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Content Teachers' Perceptions Towards EMI in Chinese Universities

ABSTRACT:

In recent years, many universities around the world have increasingly adopted the use of English as an academic lingua franca to teach content courses. English-medium instruction (EMI) has enabled students to pursue their higher education outside their home countries. Since 2001, there has been an expansion of EMI in a growing number of leading Chinese universities. Though a growing body of EMI studies have been published, many of these works were conceptual pieces which focused on the writers' experiences. However, there is not much empirical research on how content teachers perceive EMI as well as how they perceive their use of English in Chinese universities. This study examines the content teacher's perceptions toward use of English to teach content subjects and their views to the English language at 10 universities in China. It is part of my PhD research project exploring the influences and orientations towards EMI in China. Those content teachers are teaching in a wide range of disciplines. The data consist of teachers' perceptions obtained by means of questionnaires and interviews. The preliminary findings show that the majority of the participants are welcoming EMI while at the same time pointing out concerns regarding the difficulties in adapting to the instruction. Several respondents have reported that both English and Chinese were used in class. The initial findings are discussed in relation to the future development of EMI programs in China as well as the ELT.

Introduction

Over the last decade, universities around the world have been implementing EMI. The increasing use of English has enabled non-native English speakers to fulfil their higher education study around the world. Implementing EMI courses partly or entirely has been considered as a strategy for universities to attract full-fee-paying international students and to respond to the globalization and internationalization (Björkman, 2010; Coleman, 2006; Jenkins, 2014).

When attention shifts to East Asian countries, it is clear that the global

spread of English has made a significant impact on East Asia. There has been a dramatic increase of EMI courses and programs in some universities across the region (Bradford, 2013; Byun *et al.*, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Hu and Alsagoff, 2010; Manh, 2012). For example, the Vietnamese government sets the target of implementing 20% of EMI courses in universities by 2015 (Manh, 2012). Similarly, Korean government released 'study Korea project' to attract international students and also introduced funding programs to provide financial support to universities offering EMI (Byun *et al.*, 2011).

Since the year 2001, all Chinese universities under the control of the Ministry of Education were asked to teach the selected subjects, such as bio-technology, information science, international business and law, partly or entirely in English. In some universities, content teachers are also allowed to use Chinese. Thus, Chinese-English bilingual education is another alternative term to describe EMI in China (He, 2011). Initially, the 2001 policy was implemented on a trail basis, but now it is expanding rapidly among many Chinese universities. There are several reasons for promoting EMI in China. First, the English language is considered as a necessary tool to help China participate fully in the international stage. EMI is always associated with China's interest in participating in Global (Cai, 2010; He, 2011; Yu, 2008). Second, College English teaching was criticized for its inefficiency. Many scholars have identified the problems of several years' intensive English learning, students still have low communication skills (e.g. Gao, 2009). As a result, scholars have suggested integrating content teaching with language teaching. For some of them, EMI was similar to an English course and the main purpose was to help students improve language. Third, Chinese universities are aiming to recruit more international students and have an influential international reputation. EMI courses were seen as a useful approach to attract international students and to achieve the public image as international education hubs. Besides, the number of EMI courses has been taken into account in university Assessment Scheme. The EMI course number is listed as one of the evaluation criteria. Consequently, there has been an expansion of EMI courses and programs in Chinese universities.

In 2010, the Ministry of Education issued the '*Outline of China's National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development (2010-2020)*'. It sets the target of attracting more than 500,000 international students to study degree-level courses in Chinese universities by 2020 (Wang, 2011). This implies that Chinese universities are aiming to recruit more international students to study in China. Keeping these developments in mind, it is not surprising to find the increase use of

English in Chinese higher education in the following years.

