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Language Program Development through Internationalization

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LANGUAGE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT THROUGH INTERNATIONALIZATION

by

MACKENZIE BRISTOW

Under the Direction of Eric Friginal, PhD

ABSTRACT

This study explores the development of a new English language support program (ELSP) between two international educational partners. Inspired by the renewed interest to investigate ELSP development holistically (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Dafouz & Smit, 2020; Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010), this study pulls from four years of research in the United States and China. ELSP development has always included elements of institutional and national policies, administrative structures, and curriculum development; however within English language teaching literature, the latter dominates, resulting in an underdeveloped description of the process as a whole (Johnston & Peterson, 1994; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). This study departs from this trend through viewing ELSP development as a social action; thus,

the actions taken by all individuals, including administrators, faculty, and students, as meaningful units of analysis (Hult, 2016; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Wells & Wong, 2012).

Building on studies that analyze complex, multilingual education settings from an ecological perspective, (Bhalla, 2012; Bhattacharya et al., 2007; Hult, 2010; Menken & Garcia, 2010a), the ELSP development process is investigated through three stages: establishment, implementation, and evaluation. At each stage, I move through the societal, community, and individual scale to explore discourses processes circulating through program development. To access the social level, I analyzed relevant newspaper articles, publicly available language policies, and university internationalization plans to uncover the positive associations with university global engagement along with the growing political tension between the two partner countries. Then discourses at the community level were investigated through the formal and informal relationships between the colleges and how administrators within navigated power differentials to advance the internationalization agreement. Finally, at the individual scale, ethnographic observations and interviews addressed participants' educational practices, classroom interactions, and teacher-training to demonstrate how individuals both adopted the discourses of internationalization and the necessity of English, but also acted as their own agents to resist or support the development process based on past experiences and habitus. Through adopting an ecological approach to ELSP development that includes tracing discourse across multiple stages and scales, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of the various factors that mediate the process of creating successful, sustainable ELSPs.

INDEX WORDS: English language program development, Language policy, Internationalization, Global engagement, English as a medium of instruction

LANGUAGE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT THROUGH INTERNATIONALIZATION

by

MACKENZIE BRISTOW

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Georgia State University

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LANGUAGE PROGRAM DEVELOPMENT THROUGH INTERNATIONALIZATION

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my husband Ron Saunders who through the past five years of this process never doubted my ability and remained steadfastly supportive. I could not have done this without you.

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I would also like to take a moment to make an untraditional acknowledgement in order to recognize the current situation impacting global education and everyone in my field. On March 11th, 2020, around the time I was completing the writing of this this dissertation, the World Health Organization declared the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) a pandemic (CDC, 2020). Even before this announcement, many countries had implemented social distancing rules that included restricted travel and online learning to reduce community spread of the virus. Months later, these new norms are still place across the globe and may continue in some form for years. With the numerous travel restrictions and concerns about community transmission, the entire global education field is struggling to describe how educational pillars like study abroad, exchange programs, and language learning will look like in the future. Although this study captures events that represent how things were, at its core is a message to remain flexible and consider how outside forces can introduce disruption. I know we are a resilient community and we will find new opportunities and innovative solutions.

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1 INTRODUCTION

“Internationalization is changing the world of higher education, and globalization is changing the world of internationalization” (Knight, 2008, p.1)

I embarked on this dissertation project to leverage the tools from applied linguistics to bridge the administrative tasks associated with English Language Support Programs (ELSPs) to higher education internationalization. Many within education are familiar with ELSPs, although they have many different names (e.g. intensive English programs, English as a second language programs, etc.) and administrative structures. Despite these differences, all ELSPs share the mission to provide English language learning coursework to learners who would like to increase their English language proficiency. Generally, when it comes to researching ELSPs, the field of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) and applied linguistics have favored learners, teachers, and curriculum development, leaving the work of ELSP administrators and daily tasks of program development to other related disciplines. As a result, most of the work on ELSP development resides in the area of curricular needs analysis which is presented in a rather transactional, linear manner (Brown, 2016; Graves, 2008; Walker, 2011). ELSPs curriculum development is often presented as a list of tasks that need to be undertaken (e.g. needs analysis, materials development, evaluation) with little attention to the additional outside factors. These factors include national and institutional education policies, program administration, and individual agents that ultimately may influence or change the development process (Graves, 2008; Haan, 2009; Johnston & Peterson, 1994; Kettle, 2017; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). If this expanded list of factors is adopted, applied linguistics and TESOL researchers could expand their analysis of ELSP and move towards a more holistic approach that could more clearly reflect the

dynamic environment and how ELSP is experienced in practice (Dafouz & Smit, 2016; Graves, 2008; Johnston & Peterson, 1994; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010).

Part of this drive to expand what ELSP development is has resulted from the effort that universities have directed toward actively recruiting globally mobile, and often multilingual, students and increasing international research collaborations for faculty (Dafouz & Smit, 2016; Kettle, 2017). These actions have made ELSPs a nexus of diverse research interests and languages. As a result of these university-level efforts, or what is commonly called global engagement, ELSPs may accordingly change placement procedures or alter their curriculum (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; McRaven & Somers, 2017). Despite this reality, most literature on internationalization tends to ignore ELSPs and focus on the challenges and possible inequalities rather than provide ELSP developers with examples of how to solve, navigate, and create educational policies that are representative of practical program development work (Dafouz & Smit, 2016; M. M. Gu & Lee, 2018; Jones, 2012; Liddicoat, 2016).

