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University Instructors' Use of English as a Medium of Instruction in Taiwan: Functions of Contextual Beliefs

Abstract

This paper argues that nonnative English-speaking (NNES) content instructors' contextual beliefs function as critical mediators in teaching discipline-specific content in English. Drawing on data from a qualitative case study investigating four social science instructors' perceptions and experiences in two universities in Taiwan, the paper discusses the functions of these instructors' contextual beliefs in three principal ways: (a) establishing legitimacy of adopting English as a medium of instruction, (b) critiquing school policies, and (c) designing adaptive content courses in English. In contrast to the negative influence of teacher beliefs on EMI, contextual beliefs as reported herein emerge as a lens through which instructors' self-efficacy is increased, their decisions to begin, remain, and recommend adopting EMI are made, teaching methods are justified, and students' language needs/rights recognized. This paper concludes by discussing the implications of the study for university instructors' professional development.

Keywords

English-medium instruction (EMI), Teacher beliefs, Imagined communities, Contextual beliefs

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台灣高等教育教師英語授課:探討情境脈絡信念功能

摘要

本文強調在英語教授專業過程中，英語非為母語的專業教師所持有之情境脈絡信念，所扮演的重要中介角色。透過探討兩所大學中四位社會科學學系教師英語授課經驗與看法之質化個案研究，本文將探討前述教師的情境脈絡信念所發揮的三種功能：(a) 建立英語授課之正當性、(b) 批評學校英語授課政策、與 (c) 設計適性英語授課課程。有別於過去教師信念對英語授課的負面描繪，本次研究發現情境脈絡信念產生透視鏡功用，使教師藉此提升自我效能，決定是否開始、持續、與建議他人以英語授課，證明他們英語授課教學方法，並瞭解學生語言需求/權利。文末也將對大學英語授課教師之教學發展提出建議。

關鍵詞

英語授課、教師信念、想像的共同體、情境脈絡信念

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INTRODUCTION

During the last ten years, many countries where English is not the native language have adopted English-medium instruction (EMI) outside the walls of the English classroom. A substantial body of research has explored the challenges nonnative English-speaking (NNES) content teachers face in classroom practices, the factors impacting their teaching, and the ways teachers can enhance their instruction (Airey, 2011; de Graaff, Koopman, Anikina, & Westhoff, 2007; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, & Smit, 2013; Moate, 2011; Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2011; Sert, 2008). Among these studies, some have documented the negative influence of teacher beliefs on teacher instruction (Moate, 2011; Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2011). Such research has received little attention in studies of EMI in higher education in Taiwan; instead, most research has focused on students' perceptions of EMI (Chang, 2010; Huang, 2009; Wu, 2006). Little research explores instructors' viewpoints (Huang, 2011, 2012, 2014; Yeh, 2013), even less is known about the functions of their beliefs, and none discusses the functions of contextual beliefs. Moreover, the negative influence of teacher beliefs on EMI may render the significance of teacher agency overlooked. This paper thus aims to fill the gap by uncovering the functions of NNES content instructors' contextual beliefs. In so doing, we hope that more instructors can be empowered to adopt EMI practices.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Teacher Beliefs and Their Functions

Teacher beliefs have been used synonymously with teachers' perceptions, perspectives, values, assumptions, implicit theories, and personal theories (Calderhead, 1996; Goodman, 1988; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). In a study of teacher beliefs, Nespor (1987) demonstrates that teacher beliefs have features of personal rather than universal truth, an ideal or alternative view,

affective and evaluative components, and well-remembered episodes or events; that is, teacher beliefs do not require group consensus to demonstrate their validity, but rather they are rooted in personal experiences and engender affective outcomes. They are strongly influenced by early learning and teaching experiences as well as contextual factors (Borg, 2003, 2011; Holt-Reynolds, 1992; Lortie, 1975; Nishino, 2012). Teacher beliefs frame or filter new information, sometimes even reinforcing the original beliefs (Calderhead, 1996; Goodman, 1988; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). Once established, teacher beliefs, especially those derived from perceptions or related to the sense of self, are oftentimes unchanging (Pajares, 1992; Rokeach, 1968). "When beliefs change," according to Nespor (1987), "it is more likely to be a matter of a conversion or gestalt shift than the result of argumentation or marshalling of evidence" (p. 321). Despite the self-perpetuating nature of beliefs, research has also documented that teachers can reshape their beliefs and practices through observations of other colleagues' instruction (Crookes & Arakaki, 1999) or teacher education programs (Borg, 2011).

Despite their seemingly static nature, teacher beliefs are important in facilitating practices. Unraveling teacher beliefs helps uncover how teachers provide personal meanings, organize or define tasks, select cognitive strategies, or behave in certain ways (Bandura, 1986; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). The decisions that teachers make about what to teach and how to teach are also influenced by their beliefs (Bandura, 1986; Borg, 2003; Buchmann, 1987; Nespor, 1987; Woods, 1996). The episodic memory or guiding images underscoring such beliefs may assist teachers in retrieving and processing information and/or coping with ill-structured or complex problems (e.g., critical decision-making in the teaching process) (Nespor, 1987). Pajares (1992) further stresses that beliefs can help teachers develop relevancy, identify with one another, and form supportive social systems. Since the beliefs teachers hold influence their perceptions and interpretations, and hence their teaching behaviors, understanding the functions of university instructors' beliefs about EMI is essential to improving teaching practices and professional preparation.

Teacher Beliefs about EMI and Their Functions

Despite the growing body of research on EMI practices from instructors'

perspectives (Airey, 2011; Huang, 2011, 2012; Hüttner et al., 2011; Moate, 2011; Tatzl, 2011; Yeh, 2013), little research exists on teacher beliefs about EMI (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2011). Yet the implicit beliefs teachers hold about EMI can be inferred. For example, NNES content teachers often identify themselves as simply subject-matter teachers, with limited or no provision of language instruction (Airey, 2011; Huang, 2011, 2012, 2014; Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2011). Also, influenced by their potential lack of language proficiency and knowledge of language pedagogy, some teachers may even limit their instruction to technical vocabulary (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2011). They may fail to provide a language- and context-rich learning environment, let alone to encourage language use in English or to emphasize discipline-specific genres, concepts, or discourse practices (Kırkgöz, 2009). Moate (2011) discovered that some teachers with negative self-images caused by their lack of confidence in English may receive negative feedback from students and feel embarrassed by their language skills. Indeed, NNES content teachers' beliefs about themselves, the subjects they teach, and the language of instruction have constrained not only their teaching practices but also professional development.