Due to the increasing use of English in the universities around the world, language issues have attracted ELF scholars' interest in studying the use of English as a lingua franca in academic settings (e.g. Björkman, 2013; Jenkins, 2014; Mauranen, 2012; Ranta, 2006). Based on many empirical studies, ELFA users can successfully fulfil their communication purposes. Recent studies have shown that very little misunderstanding emerges in ELFA contexts (e.g. Björkman, 2012; Ranta, 2006; Pilkinton-Pihko, 2010). For example, Björkman (2012) investigates the ELF users' questions in the Swedish higher education. Three types of questions, namely syntax with specific reference to word order, utterance-final rising question intonation and the interrogative adverb/pronoun (in Wh-questions only) are listed. The findings indicate that ELF users adopt rising question intonation as a useful way to achieve communicative effectiveness. Though those participants in the previous studies do not follow the native English speaker's norms, they make themselves understood by adopting their innovative use of question intonation. Empirical ELFA studies add evidence that ELF users can successfully fulfil their communication purposes. Thus, Mauranen (2012: 68) argues «the dominance of the ENL model is likely to diminish, because the determinants of language use lose their connections to a national basis». However, the prevailing language practices in academic settings remain undoubtedly towards native English norms. Non-native English users' English is often considered as problematic. Therefore, scholars highlights the need for more extensive studies to be carried out to investigate higher education contexts around the world. The current study aims to explore how content teachers perceive the English use in EMI in Chinese universities. In the following part, a brief introduction of English in higher education in China will be first presented.

1. English in higher education in China

English has been the primary foreign language in China for more than three decades. Before the Chinese students enrol in the universities, they already have had at least 9 years of English language learning. The current EMI programs are designed both for Chinese and international students. Chinese students have to take the University English Entrance Examination (also called English Gao kao). The total score of English is 150 points. Despite the fact that the requirements vary from university to university, Chinese students should achieve the minimal score of more than

100 points. The entry requirements for international students vary across universities. Generally speaking, the international students whose first language is not English have to provide IELTS or TESOL score. Take the taught Master and Doctoral programs in Beijing Normal University as an example, a minimum score of 550 points /80 points is required for TOEFL and a minimum score of 6.0 is required for IELTS. Although international students are studying EMI in Chinese universities, they still adopt the English exams from Anglo-phone countries to assess international students' English. This has led ELF scholars (e.g. Jenkins, 2011) to assess international university English entry requirements critically. As Jenkins (2011: 934) points out: «it is a contradiction for any university anywhere that considers itself international to insist on national English language norms».

Unlike those native English speaking countries who offer EAP for international students, EAP has not been widely taught in Chinese universities. Thus, the only occasion for most students to learn English is thorough their College English course, which is compulsory for all the university students, regardless of their degree. During students' English learning at universities, Chinese undergraduates are required to pass the College English Test (CET) Band 4 and Band 6. While English majors are supposed to pass the Test for English Majors (TEM) Band 4 and Band 8. Despite the fact that language regulations have emphasized the communication functions of English, the English teaching syllabuses at tertiary level have still taken native-like proficiency as the best learning outcome (Chen and Hu, 2006; Wang, 2013; Wen, 2012). Native English models have still enjoyed an unchallenged privileged status in Chinese college English teaching (Chen and Hu, 2006; Pan, 2011; Qi, 2009; Wen, 2012). Since 2010, there have been emerging studies which consider the implications of ELF approach to ELT in China (e.g., Deterding, 2010; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Wang, 2013; Wen, 2012). However, nothing has changed the ELT so far in China. As Wen (2012: 372) points out: «none of the teaching syllabus of English teaching in China mention a single word about ELF». This indicates that the widespread belief of conforming to native English is still prevailing in universities. In the following part, previous major EMI studies will be discussed.

2. Previous EMI studies

Unlike EMI in many European countries, EMI in Chinese universities has two forms: teaching content courses entirely in English and teaching

