participants' (B, C, D) experiences, the situation became carried away and was not conducive for learning. For example,

> Some international students speak too much … . Because they normally start speaking without raising their hands, I'm unable to stop them. It's hard for me to exercise control.

> If those who wish to speak could just put their hands up, I'll be able to pick those who don't usually speak to speak. (D-1)

Other participants added that when what the students said was 'completely irrelevant' (C-1) to the topic under discussion or 'did not make much sense' (A), ample time would be wasted.

Unlike their novice colleagues, the experienced teacher group did not link the diversity in students' cultural backgrounds to workloads. Instead, they focused on how it helped enrich the content of their courses. The following is an illustrative statement describing how cultural diversity, in conjunction with the students' active participation behaviors, made the participant's teaching a 'rewarding' experience:

> When there are more international students, there is usually more interaction, so the class is easier to teach. For example, if I'm teaching how a theory applies to a Taiwanese context. As soon as I pause, an international student would raise their hands and share how the theory would apply to their country, and then another would continue to say how it is different in their country. Then you have an exciting class. All you need to do is raise a point, and it would stimulate a great discussion. You receive a lot of feedback. Both you and your students learn a lot from the class because students from different countries are looking at an issue from their own perspectives. Teaching is therefore rewarding. (I)

Similarly, another veteran participant expressed the view that the multicultural environment of ETCs benefited teachers, themselves, by allowing them to keep honing their intercultural competence. With a series of rhetorical questions such as, 'We always talk about our students lacking a global perspective. How about ourselves? How globalized are our own perspectives?' (J), the participant said that if academics could see the cultural diversity in the courses as opportunities to learn, they may consequently be able to 'immerse themselves in, and enjoy teaching the multicultural class' (J).

Moreover, rather than interpreting international students' differing participation behaviors as a form of ill-adaptation, as their junior counterparts did, the veteran group highlighted the students' contribution in making the class more 'interesting' (F, G, H), 'lively', or 'exciting' (I). In terms of any international student ill-adaptation, most participants (F, G, H, J) in this group did report noticing international students encountering difficulty coping with exams. The two main reasons provided by the participants were the students' lack of prerequisite subject knowledge (F, J) and coming from a learning culture where not as much prominence was given to hard work as in Taiwanese learning culture (F, G, J). A typical observation by the participants of international students' learning is:

> Compared with Taiwanese students, they seem to spend much less time studying. The learning content in the first semester is relatively easy, so often there isn't a great difference between their performances and local students'. However, when the content becomes difficult in the second semester, foreign students usually start to fall behind. (F-1)

Participant J, who had taught ETCs for more than a decade, said that many international students attributed their poor exam results to the test design, which they criticized as containing mainly multiple-choice items. The participant disagreed with the students' view, noting that standardized testing is a common practice in his discipline in Western countries as well:

> We follow the American system and use standardized tests. This type of test is obviously a challenge for our international students. When they don't do well, they complain about the testing system being unfair .... I've noticed that usually after the mid-term exam,

> many of them start to give up on their study. Their attitudes change. They speak less, and move to sitting at the back … . It's sad to see them changing from being so confident and so keen on their study to giving up after they find it's difficult to excel in the Taiwanese educational system. (J)

The latter half of the quote showed the participant's predicament of wanting to help the students while insisting on an assessment method he considered valid in his field.

Put together, as with the language issue, the multicultural nature of ETCs exerted opposing effects on the participants' views of their practices. One group saw it as an obstacle to good teaching performance, while the other considered it to be an asset. In short, for novices, a heterogeneous student population was translated into unwelcome time and energy demands of their work, whereas for the veterans, it served as a convenient resource for students' learning as well as for their own self-growth. Overall, this difference can be encapsulated as a distinction between a primacy on 'self' or 'other' that the participants placed on their teaching. The self-other dichotomy in teachers' concerns was first addressed in Fuller's (1969) seminal development model of a teacher's career. Fuller's theory construes teacher concerns as self-centered in the early stages, and student-centered in the late stages, with the former referring to personal considerations about acceptance, control and self-adequacy, and the latter involving professional concerns about learner gain and one's contribution to the gain.

Fuller's stage theory properly explains the novice group's preoccupation with delivering a lesson competently; any interruption that may jeopardize their performances was deemed to be undesirable. This focus on 'self' in their concerns is best evidenced in their discussions about international students' participation behaviors, in which their concern over classroom control (e.g. students speaking too much) and staying on task (e.g. direct relevance of student opinions to the lecture) apparently overshadowed their perceived positive side of student contributions. The novice lecturers' desire to feel adequate and accepted was also palpable through the frustration they expressed with teaching in English, as shown in the preceding section.