Although previous research has highlighted the importance of teacher beliefs in EMI studies, it has also presented an incomplete, and even negative, notion of NNES content teachers' beliefs. NNES content teachers' beliefs are often discussed with regard to the current teaching contexts without considering past experiences, future aspirations, or ideal situations. Given that an alternative or ideal image is featured in teacher beliefs (Calderhead, 1996; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992) and that early learning and teaching experiences influence teacher beliefs (Borg, 2003, 2011; Nishino, 2012), it is important to consider the temporal dimension. This dimension emerges as an important lens through which teachers' actions are distinguished and justified. In contrast to the negative influence of teacher beliefs on EMI, instructors' agency is, thus, emphasized by unraveling the functions of their beliefs about learning, teaching, academic, research, bi-/multilingual, global contexts. In this respect, this paper underscores the primacy of contextual beliefs in future EMI teacher development.

Imagination and Legitimate Peripheral Participation

This study conceptualizes teacher beliefs through the notion of "legitimate peripheral participation"—a learning process characterized by gaining full

membership via legitimate access and resources to interacting with one another (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998). Through interacting with experienced members, newcomers gradually become more competent and finally gain recognition in the community; yet, when one cannot display the competence the community requires, s/he may become marginalized or even an outsider. Such interaction may take the form of participating in tangible activities (engagement), coordinating different tangible activities (alignment), and envisioning in intangible contexts (imagination).

In particular, informed by Bourdieu's (1977, 1991) notion of language as cultural capital, Norton (2000; Peirce, 1995) conceptualizes language learning as an investment and emphasizes the importance of extending one's language learning through communities of imagination (see also Chang, 2011; Norton & Kamal, 2003; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Peirce, 1995; Wenger, 1998). The term "imagined community" was coined by Anderson (1991) to depict a nation "because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communication" (p. 6). Imagining an affiliation with others transcending time and space affords a sense of community with those one has not yet met or has no daily engagement. With the power of an imagined community, NNES learners are better motivated to learn English because they anticipate positive returns on their envisioned affiliations (Chang, 2011; Norton & Kamal, 2003; Norton, 2000; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Peirce, 1995), and NNES instructors can re-position themselves not as monolingual or foreign-language learners but as bilingual or multilingual speakers (Pavlenko, 2003). These imagined communities strongly influence NNES instructors' and students' justifications, actions, and investments.

Although the concept of imagination has excluded face-to-face interaction, the notion of beliefs features episodic and alternative views, and so imagination or imagined communities used in this study will include not only those extending local sets of relationships but also the alternative, ideal images. As Greene (1995) argues, "To call for imaginative capacity is to work for the ability to look at things as if they could be otherwise" (p. 19). Imagination is thus seeing beyond the current, the local, or the normal and granting new interpretations to experiences.

The notions of "legitimate peripheral participation" and "imagination" are important in two ways: One is that they help reconceptualize NNES content

instructors not simply as technical instructors in the classroom but more importantly as experts who have successfully moved from the peripheral to the center, assisting their students in becoming competent and gradually gaining full membership in their disciplinary communities. The courses they design and implement can be viewed as the nexus of tangible and intangible activities, engagement in which can transform students into professionals. Furthermore, the concept of "legitimate peripheral participation" can also be applied to teacher communities in which the skilled instructors have gained their legitimacy or expert status in teaching content in English. The uncovering of these skilled instructors' beliefs sheds light on future teacher development.

The second function of these concepts is to help reconceptualize the engagement in teaching content in English as a continual practice across time and space. NNES content instructors' decision-making regarding what to teach, how to teach, why to teach in this manner, and what roles English/Mandarin should play are influenced by their trajectories as emerging experts and instructors. Of specific concern is how instructors have been engaged in learning English, as well as learning/teaching content in English and in Mandarin (past), what they aspire to become, how to achieve it (future). The extent to which, and in what ways, teaching content in English has been valued influences their choices, investment, and engagement in teaching content in English.

Research Questions

Given the importance of teacher beliefs, this study investigates the functions of four social science instructors' contextual beliefs in two university settings in Taiwan. These instructors' teaching skills were highly recognized by administrators, colleagues, and students. In this study, contextual belief is defined as teachers' orientation to and (re-)construction of their participation in situations where English is used as the medium of instruction. The following questions guide this study:

1. What do these content instructors from two Taiwanese universities believe about teaching content in English?
2. What are their contextual beliefs? What functions do these contextual beliefs play?

METHOD

Context and Participants

This paper presents partial data from a larger qualitative project exploring the professional development of Taiwanese content instructors in Northern Taiwan[1]. The research contexts were two universities (i.e., public and private) and three types of curriculum design (i.e., campus-wide, program-wide, and custom design) because they represent major designs and instructional contexts in Taiwan. Patton's (2002) maximum variation sampling was adopted to explore these four cases, given that "any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon" (p. 235). University A is a public university where two types of EMI courses are promoted: one is a program-wide design (a degree or certificate is offered after students fulfill the course requirements) and the other is a custom design (EMI courses can be offered as long as individual instructors apply for them); the latter of which is deemed temporary toward the establishment of English-medium degree programs. Each type aims to attract both international and Taiwanese students at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. University B is a private university where one of its campuses has implemented an English-only policy for the Junior Year Abroad, indicating that all the degree programs on the target campus were required to teach most of the content in English to help students to study abroad in their junior years. On this campus, degree programs offer only bachelor's degrees to a predominantly Taiwanese student population.

Four social science Taiwanese instructors (Ray, Yu, Ming, and Wen) in University A and B were chosen out of the eleven instructors the researcher interviewed from 2010 to 2011. The researcher knew none of the participants prior to the study, except Wen, who was a former colleague of the researcher. These instructors were recommended by school administrators as reputable EMI instructors and selected because they granted permission for class observations, received positive teaching evaluations, exuded self-confidence in adopting EMI, and showed research-based teaching behaviors during classroom observations and student interviews[2]. Their performance recognized by communities

[1] Partial data were drawn from a qualitative case study supported by the Ministry of Science and Technology (99-2410-H-004-183-MY2).

[2] In this study, these participants' teaching effectiveness was determined by instructor and

represents their full membership or expert status, with Ming being invited to share his experiences in a teacher development workshop. The interviews and observations afforded opportunities for the researcher to gradually understand these participants' devotion to teaching.

Table 1 shows the demographic information for the four instructors. All three content instructors in University A (Ray, Yu, and Ming) had some teaching experience and volunteered to teach content in English, while Wen in University B who had no previous teacher training and very limited teaching experiences was required to adhere to the English-only policy.

Data Collection

In the project, data sources included teacher interviews, classroom observations, and student interviews. The first two constitute the primary data for this paper (See Table 2). Each instructor was interviewed three times in Mandarin for approximately two hours. Two interview protocols were designed based on Carspecken's (1996) guideline to ensure consistency across the participants, with the first one conducted before the class observation, while the second afterwards. The first interview focused on instructors' English and content learning experiences, past and current teaching experiences, philosophies, methods, difficulties, solutions, and opinions about English-taught programs (ETPs) or EMI (See Appendix A). The follow-up interview aimed to understand the change of instructors' opinions about ETPs or EMI and their teaching experiences, methods, difficulties, and solutions, as well as their teaching responsibilities and thoughts about academic communities (See Appendix B). These interviews were transcribed verbatim for further analysis (See Appendix C, for an example of interview transcripts).