content subjects partially in English (Cai, 2010; Yu, 2008). Many of the existing studies in China have considered EMI as a useful way to improve student content knowledge and English proficiency (e.g. Xu, 2008; Yu, 2008). They also associated EMI with students future job-seeking. However, the amount of English used in each classroom and teaching practices vary from university to university. Based on the previous literature, some scholars argue that the amount of English used by lecturers depends on the linguistic competence and the disciplines of both teachers and students (Yuan and Yu, 2005). It seems that the use of Chinese was viewed with bias. Hu and Alsagoff (2010: 372) note that: «there is a severe shortage of teachers who are capable of English medium of instruction». With regard to content teachers' English, teachers' English used in EMI is often seen as problematic (e.g. Hu and Alsagoff, 2010; Xu, 2008; Yu, 2008). Some scholars have expressed concerns regarding EMI teacher's language skills. Xu (2008) questions the effectiveness of EMI and argues that the teacher's low proficiency may lead to inefficient teaching and affect student's academic achievement negatively. Yu (2008) identifies that there are not enough competent teachers who can use English fluently, hence most EMI courses are taught exclusively in Chinese. Similarly, Peng (2007: 50) pointed out, that: «the real EMI means the teacher uses mainly English to teach the subject, and Chinese should be used as a supplement». In addition, there was also evidence that some universities had prescribed the amount of English used in EMI courses. But whether content teachers followed the policy remained largely unknown. Previous studies observed that the actual English use is largely dependent on the university and teacher (He, 2011). Thus, it is necessary to investigate how content teachers perceive their English use and how they accommodate their English to help their students understand the content during the instructions.

In addition, there is not much information about how EMI in Chinese universities is taking account of the spread of ELF and/or findings of ELF research. Although EMI and ELF have been studied recently by many scholars in other countries, there has so far been a serious lack of research linking the two (Björkman, 2013; Jenkins, 2013; Smit, 2010). The selection of the research site in China was motivated by the lack of research which studied EMI from the Global Englishes perspective.

3. The current study

This study aims to explore how content teachers perceive EMI in

Chinese universities. Based on the discussion above, two research questions are listed for the aims of this paper: how do content teachers perceive EMI in Chinese higher education? What are their views about using English to teach content subjects in their daily instruction?

The selected 18 universities offered a certain number of courses or programs in English and presented the public image of the international universities. The major reason to conduct my study in those universities was because I have personal contacts with these universities who could help me to find respondents and participants. The subjects chosen for this study were content / subject-area teachers who are teaching subjects entirely or partially in English in Higher Education contexts. The majority of respondents who took part in the questionnaire study were 'purposively' selected (Patton, 2002). In purposive sampling, the focus is to select «information-rich cases for study in depth (Patton, 2002: 230), which are likely to illuminate the questions under study». The basic criterion applied in the selection of participants was teachers who teach academic subjects in English or partially in English. To ensure more responses from the questionnaire, I approached a wide network of contacts and also adopted 'snowball' sampling (Johnson and Christensen, 2012). I also asked some questionnaire respondents to introduce me to the potential participants who met my criteria.

The interviewees were chosen as they showed their willingness to participate in the interviews on the questionnaires. At the end of the questionnaire, respondent's name and email address were requested if the respondent were willing to take part in the interview. Finally, 14 participants showed their interest to participate in the interviews. This was a small number, but the aim of my study is to conduct in-depth interviews. In this view the amount of participants cannot be considered as significantly relevant. I piloted both of my questionnaire and my interviews before the main study.

4. Data collection

After the pilot study, the revised questionnaire was distributed to 121 content teachers via email. The questionnaire in the present study served as a starting point to elicit the information I was investigating. The items on the questionnaire were written in Chinese. All the respondents and participants were given an information sheet and consent form. The confidentiality of respondent's personal data and the right to withdraw

from the research at any time were mentioned in both the information sheet and consent form. Finally 106 questionnaires were returned. After the respondents completed the questionnaire, they were asked to participate in an interview which was designed to elicit the deeper thoughts and opinions from the participants. The language chosen for interviews was Chinese. Qualitative interviews provide an opportunity for in-depth understanding of people's personal views. I have adopted semi-structured interviews (Dörnyei, 2007; Kvale, 2007). Two interviews were conducted through QQ online Chatting software. The remaining 12 interviews were conducted face to face. All the interviews were conducted on different days and were audio recorded in an MP3 format. All the interviews were transcribed. The transcription conventions used in my interview are adapted from Jenkins (2014: 220).