The aim to expand ELSP development beyond the curriculum and reposition it within the context of internationalization or applied linguistics/TESOL has faced great challenges. These barriers to integration can be attributed, in part, to slow adoption of the social turn where language is understood as a social activity (Lantolf, 2014; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). A second barrier may reside in the acknowledgment of the existing divide within academia that privileges intellectual spaces in comparison to less valued, student service-centered workspaces (Baldwin, 1997; Dobson, 2000; Tetreault, 2018). ELSPs, which often fall in to the latter category, may find their “home” within student services where their courses are non-credit and associated with remedial support. Individuals serving as ELSP instructors and administrators are often classified as staff (Fields et al., 2016; Kaplan, 1997; Walker, 2011) and may not participate

in activities like publication or issuing degrees. All of these factors ultimately limit ELSPs from full participation in academic conversations and make them more difficult to classify in terms of their purpose, breadth, academic home, and type of student served (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Eaton, 2017; Kaplan, 1997; Walker, 2011).

As an ELSP director, I have experienced many of these scenarios described above where I have been completely outside a university community and excluded from international strategic planning. I have also had the experience where I have been near fully included as much as an individual designated as staff within a university can be. I have experienced frustration when I perceive that academic units like mine were treated as an afterthought or a remedial space rather than evidence of successful university internationalization. I have also experienced excitement when individuals outside ELSP take time to learn about the program and the students, and when they see the contributions the unit can make to the overall university and related research fields. Although all of these perspectives exist, ELSPs are ultimately part of the ecosystem of university internationalization and thus experience the highs and lows of student mobility as the result of the role of English within academia and geo-political and economic tensions. This reality is particularly salient right now in the United States (U.S.) as many geopolitical and public health concerns are altering enrollments and student needs (Redden, 2017, 2018b); thus, we are at a stage where “internationalization [has changed] the world of higher education, and globalization [has changed] world of internationalization” (Knight, 2008, p.1). As a result, this is a unique time to integrate what I have learned from applied linguistics with what I have experienced as an ELSP administrator.

This dissertation captures a time in my career where I am fully integrated into a university community and I was able to create a new ELSP within the context of higher

education internationalization. The term internationalization and how it is defined within higher education has been a topic of interest in the field for some time (Dewey & Duff, 2009; Foskett & Maringe, 2012; Knight, 2003, 2004), but often Knight's (2003) definition is used "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2003, p. 2). For some, internationalization has been defined through the various institutional motivations including responding to national or state-level influences, perceptions of financial gain or academic ranking, or impact on organizational structure and education policies (Childress, 2009; de Wit, 1999; Knight, 2004; Stensaker et al., 2008). The aim to internationalize is at times underpinned and supported by government national policies (Hult, 2010; Neubauer & Zhang, 2015; Sun et al., 2017) and at other times only at an institutional level (Airey, 2012; Childress, 2009; Haan, 2009). Due to the complex and non-static nature of internationalization within universities (Gao, 2014), depending on who you ask, the definition of internationalization will shift (Knight, 2004). ELSPs associated with institutions of higher education often serve as a tool to facilitate central institutional aims related to admissions and academic support and so by proxy serve to achieve aims related to university internationalization. In part, this could be attributed to the observation that globally mobile students and researchers tend to seek affiliation with universities in English dominant countries which "could attest to the importance of English for many students [and researchers]" (Kettle, 2017, p. 4). With the English language positioned as the lingua franca for academia (Chen, 2018; Duong & Chua, 2016; Jenkins, 2014; Liddicoat, 2016; Phillipson, 2017), ELSP as the unit that facilitates English language acquisition, needs to be included as an element of university internationalization.

For this study, two colleges embedded within separate, larger research universities (one in the U.S. and one in China) created an agreement to develop an ELSP and deliver it in China. The purpose of the ELSP was to provide course work in academic English speaking and writing for both Chinese undergraduates and graduates enrolled in the engineering college. Overall, agreements established to encourage research or student exchange between two or more universities located in different countries are commonplace (Egron-Polak & Hudson, 2014; Hudzik, 2016; C. J. Johnstone, 2018). In general, these types of agreements can be as large as branch campuses or dual degree programs, which are often seen in the world of transnational higher education environments (Blommaert, 2005; Fabricius et al., 2017; Phan, 2017), or smaller programs supporting exchanges of faculty or students (Altbach & Teichler, 2001; Knight, 2004; Hongshan Li, 2005). For many universities, these types of agreements are established and administrated out of a central internationalization or global strategies office. For this study, however, the agreement was the result of grassroots effort between individuals within the two institutions (U.S. and China) who did not necessarily receive the charge from their central global engagement office.

This particular arrangement provides a unique opportunity to observe the individuals involved in the ELSP development process. Interestingly, books about ELSP development are often unclear about how many individuals to include or to how extensive their participation should be. In Brown's (2016) book on conducting a needs analysis, often the first step in ELSP development, he references stakeholders, or "the people involved" (p. 41), as individuals that should be taken into consideration. Although Brown (2016) lists several individuals including parents and politicians as important stakeholders, he lists "students, teachers, and local administrators" (p. 41), as the most common individuals a developer should consider. Brown's

description of individuals as stakeholders is common across ELSP literature (Basturkmen, 2010; Brown, 2016; Christison & Stoller, 1997), but I would like to propose that this term may not fully describe how essential the involved individuals are to the success of an ELSP. Pulling from language policy and planning (LPP) literature, the term *agent* may better reflect the fluid nature of how an individual experiences and shapes ELSP development. The term agent suggests an individual has the ability, in particular those within educational contexts, to make their own choices about the curricula and language used in the classroom even if a curriculum is already in place. These choices can take a variety of forms such as acting in the presence of unofficial, de-facto policies (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; D. Johnson, 2013; Schiffman, 1996), creating policies without a plan (Baldauf, 1994), and resisting or ignoring top-down education policies altogether (Canagarajah, 2009; Menken & Garcia, 2010a; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Many times these reactions are the result of an array of past, personal experiences related to language learning or attending an ELSP that may influence reactions or expectations of program development (Goffman, 1983; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). At times an individual may feel an ELSP is forced upon them (Fuentes, 2016; Harklau, 2000), but also at the same time may realize that their role in the program provides them with different amounts of negotiating power depending on the situation (Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Goffman, 1983; Shohamy, 2006). This calls for researchers to not only consider each individual but also to consider their interactions with each other based on the context they are in (Goffman, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) This aligns with the notion observed by Menken and Garcia (2010b) that suggests the space between the policy and practice is often as thin as a skin of an onion; and thus, researchers should “stir the onion as it is cooked by those who ‘language,’ softening and blending the layers alongside each other” (p. 249). In other words, those who are