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student reports in interviews, class observations, and previous research about EMI, Content-based instruction, or Content and Language Integrated Instruction. Their research-based teaching behaviors included, but not limited to instructors' course designs that facilitated interaction, language use, cognitive engagement, as well as their provision of examples, audiovisual aids, the native language, and examples (See Huang, 2014, for further explanations and discussions of teacher instruction.). Since the researcher believes that class participants know best of their practices, as suggested by Coyle (2007, 2013), teaching effectiveness would depend on student and teacher reports and their classroom actions, when the debate over a specific teaching strategy (e.g., the use of native language in EMI) in the previous research was found.

Table 1. Demographic Information of Instructor Participants

	Gender	Content Area	Length of Teaching (year)	Length of EMI (year)	Ph. D.	Previous Teaching Experience or Training	University and Curriculum Design
Ray	M	Education	> 10	5	U.S.	Experienced vocational teacher	University A Custom Design Graduate
Yu	M	Politics	> 15	> 15	U.S.	T.A. in South Korea and the U.S.	University A Custom Design Undergraduate
Ming	M	Commerce	> 10	> 10	U.S.	TA Teaching in the U.S.	University A Program-wide Designs for both IMBA[3] and ETP[4]
Wen	M	Politics	5	5	Britain	TA for few weeks in Britain	University B Campus-wide Design

[3] International Masters Program of Business Administration (IMBA) in Commerce admits both Taiwanese and international students with excellent English proficiency.

[4] English-taught Program (ETP) in Commerce originally admitted only Taiwanese students with excellent English proficiency and international students. Within this program, two types of courses are offered: one is content courses taught via English, and the other is academic English, each of which, after fulfilling the course requirements, issues a certificate. The content courses in the ETP now admit whoever wants to take them.

Table 2. Data Collection

	Semi-structured interviews			Observed courses	Type of observed courses	# of course observations (hours per observation)
	Before Observation		After Observation			
	1st	2nd	3rd			
Ray	05/2010 1.5 hours	10/2010 1 hour	05/2012 1 hour	Educational Technology	Elective Graduate	4 3 hours
Yu	06/2010 2 hours	10/2010 2 hours	05/2012 1.5 hours	Politics	Elective Undergraduate	4 3 hours
Ming	06/2010 2 hours	01/2011 2 hours	07/2012 1 hour	Economics in IMBA Economics in the ETP	Required Graduate Required Undergraduate	2 3 hours 2 3 hours
Wen	10/2010 2 hours	01/2011 2 hours	05/2012 2 hours	Introduction to Statistics	Required Undergraduate	4 2 hours

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed based on Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory method and Carspecken's (1996) levels of inference. Charmaz's (2006) grounded theory method reveals the construction of theories as emergent from data interpretation, while Carspecken (1996) emphasizes the necessity of meaning reconstruction, with low-level codes referencing the objective nature of meaning and high-level, abstract, subjective, and implied features. Each teacher interview and classroom observation was initially coded line-by-line and incident-by-incident with a low-level inference. Among the initial codes, salient codes occurring frequently were selected to establish categories, through which themes and patterns were extracted and clustered to make cross-participant comparisons. Codes with high-level inference were also marked. Connections were, then, made among categories, themes, and previous literature. For this paper, the analysis initially focused on teacher beliefs and then zeroed in on the functions of contextual beliefs about learning, teaching, research, academic, bilingual/multilingual, and global contexts. The mismatch between teacher beliefs, practices, and research

will also be discussed.

The study adopted member checks, triangulation, and peer debriefing to increase its validity. For example, summaries of interviews and observations were provided for each instructor to check the correctness of the researcher's interpretations. If the information or interpretation was inaccurate, clarification would be made and instructors' perspectives would be taken. Also, since interviews were conducted in Mandarin, a bilingual peer debriefer was invited to check excerpts translated in English.

Functions of Contextual Beliefs

This section presents the functions of contextual beliefs in three significant ways: (a) establishing legitimacy of adopting EMI, (b) critiquing school policies and curriculum designs, and (c) designing adaptive content courses in English.

Legitimizing the Use of EMI

Although the participants did not perceive their English abilities as exceptional, they believed that they were qualified EMI instructors. Ray, Yu, and Ming, who volunteered to use EMI, even felt it necessary to adopt EMI. Such legitimization was achieved by their beliefs about teaching, academic, and research communities, premising functionalism in English as a lingua franca (ELF) for communication, knowledge, and business rather than as a foreign language (EFL). In so doing, contextual beliefs helped increase these instructors' self-efficacy in using EMI and determined their decisions to begin, remain, and recommend teaching content in English.

Unlike the vicious circle observed in Tange's (2010) study where teachers' negative self-images were reinforced when they, with low English proficiency and self-esteem, received negative student feedback and felt compelled to mask their frustrations, the instructor participants in this study, despite dissatisfaction with their own English abilities, never doubted their qualifications to teach content in English. They exuded confidence due to their beliefs that they, as instructors, were more knowledgeable than students in terms of content expertise. Believing that future students might outdo them in terms of spoken English abilities, these instructors emphasized the importance of content knowledge. For example, in providing suggestions for future instructors who might teach students with good English, Yu explained, "You'll teach students who can speak English

better than you . . . . But since they don't have substance in this field, they're not that good. So you [content instructors] don't need to be intimidated." A feeling of virtual bonds among the NNES instructors was developed via contextual beliefs about the current and future teaching contexts, thereby boosting instructors' confidence in EMI.

Moreover, university instructors' self-assurance in using EMI was revealed because they perceived students as ELF users or academic English learners. For example, Wen emphasized the importance of ELF communication abilities rather than language accuracy. "As long as you've [instructors] studied abroad, even if your English is poor, it won't be as poor as students'. Also, don't we need to adjust to different types of accents?" justified Wen. Such views involve an imagined community of ELF speakers, or "a sense of 'shared non-nativeness of English use' among ELF speakers" (Jenkins, 2014, p. 37), through which to justify their own teaching capacity.

Instructors' self-confidence in EMI practices was also related to their perceptions of professional contexts where the primacy of academic English outweighed general English abilities. As Ray expressed, "If it's academic English, you can speak well because you read [academic papers] all the time . . . . If it's academic English in my professional field, I'll have no problem at all." Despite their confidence in academic English, Ray and Wen confessed that their general English abilities were not sufficient to joke with students or decrease instructional flexibility—a common observation documented in the previous research (Huang, 2011; Moate, 2011), while Yu and Ming felt confident in establishing student-teacher relationships via EMI. In this respect, instructors' self-efficacy in adopting EMI came from their emphasis on academic contexts/English but not necessarily on general English.