5. Data analysis

In the questionnaire analysis stage, Excel will be used to calculate the ordinal data. For the Likert-scale questions in this study, the analysis will include frequencies and percentages. Qualitative content analysis was employed for the analysis of the interview data (Berg, 2007; Schreier, 2012). This analytical method has been widely followed by the scholars who aim to investigate participants' experiences, beliefs, and orientations towards a range of phenomena. Besides, certain major prosodic features such as pauses, laughter, and emphatic stress were also transcribed. The analysis of the interviews followed three stages. First, I read the transcripts and the notes for several times in the attempt to uncover the prominent topics. Then I wrote comments next to the transcriptions to identify the key words. Finally, after careful reading those key words, some prominent topics were identified. The identification of prominent topics was the initial coding (Dörnyei, 2007) of the interview data. After the initial coding, I read the interview data and began a second-level coding. I tried to re-organize the initial coding into themes. In the next section, I will first present questionnaire data and then discuss the two themes which emerged from my interview data.

6. Findings and discussion

Due to the limited space, a few questions from the questionnaire were

selected in this paper. The questions were analyzed according to the major topics. I divided the questions into 3 subsections: The use of English in respondents' universities; EMI teacher's self-evaluation towards their own English; respondents' perceptions to the types of academic English used in EMI.

6.1 The use of English in respondents' universities

It was found that almost 90% of respondents revealed their own institution had set the target to internationalize the university. This means that the internationalization of higher education has become an important development agenda for those universities. Regarding respondents' overseas experience, 80% of respondents have been to other countries for various purposes, studying for a degree, visiting friends, receiving English trainings. The proportion of respondents with overseas experience is quite large and they were more likely to have experienced ELF communication. One question was asked to describe the student's nationalities. 58% respondents said their students were all Chinese students. 8% of the respondents said their courses were designed for the international students only. 34% of the respondents revealed that both Chinese and international students were presented in the classroom. The number of international students varies according to different universities. Those universities under the control of the Ministry of Education seem to have more international students than those under the control of the local Municipal Commission of Education. It was also found the proportion of English use varies from different respondents. The majority of respondents reported they are mainly using English to teach and Chinese is used as a facilitator. The questionnaires also contained a few Likert scale questions. Each question listed one statement. Respondents were asked to rate their agreement with the statement, on the choices of 'strongly agree', 'partially agree', 'slightly disagree' and 'partially disagree'. The analysis related to this will mainly focus on one theme: EMI teacher's self-evaluation towards their own English and respondents' orientations towards the English language.

6.2 EMI teacher's self-evaluation towards their own English

Respondents were asked to react to the statement «when I teach in English, I am able to express myself clearly». The majority (95%) of respondents thinks they could clearly express their ideas in English. Only 5% of respondents think they could not do this. This question indicates

that the majority of the respondents are confident to teach in English. They may identify themselves as successful EMI teachers. Similarly, in response to the question: «the majority of my students are non-native English speakers, so I feel less worried about my English accent when I teach in English». 61% of respondents expressed their agreement to this statement. The rest of the respondents showed their disagreement with this idea. Their responses indicated the majority of respondents seem to accept their own English accent. But some seem to care about their English pronunciation. Any divergence from standard was not preferred.

6.3 Respondents' perceptions to the types of academic English used in EMI

Respondents were asked to respond to the statement 'the English used in EMI should aim for international intelligibility rather than near-native-ness'. The results have indicated that 48 respondents totally agreed with this statement. 58 respondents disagreed with it. Thus, this implies the majority of respondents in this study tends to believe native English norms as the most appropriate English in higher education contexts. Similarly, they were asked to respond to the statement 'it's more important for EMI teachers to communicate appropriately and effectively rather than exhibit native-like proficiency'. The results have shown that 57% of respondents agreed with this statement, while the rest of the respondents disagreed with it. The possible reason is that respondents are exposed to the native English ideology, so they still believe exhibiting native-like proficiency in everyday teaching practice is important. However, the extent to which they believe students or teachers need to conform to native English is still unknown. The following part will present the data elicited from the interviews.