Conversely, a focus on 'other' in the veterans' pedagogical concerns impelled them to pay closer attention to students and student learning. This was manifested in the group's unreserved support for students' differing participation behaviors, and in their attempts to fathom the underlying cause of student dissatisfaction with the courses. The latter led them to discern a collision between the educational practices in international students' home countries and in Taiwan, which allowed the lecturers to understand student dissatisfaction as a form of ill-adaptation rather than a disapproval of their teaching.

Conclusion and implications

The study reported in this paper compared beginning and established lecturers' experiences of teaching content courses through English in an international classroom. It found that the two groups' experiences and views of ETC teaching were polar opposites. Drawing upon the notion of English as a lingua franca and Fuller's model of teacher concerns, the study identified an ELF awareness and student-centered teacher concerns as the two crucial factors that made the experienced lecturers consider ETC teaching 'rewarding' (to quote one participant). On the contrary, an EFL perspective along with self-centered teacher concerns precipitated the junior lecturers into viewing linguistic and cultural

challenges as a burden, and their pervasive feelings of unappreciation, embarrassment and trepidation eventually led to their conclusion that ETC teaching was 'not worth the effort' (to quote another participant). The rest of this section provides a further explanation of the novice group's perspective with a view to understanding why many novice lecturers withdraw from ETC teaching when they can in the Taiwan context.

To begin with, it stands to reason that the novices perceived English as a foreign language as opposed to a lingua franca. For one thing, despite the growing awareness of ELF among Taiwanese English learners, studies continue to substantiate the prevalence of an EFL perception in Taiwan (Ren, Chen, and Lin 2016; Tsou and Chen 2014). Meanwhile, scholars have also observed international scientific publishing adheres to an NES standards model (Flowerdew 2008; Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2013). Since academics in Taiwan are required to achieve promotion within the first six years of their employment, and promotion criteria clearly privilege international publications, it can be deduced that the novice lecturers in this study had been inculcated to venerate conformity to NES norms, and their EFL perception was reinforced accordingly.

Secondly, the novices' self-centered teacher concerns were also foreseeable. These concerns were lucidly articulated in their discussions about course evaluation, in which they revealed an inability to interpret unfavorable results and student comments in a dispassionate manner. As Kanno and Stuart (2011) contended, unlike experienced teachers, beginning teachers have not cultivated a resilient sense of teacher identity; thus, these individuals see any disparaging remark, no matter how mild it is, as a direct reflection of their worth as a teacher. Moreover, the novice lecturers' incapability to capitalize on the cultural resources afforded by the presence of international students could simply be another consequence of a lack of teaching experience in general rather than of their cross-cultural sensitivity. This is because using such resources entails improvizational teaching, and as previous studies (see Borg 2003; Tsui 2003) pointed out, beginning practitioners tend to have less capacity to engage in such teaching as they do not yet have set routines to draw upon to react to unanticipated events.

The findings have several potentially important implications for universities in non-English speaking countries where English is learned as a foreign language. First, they caution against requiring novice lecturers to teach ETCs, as this may have adverse effects on the formation of their teacher identity, and is clearly not a solution for the shortage of ETC lecturers in the long run. Instead, universities are advised to provide stronger incentives for senior lecturers to teach the courses, which may include additional remuneration and a privileging of ETC teaching in the criteria for academic advancement. Where novice lecturers are appointed to teach ETCs, this study concurs with Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems's (1998) suggestion that they be mentored by an experienced colleague. Secondly, to more truthfully and fairly reflect teaching efforts, when evaluating teachers of ETCs, such evaluations should clearly acknowledge that their courses were taught in the foreign medium of instruction (rather than simply gauging them against teacher evaluation outcomes on non-ETC courses). Finally, the study recommends incorporating the issue of the role of English in ETCs into professional development for lecturers to enculturate them to the perspective of English as a lingua franca.

In closing, it is important to note that the findings of this study are to a degree context specific and care should be taken when extrapolating them to other groups of ETC lecturers. In addition, the conclusions drawn were limited by the small sample size,

uneven number of interviews per participant, and the participants' different amounts of university teaching experience within each of the cohorts, with the last limitation being a possible factor affecting the participants' experiences and perceptions. Further studies that validate the findings of this study in a larger population through a survey approach would be valuable.

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ORCID


Rainbow Tsai-Hung Chen http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8729-2429

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