These instructors legitimized EMI practices not only through their beliefs about academic contexts but also through their participation in research communities. They envisaged teaching content in English as a valuable investment for affiliation with current or future international (research) communities, particularly in disciplines where the primacy of English was emphasized. Ray, Yu, and Ming believed that teaching content in English could help instructors maintain or increase their competitiveness by allowing them to continually access up-to-date papers (knowledge) and/or engage in international research communities (i.e., conference presentations, publishing, and

coordinating activities). They could practice academic reading and speaking, which in turn would help their conference presentations and publications. Ray and Wen considered themselves as research-oriented instructors who elected to and continued using EMI. As Wen explained,

> I need to admit that English is more important to us [Politics scholars] now . . . . Are you able to or whether you want to write journal articles in English is one thing, but when you participate in conferences, you'll meet these people [international faculty] . . . . You need to communicate them through English.

Ray also expressed, "Because I'm research-oriented… I think it's good because we need to make presentations abroad. So, this way I can maintain-my own [English] proficiency- Were it not for teaching content in English, I'd be worried that my English would deteriorate." Indeed, these instructors' beliefs about their academic careers or research communities and the benefits they can gain from adopting EMI empowered them to invest time and energy in their own professional development.

In particular, as an instructor of graduate students, Ray believed that he was obligated to provide students with updated information/knowledge to increase "[graduate] students' quality of research." As he expressed, "In our department [Education], conference papers can waive the qualifying exam . . . . Four of them [students] passed [waived the qualifying exam]. They started from writing a . . . paper, which was submited as conference papers." Adopting EMI reflects Ray's endeavors to mentor young scholars through scaffolding in an envisioned international research community. Such a notion can be found in Yu's data, but not in Ming's or Wen's. For Ming, most graduate students in the IMBA program were successful businesspeople and hence the contextual frame used was a practice-oriented community rather than a research-oriented one. Wen had not yet taught graduate courses, but in our interviews, he insisted that Mandarin was more important to him since his research concerned aborigines. In this manner, the beliefs about research contexts/careers may influence instructors' justification for EMI practices.

Situating EMI practices not only in research communities but also in teaching careers, Yu envisioned EMI practices as a necessity in novice instructors' future careers. As he commented, "It's not possible to teach this

[discipline-specific content] in Mandarin," and "If so many international students come to Taiwan for study, we should offer these [content] courses [in English]. Otherwise, it won't be counted as student exchange." Projecting that student exchange creates a strong department demand for offering English-taught courses in local universities and thus young instructors would shoulder the burden of adopting EMI, Yu encouraged young scholars to commence teaching content in English from the beginning of their teaching careers:

> In the future the department will need it [them to teach in English]. Taiwan will have this kind of demand and ask young instructors to teach [in English] . . . . The senior instructors would ask you to teach. If they won't start to teach from the beginning, I think when they're compelled to teach in English, they'll have more difficulties.

Indeed, instructors' beliefs about the academic, research, and teaching contexts secure their teaching positions, boost their self-efficacy in EMI, and determine their decisions to begin, remain, and recommend teaching content in English, thereby reflecting and reinforcing the functional or pragmatic perspective regarding academic English and content knowledge.

Critiquing School Policies

Despite their justifications for using EMI, Yu, Ming, and Wen did not necessarily concur with their schools' emphasis on EMI. Presupposing that not all *instructors* or *students* should teach or learn *any discipline-specific content* via *English*, they emphasized the importance of "choice" and "incentive" in promoting EMI in higher education. This emphasis was probably the reason Ray did not mention "choice" or "incentive" because he was teaching in a custom design that allowed teaching freedom and rewards. Although Yu also taught in such a design, he had previous experiences in program-wide EMI contexts.

Choice

Yu, Ming, and Wen believed that the emphasis on EMI might deprive departments, instructors, and students of choices, thereby marginalizing disciplinary communities favoring foreign languages other than English, disfranchising instructors' rights for making pedagogical judgment or sacrificing students' professional development. First, they believed that, ideally, each

discipline should have the power to decide a language as the medium of instruction. EMI was believed to be offered within those disciplines emphasizing the primacy of English. As Ming commented,

> If you want to enforce internationalization, you can design some courses to attract international students and they will be able to choose them. That's enough. You don't need to compel everyone [to learn or teach in English]. Like in our university, many other disciplines emphasize other languages, like German and Japanese rather than English.

Challenging the utilitarian assumptions of equal opportunities and outcomes, the instructors emphasized the importance of uniqueness in market value and cautioned that the spread of EMI might devalue other languages in other disciplinary communities, implying their concerns about the deprivation of resources and choices in marginalized disciplinary communities. Their worries are in accordance with the view of language ecology that the spread of English becomes a threat to a local ecology of language (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996).

Second, these three instructors believed that each instructor should have the right, and obligation, to *choose* which language was used as the medium of instruction. When given choices, instructors were hypothesized to become more motivated and invested in teaching content in English. Wen, for example, perceived that the English-only policy strictly enforced in University B restricted instructors flexibility to use Mandarin as a facilitating mediator to increase students' comprehension and understanding of content in English. Such language management operates on inaccurate assumptions of (a) successful content-learning based solely on immersion in English-medium learning environments and (b) mistaking internationalization as "Englishization." Such results correspond to Hüttner et al.'s (2013) findings that EMI practices succeeded when arising from a lack of control in language management. These instructors believed that the success of content-learning relies on various factors, such as students' English proficiency but more importantly their study habits, efforts, and background knowledge (cf. Huang, 2009, 2012; Yeh, 2013). Without these *a priori* conditions, these instructors were concerned about the quantity and quality of students' learning of content entirely in English. As Wen explained:

> They [Taiwanese students] are used to Mandarin. So it's good for them to learn a concept in Mandarin. And I have felt that it's too early for undergraduate students to learn content in English because they don't have a good foundation in basic [academic] knowledge . . . . If it's designed for graduate students to learn content all in English, it makes more sense.

Indeed, these instructors believe that Mandarin is a significant tool for mediating academic learning in English, especially in situations where students have low English proficiency. Such contextual beliefs show that students' language needs are recognized.

These instructors further linked the freedom to choose a suitable language as a medium of instruction to the ability to code-switch in communication, i.e., bilingual or multilingual competence in an "internationalized" or "ideal" environment. For Wen, being bilingual was a basic ability one should display in an "internationalized" environment. In reflecting on the role of international instructors in the ETPs, he reasoned,

> Internationalization should be a learning environment where international students [and instructors] come to our country and vice versa. We have opportunities to expose to different environments, cultures, and ideas . . . . But what do we do now? Use English as a medium of communication. But English is difficult for both host and international [students and instructors]. So if we want an internationalized environment, it means international instructors and students should have a certain proficiency level of Mandarin. By the same token, Taiwanese instructors and students should also be proficient enough in English. In this way, we can share ideas.