6.4 Perceptions towards English in the interviews

A few themes emerged from the interview data. In this section I mainly discuss two themes: perceptions of English use in EMI and concerns about teaching in EMI. The majority of the participants expressed a positive reaction to using English in teaching subjects. They considered English important and many said EMI will help students to find a good job. Many of them accept the role of English as an international language. For example, one participant T3, said: «you need to master English (.)if you could speak English and you can communicate with people all over the world(.) it's an international language». Nearly all my participants pointed out that: «English is an international language». But they had not thought much

about the implication of global Englishes to English use in China, and never questioned the idea that English was regarded as an international language.

When I asked them about their views towards EMI, most of them seemed to have no doubt about EMI. T1 said she liked this form of teaching and believed EMI was beneficial to her students. She said: «it can help students to boost their career perspective and to learn academic terms in English». T14 said: «I find the teaching very delightful (.) my students all have strong motivation to learn and I like to teach in English(.) for the majority of students(.) they will benefit a lot if they take EMI courses». However, some also expressed concerns towards EMI. They seemed to have doubts about EMI, for example, T2 in the following extract (Extract One), described EMI as «a luxury good».

Extract One

T2: I think EMI in China is a LUXURY GOOD

L: what do you mean by this?

T2: EMI in Chinese universities is a popular trend(.) It's like a fashion trend(.)You know, the EMI was first initiated by the Ministry of Education in 2001(.) Then EMI becomes a very popular type of instruction in many university (.) in fact I think for the majority universities (.) they are not capable to teach subjects in English but(.) the universities all eager to receive support from the Ministry of Education which would suggest a good reputation and more economic benefit for the them(.) so(.) those universities strive for implementing EMI courses(.)This is similar like someone want to buy luxury goods (.)but he/she does not have enough money(.)She/he may borrow the money to keep up appearance

Extract One occurred after we discussed different forms of EMI in China. This time, it was T2 who initiated the topic. T2 described EMI as a «luxury good». Thus, I asked her to explain more about it. She described EMI as «a very popular trend» and «a fashion trend». Her emphatic stress on the phrase «fashion trend» might suggest she was having a negative view to EMI in China. This is because the word 'fashion' normally has no correlation with education in China, the word 'fashion' indicates something which is popular at a particular time and it won't last for a long time. She said most universities in China have not obtained enough qualification to teach content courses in English. She also pointed out some universities are running EMI courses simply because of the funding and good reputation which EMI could bring. She

drew an analogy between EMI and luxury goods. It can be interpreted that she thought universities do not have sufficient resources to teach courses in English. But those universities still claim they have those resources to conduct EMI, which is the equivalent of what T2 meant when she said: «to keep up appearance». Four other participants also pointed out that EMI needs some prerequisites, such as competent teachers, enough students to be enrolled in the course, good textbooks or software. Her utterances suggest some universities in China do not have the teaching resources to implement EMI. University administrators might just pay attention to the number of EMI courses they offer without considering whether their universities are ready to offer them or not.

6.5 Concerns about teaching in EMI: how much English to use

The second main theme which emerged in the interviews comprises content teachers' concerns about teaching in EMI. Within this main theme, two sub-themes have been noted. The first sub-theme was about how much English to use. The second sub-theme concerned their difficulties in teaching subjects in English.

During my interviews, many teachers said they used both Chinese and English to teach the content during the interviews. In some universities, the exact percentage of English use is clearly acknowledged in the policy or university teaching documents. But for some participants, they did not follow this or were even not aware of this. For those participants who did not follow this requirement, they expressed strong emotion that there should be no such requirement which could fit in for all the courses and the body of students. Some participants said likewise that they thought the proportion of English they use was very much depending on the origins of the students. For example, a participant said: «all my students are Chinese (.) I think it's very necessary for me to use Chinese as well». As it was found out in the questionnaire data analysis, Chinese students constitute the major body of students in EMI programs or courses. Some said they have a low number of international students in their class. In the following extract, T8 also said her uses of language depend on her target students.