in the classroom or learning languages are the individuals who shape the language learning environment. This suggests that these individuals are much more than simply stakeholders but central actors to the success of the introduction and implementation of the ELSP (Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996; Shohamy, 2006). If this premise is accepted, then the individual who can be impacted by a new ELSP can also act as the implementer of the ELSP through responding, interpreting, negotiating, resisting, or complying ultimately becoming an ELSP development agent themselves (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Hult, 2014; Liddicoat, 2016; Menken & Garcia, 2010a).

Although the previous examples provide some guidance on how to integrate individual agents and the global/international higher education environments with the ELSP development process, it is still limited. For applied linguistics and TESOL to truly capture the complex development process, frameworks like the ecology of language could be adopted. Taking this into consideration, this ELSP development study will embrace a holistic view that includes a relationship between language and social practices as well as social practices as discourses in order to draw connections between education and language policies and the actions of individuals and groups (e.g. school administrators, faculty, and students). Thus, this dissertation aims to explore ELSP development across multiple scales (international, national, and local) along with the various agents, including my emic perspective, and the challenges they must work out together. By leveraging the tools from applied linguistics, the language and program development ideologies that are revealed through this process can be systemically analyzed and used to describe and navigate ELSP development. As a result, the primary goals and objectives of this dissertation are to understand: 1) how do official and de facto policies and assumed norms of language classrooms guide individuals' actions during language program development within

the Chinese and U.S. institution and 2) what norms of interaction mediate the ELSP development during the process of language program development within the Chinese and U.S. institution, and finally, 3) how do individuals' past learning experiences shape the current ELSP development within the Chinese and U.S. institution? Through engaging in this manner, I hope to move the project of ELSP development away from a set number of tasks that a developer must complete to a framework that provides flexibility and nimbleness in the face of a change.

The remaining chapters of this study represent a three-year ELSP development process from the spring of 2016 until the spring of 2019. In Chapter 2, I provide a review of the literature and frameworks used for this dissertation, starting with a description of what an ELSP is both in the U.S. and Chinese context followed by how ELSP development has been discussed in the past. Finally, I will review how applicable frameworks like Nexus Analysis and Corpus Linguistics can more clearly capture the ELSP development process.

In Chapter 3, I first provide the necessary context and background to understand my study followed by a researcher positionality statement. In this chapter, I provide the design and methods of my study which include the three stages recommended by Scollon and Scollon (2004) to conduct a Nexus Analysis. In particular, in this chapter, I detail how I arrived at three areas of focus, ELSP establishment, ELSP implementation, and the future of the ELSP which will be the focus of my results and discussion sections.

In Chapters 4, 5, and 6, a similar approach was applied but within different contexts. My aim with each focus, establishment, implementation, and evaluation was to identify discourses at a societal level, the community level, and an individual level in order to “understand how people take actions of various kinds and what the constraints or the affordances of the mediational means (language, technology, etc.) by which they act” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 21). In

chapter 4, I focus on the establishment of the ELSP. I use data from my corpus of newspaper articles, education policies at the national and institutional level, interviews, and questionnaires to present my findings on what discourses mediated the establishment of the program. I first describe the major themes found in the newspaper corpus on internationalization followed by the major education policies that enabled an ELSP to form. I then present an analysis of the relationship between the two institutions and the individuals involved through a type of interaction order analysis with the aim, again, to explore the establishment of the program. After this, I will discuss the past and current language and program planning ideologies of my participants (both through questionnaire and interviews) at the individual level. Finally, I will look at the connection between each scale to identify the main observations of how the program was established. In Chapter 5, a similar process is applied but within the context of implementation. Data sources include institutional English Medium of Instruction policies associated with the Chinese college, ideologies associated with the ELSP curriculum, a student questionnaire, classroom video, and interviews of administrators, faculty, and students. Again, with each scale described and analyzed, the conclusion of this chapter identifies the discourses that mediated the implementation of the ELSP. In Chapter 6, I focus primarily on data from the newspaper corpus and the interviews from the participants to observe the discourses circulating about the future and the sustainability of the ELSP.

In Chapter 7, I conclude my dissertation with a summary of the findings from Chapters 4, 5, and 6, but also include a section called *change* that will present possible ways the ELSP development process was altered as a result of this research. Finally, I will present a framework that other ELSP developers, administrators, teachers, and students can use to apply to other ELSP development projects. The accumulation of this dissertation is to not only to highlight the

complexity of the process and important social actors, but it will ultimately connect the global to the local along with broadening the definition of ELSP development.

2 Literature Review

In order to contextualize my study, I present an overview of the literature of ELSP development and the approaches I took to examine this project. In the first part of this chapter, I define ELSPs including the typical motivations associated with their establishment. Following this, I provide an overview of the frameworks discussed in the literature that have been provided to ELSP developers to manage the development process along with the factors they must consider. Later in the chapter, I will provide additional general background about the location of this study and present a summary of some of the major policies and events that have shaped Chinese English language study and ELSP development. Finally, in the last part of the chapter, I will introduce the ecology of language and Nexus Analysis as applicable approaches to study ELSP development.