Internationalization, thus, was envisioned as a learning environment where all those involved should be multilingual for cultural cultivation or academic exchange. Like Wen's emphasis on the primacy of bilingual literacy in the envisaged community, Yu underscored the importance of multilingual abilities: "Because we are a small island, relying on commerce . . . , compared with other non-English speaking countries, the Dutch and Swiss speak better English. But the Dutch still learn French and German . . . . I think we should learn more

[languages].” Such results correspond to Graddol’s (2004) assertion that a “major impact [of English] will be in creating new generations of bilingual and multilingual speakers across the world” (p. 1330). All in all, instructors’ contextual beliefs about an imagined bilingual/multilingual community influence their decisions about when to code-switch in EMI practices.

Third, Yu, Ming, and Wen believed that not only instructors but also students should have the freedom to *choose* which language was to be used as the medium of instruction. Given choices, students with better English proficiency or strong motivation might self-select to take English-taught courses. Taking content courses via English or Mandarin was viewed as a matter of *choice* not privilege. As Ming expressed,

> Teaching is to enable [students] to learn—to learn concepts, but not English itself. So, teaching content in English is for students to get used to that environment; if you are used to it, that’s ok. If not, then don’t take courses taught in English.

Challenging the stereotype that those who learn content in English must be superior or privileged, Ming emphasized the primacy of agency as free will in meritocracy, and thus, students should exert their agency to choose whatever suits them best for their own learning.

Incentives

Yu, Ming, and Wen believed in the importance of “incentives” as carrots (cf. Phillipson, 1992); that is, instructors and students should be *attracted* to teach or learn content in English. The incentives provided for students include the necessity of using EMI and the cultural, economic, and social values accompanying learning content in English. These instructors all believed that the *majority* of student populations as international students in class necessitate the *immediate* need for using English as a communication tool. When international students were the minority, they might not be motivated to interact with Taiwanese students and vice versa. Moreover, study abroad, despite its attractiveness for Taiwanese undergraduates, might not necessarily present an immediate need for students to learn content in English. The optimal learning community for using English necessitates the presence of the majority of international students as an incentive.

The cultural, economic, and social values associated with learning content in English can also function as powerful incentives. In particular, Yu and Ming used the ETP and IMBA programs as illustrations. They believed that those applying for the ETP program were admitted conditionally and annually with a certain quota, the meritocracy and marketability of which successfully attracted excellent students' applications. As Yu expressed,

> The ETP program, students need to apply in order to get admitted. Everyone wants to get in that program because their graduate certificate will enlist a note [explaining they have taken courses in English]. This will help them in job hunting. It has its incentives.

Situated in the global context, this kind of promotion appeals to (a) students' prestige rooted in the ethnic culture where achievement is emphasized as a familial value (Flowerdew & Miller, 1995); (b) students' needs for institutionalized cultural capital such as certificates as a means for increasing individual competitiveness; and (c) a common ideology of enhanced English abilities as a panaceas (Phillipson, 1992). These instructors believed that the English-medium degree programs provided learners not only with the institutionalized cultural capital but also with the social capital they needed. The IMBA program, for instance, primarily targets students with working experience. Learning in that program also provided these experienced businesspeople access to enlarge their social networks, thereby gaining other forms of capital.

Like students, instructors should also feel it "investable" to spend a large amount of time preparing to teach content in a language unfamiliar to both host students and instructors. Situated in these instructors' careers, the incentives should include economic or psychological rewards regarding research or teaching. Yet the instructor participants believed that instructors were not motivated to teach content in English, given that the extra time spent preparing to teach in English was not financially compensated (little subsidy) or psychologically rewarding (with good student evaluations). Nor did it count toward getting tenure (research) (for Wen). The IMBA program, instead, did not have such a problem since it offers more pay to woo proficient instructors.

All in all, these instructors' success in EMI practices does not necessarily indicate their agreement with school policy and thus context itself does not change their beliefs, as suggested by the previous research (Calderhead, 1996;

Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). Instead, they critique the lack of choice and incentive in school policies about the design of English-taught courses because of their beliefs about the teaching context, bilingual/multilingual communities, and global trends. Such beliefs may also reflect instructors' recognition of students' language needs/rights as well as decisions about when to code-switch.

Designing Adaptive Content Courses in English

If these instructors did not change their contextual beliefs about EMI according to local teaching contexts, then when and how were their contextual beliefs formed? These instructors' approaches to designing English-taught courses were shaped by their research, learning, and teaching trajectories, which, once established, become self-perpetuating but not necessarily oppositional to effective teaching. The contextual beliefs they adopted when they were English learners in both EFL and ESL contexts and newcomers (learners) in their own fields function as blueprints to guide their teaching of content in English in Taiwan.

Students as Americans

Among the four participants, only Ming believed that the instructors in Taiwan should pretend that they were teaching in the U.S.—an ESL context where English is used as a medium of communication among people from diverse countries. By so doing, he justified the use of English as a medium of instruction in the EFL context and directly transferred the way he was taught in the U.S. to that in Taiwan. In our interview as well as in his response to a novice EMI instructor's question about why using Mandarin in a class attended primarily by Taiwanese students in the teacher development workshop, Ming emphasized, "English is not a problem when I assume I am teaching American students rather than Taiwanese students." The ESL teaching presumed students' accountability for their own learning, given they "chose" to take English-taught courses. As he expressed,

> Since you choose to learn content in English, you should assume that I am learning in the U.S. Will the instructors in the U.S. slow down for the Chinese or Taiwanese people? Absolutely not. What you would say is I'd spend a month to catch up.

This contextual belief about teaching in the U.S. not only legitimized the use of EMI but more importantly influenced the instructor's design of English-taught courses. Influenced by his colleague who incorporated problem-solving activities and term papers in Statistics courses while he was teaching in the U.S. and his supervisors who engage student interest prior to lecture and guided students step-by-step with interesting examples and simple words at a slow pace, Ming employed interactive lectures with student discussions as his basic course design (see Huang, 2014, for detailed discussion of the instructors' teaching). He attempted to stimulate students' interests and activate their schemata by posing questions, lecturing with simple words at a slow pace, providing various examples, demonstrating how to think in a way that allowed students time for processing, and posing questions that required students to review and integrate what they had learned. By scaffolding students to become aware of their own learning and to put theory into practice, Ming emphasized the academic values of (a) "engagement" and "critical thinking"—through interactive lecture and student discussions; (b) "efficiency"—the mastery of content through attending courses; and (c) "comprehension"—built on comprehensibility, extended by bridging, and realized by application. These academic values, having been ignored in his training in Taiwan, were emphasized in Ming's ideal teaching practice. Indeed, Ming's current teaching practices are shaped by his contextual belief established when he was learning and teaching content in English (cf. Borg, 2003; Calderhead, 1996; Nespor, 1987; Nishino, 2012; Pajares, 1992), all of which displays his understanding of students' language and academic concerns.