Extract Two

T8: Erm I do use Chinese in my teaching (.) my students are Chinese students (.) it's the compulsory course for them

L: are there international students in your class

T8: not many.erm erm about 5 students or 7 students (.) but they are from international department (.) They took my course as the optional course (.) the curriculum is designed mainly for the students from my department

L: but can those international students understand Chinese (.) or are you free to use Chinese if they are present

T8: a little (.) they normally have Chinese lessons (3) but (.) but as I said my course is designed for students from LAW DEPARTMENT MAINLY and I need to ensure the majority of my students could understand but I know it's bit chaotic (.) to be honest there is no clear division between the types of EMI (.) Some course are targeted for Chinese students (.) some targeted for international students and some courses are open to both Chinese and International students.each department has its own curriculum(.) there is no unified approaches(.) really it's depend on the TEACHERS (.) university does not have very clear distinction of different types of EMI

T8 began by saying that most of her students are Chinese and she said many universities have taken on the agenda of internationalisation. I assumed this implied there should be a certain number of international students. Thus, I asked her the number of international students in her class. She admitted there was a very low presence of international students. But T8 mentioned «they are from international college», a different department. And she said her course was designed for the students in her department. She seemed to emphasize there is a very prominent distinction between her department and the International department. She treated the two departments not equally. Thus, I asked her whether those international students could understand Chinese. She said 'a little' which suggested those international students did not have very high proficiency in Chinese. The noticeable long pauses suggest she felt using the Chinese language during the instruction was unfair or inappropriate for international students. So she emphasized that her course was designed for students in her department. This seemed to say she was not behaving unprofessionally. She also referred to the fact that there are no written regulations which stipulate which course is designed for whom. The emphatic stress on the word 'teacher' suggests the proportion of English used will depend on the EMI teacher not on the origin of the students. Although the university is trying to promote more use of English in the classroom, there is a gap in the amount of English used by content teachers. Apart

from talking about her students' origin, later T8 also criticized the aims of EMI and said: «I have been assigned many roles. But I still think my main responsibility is to teach the content knowledge not language». Other participants also talked about the goal of EMI and emphasized teaching content was their primary concern.

6.6 Difficulties in teaching subjects in English

In the questionnaire, many respondents seemed quite satisfied with their own English competence level. Surprisingly, during the interviews, several participants expressed a certain degree of uncertainty towards their English. It is interesting to note initially when I asked them if they had concerns about their English, nearly all the participants were very confident. The majority of the participants said they felt quite confident in teaching subjects in English. Many said they could explain clearly and fully in English. Like one participant, T6 said: «most of content teachers have good English speaking skills otherwise she/he dare not to be an EMI teacher». Similarly, T8 admitted her previous undergraduate studies helped her to have good English skills. She said: «I did English when I studied my undergraduate degree my English is ok to fulfil my teaching task now.»

However, when we discussed some other topic, participants altered their previous perceptions and some expressed their concerns about EMI, especially regarding a low level of competence. Some of them did not overtly say they were having difficulties with EMI; they tended to refer to other teachers' problems. The following extract took place when T7 and I discussed whether EMI teachers are willing to teach in EMI. It is important to note that this participant said previously: «I think my English is fine and I could explain the subject fully (.) I received good feedback from students at the end of term». However, she changed her perception when we started a new topic.

Extract Three

L: so you think they feel not enthusiastic to teach in English

T7: the university has one policy to encourage teachers to teach in EMI(.)university assigns the teaching wages according to the number of the EMI lessons she/he teaches erm teachers who teach courses in English will receive 1.2 lesson wages_

L: what does that mean?