2.1 Defining and Establishing ELSPs

Christison and Stoller's *Handbook for Language Program Administrators* aptly entitles their first chapter "An IEP is a Many-Splendored Thing" (Kaplan, 1997, p. 3) in order to capture the scope and variety of ELSPs. Within the context of countries where English dominates, ELSPs can serve a number of audiences, curricular approaches, and forms. ELSPs could provide daily English for newly arrived immigrants, deliver business or technical English courses for professionals in a private school, deliver academic English study for international students with student visas or a university, or a mix all three and many more. The focus of this study is on the latter context where ELSP development is investigated through the context of higher education. Although this provides some narrowing of the ELSP development construct, the landscape of

universities and colleges themselves has significant variety with comparable institutions having drastically different mission statements, affiliated schools and units, and financial structures.

Within institutions of higher education, ELSPs may exist as part of academic departments like an applied linguistics department, or situated in student service offices, writing programs, or as stand-alone units (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Eaton, 2017; Kaplan, 1997; Simpson, 2016). Outside of English-dominant countries, an ELSP's "home" may be in a foreign language department or simply non-existent (C. Chen et al., 2017; Dearden, 2018). Financially, ELSPs may be entirely reliant on student tuition or endowed by the university suggesting that the population served is also diverse in its inclusion of current, admitted non-native English-speaking students, prospective non-native English-speaking learners, or both, in either a supportive (taking ELSP in parallel with core courses) or intensive (only taking ELSP courses) structure. This variety of structures and students served within the university has created a very unique community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010), but also has led to uneven understandings of ELSPs from those not on the inside (Christison & Stoller, 1997; Kaplan, 1997; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Walker, 2011). Despite these massive differences, it could be suggested that an ELSP within a university provides English language support for speakers whose first language is one other than English, and who have some vested interest in learning academic English (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Fields et al., 2016; J. Flowerdew & Peacock, 2001; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010) to advance towards degree completion.

Structurally, ELSP programs have been in the fabric of higher education for some time, but the differences discussed above, at times, result in the lack of planning on the part of university administrators regarding an ELSP position and mission. Generally, ELSPs became more common within universities after World War II when more international students traveled

to study in places like the U.S. Their relative newness to the landscape of universities may explain why central planners tend to not map how ELSPs relate to other units or integrate them as a part of a general strategic plan (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Kaplan, 1997; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). In the past, it was generally accepted that ELSPs distinguished themselves from units like literature or composition in that their focus was not on issuing degrees or research, but on teaching students to use the English language functionally. This focus framed ELSPs as remedial with the aim to “fix” deficient non-native English speaking students (Liddicoat, 2016); thus, connecting ELSP directly to poor student performance, or what Ruíz (1984) might characterize as *language-as-a-problem* perspective. Evidence of this can be found in Freeman’s (2016) description of why the University of Toronto developed a graduate-level ELSP: “a committee on English Language and Writing support [was established] in response to anecdotal evidence suggesting some graduate students had deficiencies in written and spoken English that were compromising their progress” (p. 225). Here, two common features of ELSP establishment are reiterated. The first is that the ELSP was established as the result of general and unsystematic observations that English language deficits existed among the multilingual graduate student population. Those language deficits, specifically in speaking and writing English, were slowing down students’ progress towards their graduate degrees indirectly suggesting the curriculum for the ELSP.

The link between academic performance and proficiency in the English language is due to the fact that English has gained a special status within universities (Cavanagh, 2016; Phillipson, 2017; Wright, 2016). English is the primary language used for knowledge sharing and publication within English dominant countries as well as the de facto academic language for universities across the globe. The role and rise of English within institutions of higher education

worldwide have been covered through multiple books and articles (Ricento & Burnaby, 1998; Sonntag, 2003; Wright, 2016); thus, ELSP development can also be understood through these terms as well. The relationship between English as the de facto language of academia with ELSP development has created a cycle where ELSPs strive to meet the perceived needs of multilingual learners, but also as a unit that shapes and perpetuates the expectations and norms of academic English. Although these motivations, deficiencies in academic English and the importance of English within academia, may be the main reasons for establishing ELSP, the challenge is for the developer to identify the ELSPs mission, institutional fit, qualified staff, and faculty and the curriculum. In the following section, I will present several frameworks that have been created for ELSP developers that aim to support the program creation process.

2.2 ELSP Frameworks

For those involved in creating and implementing ELSPs, there are several frameworks attempting to address the administrative to curricular tasks involved in the development process. These tasks are often numerous and represent the items a given developer should consider as significant or meaningful to the process. In this section, these frameworks will be presented with a particular focus on the planning, implementation, and evaluation cycle, which can be applied to a variety of ELSP development scenarios. First, I will discuss developing a curriculum, since that is often a major focus behind ELSP development. Following this, I will review how the planning, implementation, and revision framework can be expanded to address the ELSP development at the program level to include a variety of factors from individual agents like administration, faculty, and students to institutional policies like internationalization.

2.2.1 Planning, implementation, revision

The most abundant guidance provided for university-level ELSP development started in the 1980's with literature focused on developing the curriculum (Graves, 2008; Johnston & Peterson, 1994) defined as a “general term to refer to any aspect of the content and methodology used to teach a course including course texts and other materials” (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010, p. 219). The type of materials found within institutions of higher education could be characterized as English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (Hyland & Shaw, 2016b), which aims to prepare non-native speakers to navigate generalized academic discourse (Basturkmen, 2010; Farrell & Yang, 2017; Fox, 2009).

Initially, ELSP developers were to assume the curriculum was the program and the program was the curriculum. In other words, what the teachers taught and what the learners needed to learn were the extent of the development process. In this case, the focus of EAP for university students was “about preparing learners to use English within academic, professional, or workplace environment” (Basturkmen, 2006, p. 17) resulting in a curriculum that either mirrored what students faced in the classroom or took a more entrepreneurial or technical focus in nature (Spence & Liu, 2013). The close focus on students' performance can be traced back to EAPs connection to English for Specific Purposes where the needs of the learner drive the development process. Although this connection exists, EAP has evolved its own research tradition and teacher training perspectives making it unique (Hyland & Shaw, 2016a).