Students as EFL Learners

Although Ming assumed a direct transfer of an ESL teaching context, the other instructor participants conceptualized their instructional contexts within an EFL environment. In particular, the majority of students are assumedly Taiwanese which, according to the participants, means they are better at reading than speaking; they possess a limited vocabulary; and they are less likely to be risk-takers who answer questions, pose questions, and/or express opinions in public than their international counterparts. As Yu explained,

> I think from my observation for them [Taiwanese students] strongest is their eyes, meaning that they can recognize and read . . . Then there

> comes a problem, his eyes can recognize [words] but his mouth cannot . . . So I told my students . . . if you want this English to become your friend, you need to discuss with others, and you must be able to articulate very fluently. Otherwise, you'll replace it with a simple word in conversation.

As such, Ray, for instance, believed that English-taught courses could not be as "interactive" as he envisioned if the English-only policy was strictly enforced. Likewise, as an experienced instructor in the U.S., Yu expressed that teaching American students was different from teaching Taiwanese students for the former knew the kind of vocabulary they needed for academic communication but the latter tended to think they lacked vocabulary for academic understanding.

As Nespor (1987) emphasizes the role of teacher beliefs when teachers face ill-defined problems, many participants supported their students based upon their previous successful English-learning experiences. For example, in our interview, Wen juxtaposed his previous learning experiences as an EFL learner in the U.K. with those experiences of his students. As Wen explained,

> I bet English, listening would be [difficult for students]. But like me, when my English was poor [when studying in U.K.], I would preview. At least I knew what the instructor covered. And when reading, you knew technical vocabulary. I think they [students] didn't do these.

Also, drawing on his previous content-based learning experiences at cram schools in Taiwan, Ray deemed it necessary to teach students how to ask questions in English (see Huang, 2014, for detailed discussion of the instructors' teaching). As he reasoned,

> I'll need to consider if students can speak [in English]. They basically can listen in English- and read in English. So, listening and reading in English has become the core of learning. As to speaking, I'll let them learn how to ask.

Given this consideration of Taiwanese students as EFL learners with fragile language egos, Ray required students to pose questions on-line and allowed them to discuss course content in Mandarin. He explained, "I think students in my course don't know how to express in English so they need to learn how to ask.

And they are embarrassed to ask questions [in public]. So I require them to pose questions on line." Thus, both Ray's and Ming's examples reflect that instructors' contextual beliefs about teaching EFL students affected the scaffolding they provided. Such beliefs arise from their successful learning experiences (cf. Borg, 2003; Calderhead, 1996; Nespor, 1987; Nishino, 2012; Pajares, 1992).

Students as Instructors Once Learning in English and/or Mandarin

Freyok (2009) argued that teachers resort to imitation while initially learning how to teach. As a novice instructor, Wen assumed his students to be similar to himself when he was learning content via English and/or Mandarin, i.e., he believed in the similarities of the two instructional contexts. Yet such a contextual belief was soon challenged since he could not successfully transfer how he had learned content in Mandarin to how he taught in English. The major difference lay in the characteristics of learners. As he explained,

> Wen: I never had this teaching experience . . . . So I just copied how the instructors taught me and what they taught me. But I encountered some difficulties when teaching content in English.

R: What kind of difficulties?

> Wen: Students are different in academic abilities, and students' abilities to comprehend lecture in English also differ. I also taught at a slower pace. So the direct copy of the Chinese-medium teaching is not possible. So I rely on trial and error.

After realizing his students' limited English proficiency and efforts, Wen decided not to insist on using only English; instead, he explained the same content twice, in English first and then in Mandarin (see Huang, 2014, for detailed discussion of the instructors' teaching). Yet Wen was still not satisfied with such repetition because it was so time-consuming and local students would not concentrate on the English-medium lecture. Wen then used Mandarin only when he observed that students could not understand the English-medium lecture. In this respect, Wen's contextual beliefs about EMI practices were shaped by previous effective learning experience and reshaped by current teaching experiences, reflecting belief change not in his core identity as an adaptive instructor but in gestalt change due to evidence (students' reactions) collected

from teaching (cf. Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992; Rokeach, 1968). These contextual beliefs may change when one is still a novice but stabilize when teaching is recognized by the community.

DISCUSSION

In examining EMI practices, researchers have tended to emphasize the restricting influence of teacher beliefs about EMI. This study, however, shows university instructors' capacities to mediate the use of EMI through their beliefs about learning, teaching, academic, research, bi-/multilingual, and global contexts (See Figure 1). Contextual beliefs empower these instructors to legitimatize their adoption of EMI, critique school policies, and design adaptive courses in English. As such, instructors' self-efficacy is increased; their decisions to begin, remain, and recommend adopting EMI are made; teaching methods are justified; and students' language needs/rights are recognized. Such findings are not only in accordance with the previous research that teacher beliefs influence what to teach, when to teach, and how to teach it (Bandura, 1986; Buchmann, 1987; Nespor, 1987; Woods, 1996), but more importantly, these functions of contextual beliefs have added colorful hues to the portraits of NNES content teachers.