T7: normally you teach one lesson and you receive one lesson's wage
EMI means you teach one lesson and you receive 1.2 lesson wages

L: not many differences(.) but you think they are not willing to teach

T7: yes our first language is not English(.) it's difficult to explain in English the way we like and difficult to accurately express the subject matter(.) and many teachers had have no experiences to study or living in English speaking countries(.)we are studying in Science subject(.)after getting the PhD degrees(.)their reading and writing skills are acceptable but the pronunciation(they) will speak

English and still will have a Chinese English accent (we) are not living in the English speaking environment(.) YOU KNOW this

T7 talked about the teaching incentives they received from the university. Then she mentioned the difficulties in teaching subject in English. She used 'we' instead of 'I'. This can be interpreted as other EMI teachers do have this feeling as well. Though in the first part of the interview, she did not show any negative perceptions towards Chinese English accent, here in this extract she considered Chinese English pronunciation as a negative feature. She also believed those content teachers, who have no opportunities to go abroad to improve their English, tended to have weak English reading and writing skills. Actually, I found many similar arguments in other interviews. My participants seemed to have very contradictory orientations towards their own English.

7. Conclusions

On the basis of the results of the present study, the internationalization of higher education has become an important agenda for the selected universities. Now Chinese students constitute the majority of students in EMI courses. In some programs, such as Chinese Medicine, Economics and Art, a large number of international students were presented in the classroom. Besides, given the rapid promotion of EMI, it might be expected that there would be an increase of international students who want to study in China by the year 2020. However, many respondents have very ambivalent attitudes towards their English. Although they said they were satisfied with their own English in the questions, interview participants altered their view during the interviews. On the one hand, they consider their English sufficient to fulfil their teaching purposes; on the other hand, they received pressures to improve its proficiency. They still consider their

English as a problem to be repaired, rather than a different way of fulfilling communication purposes. Many admitted they were under language pressure (use English only; to demonstrate 'good' English). However, the majority of respondents never tried to question the kind of English used in their universities. They seem still to believe native English is the most appropriate form in academic settings and they never attempt to show disagreement to native English. Native English is always judged higher than non-native English and is always associated to the standard variety. The participants seem to ignore accommodation skills. What's more, the majority of the respondents does not see themselves as English teachers, but they feel students, other teachers expect them to teach English. Besides, my participants expressed many concerns related to teaching in English, such as the lack of support, difficulties for teachers and students, the vague division between the different types of EMI. Although the official figure indicates the a large proportion of EMI courses or programs are developing in Chinese higher education, many participants said EMI was still in its initial stages and the teaching practices have been ignored. They did not consider the government or their university had offered them enough support or the extra effort they made preparing the courses. According to the responses from my participants, there are a lot of things for the government or university to improve. It seems there is no clear division between different types of EMI and aims of EMI.

With regard to the proportion of English used during EMI, participants said both Chinese and English was used. However, mixing international students and Chinese students in the same classroom may pose difficulties for content teachers. Little consideration is given to some international students' ability in Chinese. Despite my participants said Chinese was used as a facilitator in their classroom, Chinese might not be appropriate for those international students whose first language is not Chinese. Little consideration is given to the fact that teachers will need to teach content courses in multicultural classrooms, where communication takes place primarily in non-native lingua franca contexts. Though the focus of my study is about EMI, the topic still has implications for ELT in China. If ELT in China continues to regard standard British and American English as teaching and learning models, then this would disadvantage both students and teachers who do need to speak English in a lingua franca situation. Since in the age of globalization English has been increasingly used as an academic lingual franca, ELT in China should provide learners with sufficient skills to communicate with people who come from diverse linguacultural backgrounds. Standard native English

should not be considered as the only criterion to evaluate ELF users' English. A distinction should be made between learners whose aim is to use English as a Lingua Franca (their intentions to use English with both native and non-native English speakers) and those who wish to acquire native English competence. But apparently, for the majority of Chinese people, using English to communicate with non-native speakers in the future seems to be more relevant to them. As McKay (2006) pointed out, ELT curriculum development must consider the specific function for which learners need English today. Therefore, It is necessary to raise content teacher's awareness of the diversity of Englishes and the importance of accommodation skills. Teachers can use English confidently in university settings. Policy makers should have a clear idea about the primary goal of EMI and how ELT in China should facilitate students to quickly adapt to EMI. However, there is a need for caution in interpreting my findings. My study was limited to a very small size sample, and it was not possible to generalize its findings to all Chinese content teachers. Obviously this study needs to be empirically extended to a much larger sample drawing from a variety of settings.

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