For ELSP developers within university contexts, the types of activities that might be most desirable are those related to the classroom and academia. This can mean coursework should relate to assisting “learners to study, conduct research or teach in that language” (J. Flowerdew & Peacock, 2001, p. 8) or, in other words, be able to hold discussions, answer questions, give a

presentation, write papers, teach, and publish (Dearden, 2018; Liyanage & Walker, 2014). As a result, two perspectives on EAP have emerged: one that suggests the content should prepare students in general for academia, and another, which suggests that students need to have language support that is directly related to their field of study with its specific genres and conventions (Brown, 2016; Hyland, 2016; Tzoannopoulou, 2015). For example, one EAP might include language support in all four skills (reading, writing, speaking and listening) that help in general while other ELSPs would focus on a few skills based on the needs of a given discipline (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Ferris & Tagg, 1996a; Simpson, 2016). Despite these differences, EAP perspectives unite through four underlying curriculum values: *authenticity* (connected to the academic world); *groundedness* (informed by applied linguistic research); *interdisciplinarity* (pulled from a variety of pedagogical approaches and theories); and *relevance* (informed by a careful needs analysis) (Hyland & Shaw, 2016a). With these principles in mind, the curriculum is developed through a recursive process of planning, implementation, and revision as visualized in Figure 2-1 (Brown, 2016; Graves, 2008; Pennington, 1991; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010).

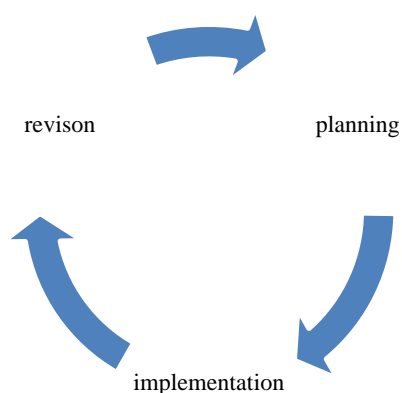


Figure 2-1 Recursive ELSP development framework

Since many ELSPs are created in order to ensure the success of students, it is recognized that the developer may need to engage in a planning *stage* that would include a needs analysis (relevance) to make decisions regarding content and the materials that will support the course (authenticity and interdisciplinarity). These materials would be developed during the planning phase, but then delivered in the classroom during the implementation phase. During the implementation phase and through the evaluation phase a curriculum would be evaluated through measures of success (groundedness) and adjusted accordingly during the revision phase.

Although within ELSP literature arguments can be made for either a specific or general EAP approach, the reality is once the students leave the ELSP space they may encounter classrooms that are frequently teacher-centered and rarely provide students opportunities present, discuss or write posing further questions about EAP authenticity and relevance (Airey, 2012; Ferris & Tagg, 1996a; Swales & Feak, 2012). Beyond the challenges positioning an ELSP in relation to content classes, some ELSPs have opted to offer numerous delivery models (pathways, adjunct, and stand-alone) to deliver coursework presenting a challenge for faculty to conceptualize a coherent EAP curriculum (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018). Since student mobility and the need to be responsive to learners may not change, Bhowmik and Kim (2018) suggest to programs that focusing on five pillars, academic cultural acclimatization, student voice, teachable moments, reflection, and autonomy, can accomplish unity. Considering the complexity of creating a curriculum, it is no surprise the bulk of applied linguistics and TESOL research has focused on this task within the ELSP development process.

Along with the curriculum, teachers and students are typically highlighted as central participants that need to be included in the ELSP development process (Brown, 2016). It is understood that teachers and learners do not simply react to the development process but mold it

in different ways (Airey, 2012; Farrell, 2013; Farrell & Yang, 2017; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). For teachers, this can take the form of altering a curriculum based on their experience or attempting to meet the needs of their learners. For students, they could use their mother tongue in class or select to purchase a textbook in their own language (Lo Bianco, 2012). Hornberger (2002, 2005) calls this *implementational space*, or the individual agent interpreting, creating and shaping policy based on personal experience and beliefs, consequently asserting that teachers and students do not necessarily follow top-down policies blindly (Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Menken & Garcia, 2010b; Shohamy, 2006). Regarding students, factors such as age, gender, proficiency, educational background, and field of study are important factors to consider when developing an ELSP (Basturkmen, 2006; Brown, 2016).

As early as the 1990s, those studying ELSPs began to operationalize development beyond language learning and the curriculum to also include structural and relational elements (Graves, 2008; Johnston & Peterson, 1994; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). Johnson and Peterson's (1994) matrix uses the familiar three-step framework, but provides an extended list that is modified by the elements of learning and support.

Table 2-1 Matrix for Talking about Language Teaching Programs

Elements							
		Learning			Support		
Process		Learners	Teachers	Curriculum	Materials/ Classroom/ Equipment	In-school Admin	Controlling Authorities
Planning	Needs Analysis						
	Commitment to the plan						
	Design/Operationalization						
Implementation	Selection						
	Initial Implementation						
	Formative Evaluation						
Revision	Development						
	Summative Evaluation						
	Re-planning/ Reinforcement						
	Re-implementation						

Note: Adapted from The program matrix: A conceptual framework for language programs, Johnston, B., & Peterson, S. (1994). System, 22(1), pg. 68

Using this matrix, one could consider an element like a learner, or in-school administration found at the top of Table 2-1 and align it within a step along the development process on the side of the table (e.g. revision) to narrow down and contextualize the situation. Unique to Johnson and Peterson's matrix is the category of category *support* (e.g. materials and classroom, administration, and controlling authorities) to address concerns outside the classroom and provide a better operationalization of ELSPs at the program level.