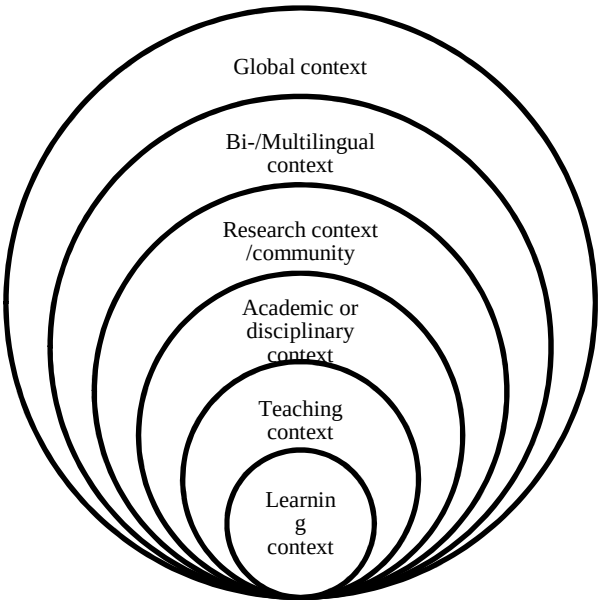

Figure 1. Layers of Contextual Beliefs

First, the findings of the study suggest that NNES content instructors are active agents who adapt, appropriate, or resist the adoption of English as a panacea (cf. Canagarajah, 1999). Despite the common beliefs in ELF, these instructors never view learning or teaching in English as a privilege; rather, it is a *reality*. They all agree with the adoption of EMI *conditionally*: within the disciplines favoring English and within student populations with adequate English proficiency (or hard work and sufficient background knowledge). Internationalization, thus, is imagined as exchange or sharing not in terms of students or activities but more importantly in an ideal learning community with proficient bilingual or multilingual speakers who are given choices and rewards. These NNES content instructors' beliefs may reinforce meritocracy in the marketization-driven trend of education and reflect the influence of ethnic and academic cultures. Like the previous research (Flowerdew & Miller, 1995), the Chinese emphasis on diligence and teachers as experts has been assumed. However, the expertise emphasized is not simply restricted to content knowledge but also academic English, expanding Smit's (2010) findings that "language expertise is largely experienced as a joint enterprise of all community members" (p. 380). Rather than reducing teaching the subject-matter in English to the instruction of technical words in an exam-oriented environment (Tan, 2011; Tan & Lan, 2011), the NNES content instructors emphasize students' abilities to relate scientific terms to their everyday lives (cf. Johnson, 2009) and use these concepts to reason, apply, critique, and coherently present their ideas after integrating what they have learned in interactive lectures. This emphasis on engagement challenges the stereotype of learning as passive.

Moreover, this study reveals that each contextual belief has a temporal dimension relating to the past, present, future, and ideal; that is, each contextual belief can be situated in NNES content instructors' research, learning, and teaching trajectories to embody their reflective past and the envisioned future in the present, extending the temporal notion of context in the here and now. Putting their teaching into perspective, these instructors tend to legitimatize their use of English or Mandarin as a medium of instruction and design adaptive courses by drawing upon what they believe about effective English learning and teaching. The experienced instructors (Yu and Ming) justified their design of teaching based on the ways they were engaged in effective teaching, while novice instructors (Ray and Wen) drew on the effective ways they were engaged in

content and English learning. Their images of the reflective past gradually crystallized as ideal communities guiding their classroom practices. Such results are consistent with the previous literature that beliefs are rooted in and highly influenced by early experiences and, when established, are resistant to change (Calderhead, 1996; Goodman, 1988; Holt-Reynolds, 1992; Nespor, 1987; Pajares, 1992). In this fashion, these instructors' engagement in EMI with positive student feedback across time helps stabilize their classroom practices; what is modified is not instructors' core beliefs but the technical levels of activities, examples, or explanations (cf. Pajares, 1992; Rokeach, 1968).

The above findings about contextual beliefs shed light on EMI teacher development and recruitment in two significant ways. First, instructors' contextual beliefs may influence their self-efficacy in adopting EMI and their decisions to begin, continue, design, and implement EMI practices. Such influence may be traced back to their previous English- and content-learning experiences, suggesting that contextual beliefs can be formed long before these instructors become faculty (cf. Borg, 2003, 2011; Holt-Reynolds, 1992; Lortie, 1975; Nishino, 2012). In this respect, more attention should be given to the ways current instructors adopt EMI and students learn in university settings in order to prevent a negative cycle of transfer. EMI training should be provided early for undergraduate and graduate students serving as teaching assistants, and a module of learning how to teach content in English should be offered to future faculty.

Second, in light of the notion of "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave & Wenger, 1990; Wenger, 1998), these NNES content instructors' teaching methods and their contextual beliefs can become a springboard for those who are interested in using EMI since their EMI practices have been approved by academic communities or local contexts. Considering the primacy of "choice" and "incentive" in practices, grass-root teacher development should be encouraged. As Coyle (2007) argued, "They [theories] must be 'owned' by the community, developed through classroom exploration and understood *in situ*—theories of practice developed for practice through practice"(p. 557). In this respect, future teacher development can adopt Coyle's (2013) Learning-Oriented Critical Incident Technique (LOCIT) approach that analyzes successful practice or learning by all those involved in it through "filming, reviewing, and editing" to sustain and develop their own practices (p. 250, see also Coyle, Hood, & Marsh 2010).

In addition, context-sensitive teacher development is necessitated. "Context-sensitive" indicates that all those involved in teacher professional development should be *aware* of the dynamics and complexity of contextual beliefs. Given the prevalence of contextual beliefs, teacher developers may not establish authority or gain legitimacy without demonstrating a certain understanding of target NNES content instructors' teaching, learning, and research contexts/experiences. As brokers, teacher developers need to understand NNES content instructors' needs, wants, and role assignments situated not simply in the context of immediacy but also in their reflective past, envisioned affiliations, and ideal communities. As such, opportunities should be provided for instructors to understand or even question their own beliefs about different layers of contexts or to imagine an alternative conceptualization. The identification of layers and temporality of contextual beliefs can be used as a guide to reflect on EMI teachers' practices and, more importantly, design better practices and a stronger sense of self-efficacy in EMI. In so doing, we hope to empower instructors through establishing, realizing, and changing contextual beliefs, thereby helping instructors to relate to one another and establish supportive systems, as suggested by Pajares (1992).

Teacher developers should also know that NNES content instructors with different teaching experiences may have different levels of stabilization of beliefs and practices and thus need different kinds of assistance. An effective image of teaching content in English and an opportunity to engage in teaching and discuss it with experienced instructors in pre-teaching sessions may be beneficial for those who have never taught content in English. Likewise, beliefs may be changed due to observations of other colleagues' instruction (Crookes & Arakaki, 1999). With beliefs or practice stabilized, the experienced NNES content instructors may need to re-imagine the new possibilities worthy of investment in order to transform their current teaching practices.

CONCLUSION

This study has analyzed four NNES content instructors' conceptualization of using EMI in two university settings in Taiwan. The findings challenge the negative influence of teacher beliefs about EMI by emphasizing contextual beliefs as filters or lenses, through which their self-efficacy is increased; their decisions to begin, remain, and recommend adopting EMI are made; teaching

methods are justified; and students' language needs/rights are recognized. This study by no means ignores the difficulties NNES content instructors may encounter. Rather, it underscores the importance of putting the NNES content instructors' contextual beliefs into perspective. In order to unravel the complexity of contextual beliefs, future research is encouraged to explore instructors' selective beliefs situated in their research, learning, and teaching trajectories in a qualitative way. Given NNES content instructors' concern over instructors' disfranchisement, student disservice , and language ecology, it is also important to problematize the teaching of content in English and thus conduct rights analysis (Benesch, 2001) in future studies on the effects of the adoption of EMI and the role of the first language in English-taught courses. Studies taken from a pragmatic and a critical perspective can complement each other to enhance education both directly in the classroom and indirectly in the form of language policy.

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Appendix A

An Example of the 1st Interview Protocol

1 University instructors' past learning and teaching experiences

1.1 Can you briefly talk about your English learning experiences? Start from the first time you were exposed to English. What happened? How did you feel about these experiences? What difficulties did you encounter? How did you cope with them? What kind of assistance did your teachers provide? Any change across time? Why was learning English (not) important to you?

1.2 I know that you're an expert in xxx area. When did you start to learn it? How did you do so? Which language did you use to learn it? What difficulties did you encounter? How did you cope with them? What kind of assistance did your teachers provide? Any change across time?

1.3 Can you talk about your previous teaching experiences? When did you first teach? Which language did you use? How did you design your course? What difficulties did you encounter? How did you cope with them? Any change across time?

1.4 Have you ever received any teacher training? If yes, please briefly talk about what kind of training you received. How did you feel about such training?

1.5 How did the previous English/content/training experiences influence you (your teaching)?

1.6 Can you think of an influential person/event during your past English/content/training experiences? Tell me who s/he is, what happened, and how s/he influenced you.

2 Experiences teaching content in English

2.1 Can you talk about your current experience teaching content in English? You can use the current course (in English) as an example. Why did you offer this course in English? What were the teaching objectives? How did you design this course?

2.2 How do you usually teach one period of the class? You can use the current course as an example. How do you motivate students? What activities and materials have been adopted for this course?

2.3 Which language do you use when lecturing/discussing/asking questions/giving tests/writing assignments? Why?

2.4 Have you ever corrected students' mistakes or errors in English? Why or why not?

2.5 Have you encountered any teaching difficulties? How did you cope with them?

2.6 During these years of teaching, have any of your teaching objectives/methods/content/assessment/language use changed for this course? Why or why not? In which ways?

2.7 Can you talk about the difference between your teaching in English and that in Chinese? What do you think accounts for such a difference?

3 Successful/unsuccessful teaching experiences

3.1 You have adopted English-medium instruction for many years. Can you talk about successful/unsuccessful teaching experiences related to EMI? What happened? Who was involved? Why do you think these are "successful/unsuccessful" experiences? Any other successful/unsuccessful experiences that you'd like to share with future teachers?

4 Opinions about EMI/ETP

4.1 What do you think about the design of the English-taught program in your university? Can you elaborate on your opinions?

4.2 What do you think about the use of English as a medium of instruction?

4.3 Given your teaching experiences, what do you think the teacher could or should do to increase the effectiveness of teaching/learning content in English? Which language is more effective in terms of the medium of instruction?

4.4 What kind of pedagogical support should the school provide to instructors who want to teach in English? What kind of service has already been provided for you? What do you think about these forms of service and support?

5 Wrap-up

5.1 How would you describe your own English abilities?

5.2 Is there anything important related to ETPs or EMI that I ignored in the interview?

Appendix B

An Example of the 2nd Interview Protocol

1 About the previous interview(s) and change

1.1 Please read the interview summary and let me know if there is anything that you'd like to change or add.

1.2 It has been almost a year after my observation of your class. Has anything changed in your teaching methods/procedure/student reaction/difficulties/solutions/beliefs/opinions about ETP/EMI? Please give examples and reasons.

1.3 In your teaching or learning experiences, have you ever taught students how to listen to lecture/read materials/write essays or respond to exams/discuss or answer questions in English? Why or why not?

1.4 You mentioned that in this program, students and teachers have not made progresses through learning or teaching in English. Instead, EMI has become a source of pressure. Do you still feel the same way? If we hope both students and teachers could grow via ETP or EMI, what could or should change?

2 Teacher roles and responsibilities

2.1 Can you talk about your major responsibilities in the program? How much time do you usually spend preparing for EMI practices? Are you satisfied with such time management?

2.2 What role does teaching content in English play in your career/academic community? What makes you think this way? Are you satisfied with the role you play now? Why or why not?

2.3 What kind of teacher do you think you are? Is there any difference in the role you play when you use English or Chinese as a medium of instruction?

3 EMI practices and academic/research community

3.1 Do you think English is important in your field? Why or why not? Which aspect of English is most important? In what way?

3.2 Which language will your students use professionally after they graduate?

3.3 Do you think learning/teaching content in English is necessary for students?

3.4 What's the point of using EMI in this particular program?

3.5 What factors may influence teachers' willingness to adopt EMI?

3.6 Does your program offer any academic English courses? Why or why not? If yes, what objectives or functions do they have? How effective are they? Do you think it's necessary to offer academic English courses or teach/correct English explicitly? Why or why not?

3.7 There are many different kinds of design of ETPs. Can you comment on these designs? What about the ideal ETP?

4 Wrap-up

4.1 If you had an opportunity to choose which language to use as a medium of instruction, would you still choose to teach in English? Why?

Appendix C

An Example of Interview Transcripts

The following is a partial transcript of the last interview with Wen from University B to illustrate certain topics discussed in the interview and the ways the researcher facilitated interviews.

R[5]: . . . You mentioned that on this campus teaching content in English was a pressure shared by both teachers and students. So you didn't think students and teachers made progresses in learning or teaching through English. Do you still feel the same way now?

W[6]: I still think [in this way, but] . . . there's some difference. I think it's related to international students. . . . I observed that . . . the program is having more international students. . . We have more international students who do not rely on government subsidy. They are more motivated to learn and . . . because of the need to teach in English, I had to find materials related to their level.

R: What do you mean by level? Their English proficiency or . . .?

W: No, not that. . . English was part of it, but it was still about content . . . . It was a language problem because the Latin American students are native speakers of Spanish; they tended to write one to two sentences for a page. It was really tiring for me to read. But when it comes to reading [materials], . . . the materials were too difficult for them [to understand the concepts]. So, I had to find some good articles but with easier English- talking about the same concept. But I think it was okay because they were undergraduate students. During this process, I compelled myself to read books I hadn't liked to read. Although I don't think they are written with good English, I think I come to learn . . . another way to convey the same idea.

R: Okay. So it sounds that because there are more international students, you have to find some articles with different writing styles to adapt to these students- because they are more diverse?

W: Yes, international students are more diverse in proficiency than Taiwanese students.

. . . .

W: . . . International students are divided into two groups: one will listen to the lecture. Of course I try to help all the international students understand [the concepts] and

[5] R means the researcher.
[6] W means the teacher, Wen.

then if there's no other way [to help students understand], I use Chinese. . . . But some international students are simply fooling around. If that's the case, I don't care about them.

R: So your basic principle is you [students] should study hard?

W: Yes, they all still need to study hard. That's the basic principle.

. . . .

W: Some students are hard working. For example, I had a Japanese student who probably could not understand the material I gave. Then, I thought that he was already hard working. . . . But because of his [limited] English ability, he could not understand. So I had to make some adjustments, like finding other articles [materials]. Actually, I did the same thing for Taiwanese students.

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