Johnson and Peterson's (1994), first factor under support includes the elements Classroom, Materials, and Equipment. For some, these factors might be totally non-existent while for others they are provided in an inconsistent manner. For example, most ELSP instructors have faced the situation in which an audio activity is part of a lesson, but the

classroom is not enabled with technology. Beyond what technology is readily available to ELSP teachers, ELSP developers may not realize the classroom itself is an important space when attempting to address the norms of instruction and learning. This could include the actual physical set up of the desks and chairs. A typical university classroom could include a podium for teachers to stand and lecture and desks for students to listen and sit ultimately establishing an unequal balance of power between the teacher and their students. This physical design is characterized by Scollon and Scollon (2004) as the panopticon classroom or what Goffman (1983) referred to as platform event. Here instructors are in control of students' participation and may or may not respond to the raising of hands or expect a response upon asking a question. Even small actions like an instructor returning papers can be representative of the norms of a classroom and curriculum. The same rings true, however, for the classroom that is more interactive or meeting (Goffman, 1983) where students sit in a circle or take a leadership role in the instructional experience. Such social norms, according to Shohamy (2006), can be accepted by teachers who ultimately enforce them with little resistance, thus they are considered "servants of the system" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 79). Shohamy (2006), although not very forgiving to the individual, is essentially stating that teachers are a product of their environment and their opinions about language, how it is taught, and how it is used will be acted upon and transmitted in the classroom.

The second category under Johnson and Peterson's (1994) support category is Administration. They clarify that the administration specifically refers to the ELSP director. In Brown's (2016) book on conducting a needs analysis for an ESP curriculum, ELSP administrators are described as individuals that might constrain the ELSP development process. Brown (2016) recommends that ELSP developers not ignore this group, but he also recommends

for developers to remember that administrators “can vary in terms of competence, leadership ability, leadership style, effectiveness at getting things done, readiness to work hard, and willingness to delegate important tasks or leadership roles” (p. 44). Brown also details the types of emotional factors an ELSP developer might encounter from an administrator including the level of friendless, self-importance, ambition, and so on. Finally, Brown (2016) suggests that administrators who may be considering their own promotion may not be as helpful as those near retirement. This is in contrast to some literature that positions ELSP administrators as active agents where they are characterized as making policy or curriculum changes in response and in relation to their own power and that of those around them. Providing a bit more nuance, Fenton-Smith and Gurney’s (2016) describe the environments that might contribute to ELSP director’s program-level decision-making practices. They observed that some administrators may be forced to make curricular or programmatic changes due to top-down factors such as being audited or governmental mandates, while at the other end, some may feel empowered to make changes in their ESL program with support from their supervisors. In their study, one administrator stated “at that time, I also knew the Associate Dean very well who was very open to ideas and the kind of person you could just walk up to and say, “I’ve got an idea.” (p. 76) demonstrating the autonomy some ELSP directors might experience while others were able to move projects forward based on their ability to have influence over others. Although these responses can be attributed in part to the structural opportunities or challenges faced by ELSP directors, the individual responses can also result from the past experiences of ESL administrators including their own experiences as teachers and understandings of working under a supervisor (Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Menken & Garcia, 2010b).

The third category under Johnson and Peterson's (1994) support category is entitled Controlling Authorities. This category includes all additional outside administrators who might have control over of the finances and policies governing the ELSP. Johnson and Peterson (1994) note controlling authorities differ from administrators in that they lack the daily contact with the program to fully understand the day-to-day happenings of the operation. Further, these individuals may have a very different vision of the ELSP than those who are embedded. Those who are part of the controlling authorities may have a greater interest in an ELSP facilitating tasks like admissions. This reality expands controlling authorities beyond individuals to education or language policies that can enforce behaviors outcomes (Ball, 1993). From this perspective, an ELSP may be tied to admission tools like English language proficiency tests that ultimately dictate the level of ESL support an international student may need or, in many cases, determine if the international student is admissible thus standing in as a de facto language policy (Dunworth et al., 2014; Finn & Avni, 2016; Menken, 2008).

Shohamy's (2006) distinction between 'language-in-education policy' and 'language education policy' provides a useful distinction between explicit and implicit controlling authorities. According to Shohamy (2006), language-in-education policies are overt and primarily concerned with what languages are and how they will be used in school. This is contrasted with language education policy, which essentially represents de facto policies and practices resulting from the over-powering social realities, societal norms, and language ideologies a school may exist in. For example, ELSP mission statement, an explicit language-in-education policy, is written in part to provide guidance and authority to readers both inside and outside the decision-making process (Ball, 1993; Chan, 2009; Childress, 2009; Saarinen, 2017, 2017; Vaara et al., 2010). In reality, however, these de jure, or official, statements and policies,

which attempt to accommodate the complex realities of administrators, faculty, and students through providing them with tools to manage their work, rarely reflect the actual lived experiences and are often simplified scenarios or idealized circumstances (Chan, 2009; Dunworth et al., 2014; Hult & Källkvist, 2016; Vaara et al., 2010). As a result, individuals may resort to creating their own language education policies to navigate their daily needs (Baldauf, 1994; Finn & Avni, 2016; Saarinen, 2017).

The categories factored into ELSP development can continue to include learner experiences, lived realities, and global mobility itself (Belcher, 2006; Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; L. Flowerdew, 2018). To reflect the expanded factors in ELSP development, Pennington and Hoekje (2010), situated the development process through an ecological lens to embrace the continuously emerging and responsive nature of ELSPs. From their perspective, elements of innovation and contextualization had to be included at the beginning of the process to situate the program correctly in relation to outside factors and to ensure flexibility and quality.

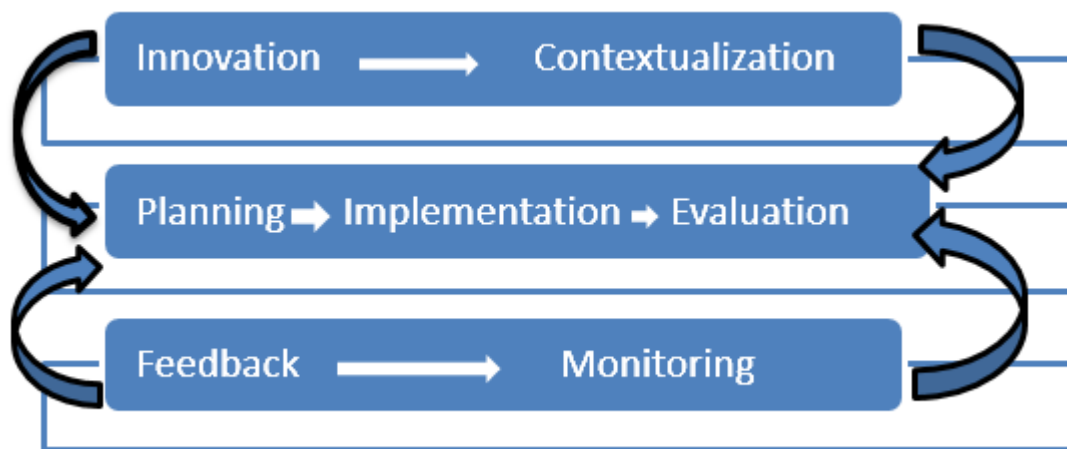


Figure 2-2 Development Model for the Language Program Ecology

Adapted from Language Program Leadership in a Changing World: An Ecological Model (p.253), by M. Pennington and B. Hoekje, 2010, Emerald Group Publishing Ltd.,

Here, it becomes apparent how program development differs from curricular development as the sustainability of the program may relate to additional factors such as mission fit, the number of enrolled students, and shifting views from administrators, among other factors (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Haan, 2009; McRaven & Somers, 2017; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). To capture this complexity some language program administrators may look to outside organizations for recognition and establish themselves as quality programs. The Commission of English Language Program Accreditation (CEA) which has ties to a major organization in the field of ESL, TESOL, has served as such an organization for ELSPs. CEA's 2019 accreditation standards evaluate programs across eleven items: Mission, Curriculum, Faculty, Facilities, Administrative/Fiscal Capacity, Student Services, Length/Structure of Program, Student Achievement, Student Complaints, and Program Development/Planning/Review (Commission on English Language Program Accreditation, 2019). Within each of these categories, language programs are measured against CEA's standards and granted accreditation if the standards are met. Gaining accreditation from an organization may be seen as useful for an ELSP as it provides a framework that defines program success as well as a way to signal to the outside student that the program is high quality.

Although the above framework provided by Pennington and Hoekje (2010) and quality standards provided by CEA provide an ELSP with guidance on how to create and measure an ELSP, they may not capture the full picture of influencing factors that an ELSP may encounter along its development process. Haan (2009) represented these outside factors in her model of ESL program development based on her case study of Perdue University. This framework was developed through interviews with instructors and administrators at the university and program level along with the analysis of archival documents resulting in the figure below (Figure 2-3).

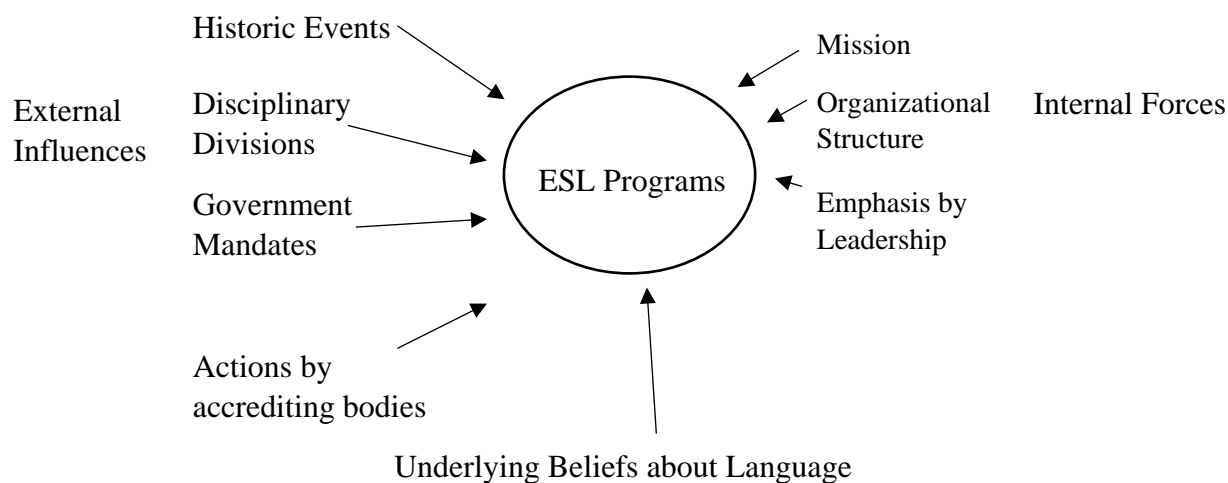


Figure 2-3 'Emerging' Model for ESL Program Development

Adapted from ESL and internationalization at Purdue University: A history and analysis (p. 122), by J.E. Haan, 2009, Purdue University, United States

Haan's (2009) model completely moves away from the planning, implementation, and revision framework to provide an array of factors that might influence the ELSP itself. Although Haan's (2009) model divides the factors between external and internal, it also positions all the factors equally around ELSP development giving each one potentially the same influence. Creating frameworks with a fluid hierarchy can also be found in language planning and policy (LPP), where the metaphor of the onion is used to describe the interaction of factors that might influence an educational context. In this scheme, the entire onion represents the LPP process where all layers are dependent and permeable. The outer layer represents LPP legislation and court rulings operationalized by guidelines; the next layer represents the institution that interprets the guidelines; and finally, at the heart of the onion are the instructors and administrators who may implement them, including ESL teachers (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). Although Ricento and Hornberger (1996) demonstrated at each level how individuals are impacted by planning policy, Menken and Garcia (2010c) felt this description did not go far enough nor give enough agency to learners and teachers, nor reflect the reality, from

their perspective, that top-down and bottom-up barriers do not exist leading Menken and Garcia (2010c) to call on LPP researchers to “stir the onion as it is cooked by those who “language” softening and blending the layers alongside each other” (p. 249). In other words, those who actually are in the classroom or learning the languages are the LPP agents. This notion supports the idea that at each level, no matter micro-, meso-, or macro-layers of an onion, there are individuals, from university presidents to students that can act at top-down agents by holding different amounts of negotiating power within the LPP process (Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Shohamy, 2006). Thus it makes sense that an instructor, either pulling from their own experience or attempting to meet the needs of her learners may change local curriculum; or in the case of a student selecting to purchase a textbook in their own language rather than the one used by the instructor (Lo Bianco, 2012). Hornberger (2002, 2005) describes this as the teacher creating ‘implementational space’, or interpreting, creating, and shaping policy based on personal experience and beliefs. This consequently asserts that teachers and students do not necessarily follow top-down policies blindly (Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Menken & Garcia, 2010b; Shohamy, 2006) illuminating that language plans and policies have no easy, identifiable starting point or end, rather they are messy and merging (Hornberger, 2006; Johnson, 2013). This observation has great implications for an ELSP which is often positioned in support of a particular institution’s English language policies but also staffed by individual agents who may need to respond to a changing student body brought on by larger forces such as internationalization.

Internationalization has been widely adopted as a pillar and or guiding principle by many higher education institutions. Within this context, internationalization is defined as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose,

functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (Knight, 2003, p. 2). Although Knight’s definition is commonly used within international education studies, many have observed the term as complex and fluid (Gao, 2015), and depending on who you ask, the concept means different things to different people (Knight, 2003; Turner & Robson, 2007). Despite the differing opinions on internationalization, the process is typically formalized into an official document called an *international strategic plan* or a *global strategic plan* (Hudzik, 2016; C. Johnstone & Proctor, 2018; Neubauer & Zhang, 2015; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). These plans describe aims to increase international student admissions and research exchanges as well as objectives to enhance connections between international and domestic students. Although internationalization plans are often framed as recommendations or suggestions rather than policies, for some they represent a guide for decision-makers in implementing new initiatives and in that way hold a certain authoritarian power that can influence actions individuals take (Ball, 1993; Vaara et al., 2010). Over time, the adoption of these plans by universities have advanced numerous new policies around admissions, language support, and student exchanges (Briguglio, 2011; L. Chen, 2018; Choudaha et al., 2013; Dunworth, 2008; Fox, 2009) resulting in an increased need for ELSPs and writing centers. As a result of this dynamic situation, the extent to which ELSPs are included in the international strategic plans or discussions of university-level internationalization is varied; however Hudzik (2011), in the handbook *Comprehensive Internationalization* reminds administrators that “at some institutions, particularly those emphasizing graduate education and research, the focus [internationalization] may include building and supporting deep expertise in languages” (p.7). A more common result of international strategic plans are agreements between partner universities. Pertinent to this study, U.S. institutions have often maintained agreements that affirm and even fund research or exchange between Chinese universities resulting in recent

benefits in terms of both tuition dollars and cultural impact; although these agreements are now being viewed with a certain amount of controversy (Gornall et al., 2018; Heng, 2018; Lo & Pan, 2016; Redden, 2018b; Yan & Berliner, 2011).

For many, university internationalization and globalization and economic advancement are intertwined, in particular because many have viewed the admission of international students with the desire to increase tuition revenue. Altbach and Teichler (2001) attempted to distinguish university internationalization from globalization by defining the latter as “the economic, political, and societal forces pushing 21st century higher education toward greater international involvement” (p.290). In this way, ELSPs may be the result of the symptoms of globalization that include the use of English as the majority language to share and publish knowledge along with the flow of the international education workforce, and the increase in efficiency through the use of technology (Altbach & Teichler, 2001; Beck, 2012; Marginson, 2006; Phillipson, 2017). In response, Altbach and Teichler (2001) made the case that educational programs attempting to cope with globalization do not focus on concentrating wealth, but rather focus on other, perhaps altruistic, aims within their education systems. This would suggest that ELSPs could be viewed as evidence that universities want to support multilingual speakers. To further explore internationalization, Knight (2011) addressed a number of myths behind the main reasons that universities adopt internationalization. She noted that a majority of universities adopt internationalization in hopes that it might bring global recognition and power, but with few results. She also critiqued the altruistic aims cited by universities such as cross-cultural exchange noting that internationalization rarely is the cause. Despite the attempt to separate these two concepts, internationalization and globalization, it seems at best universities might be able to achieve is a Venn diagram. It seems it is nearly impossible to separate educational programs

from the administrative and mission objectives of an institution that often are aligned with market forces (Beck, 2012; Fairclough, 1993; Foskett & Maringe, 2012; McClure, 2016; Sun et al., 2017). Now that I have presented several frameworks and the elements associated with developing an ELSP at the program level, it is important to understand how China, the location of this study, has addressed English language learning.

2.3 English Language Teaching in China

Turning to China, the English language and English language teaching have had a long history within the Chinese higher education landscape. However, before describing what ELSPs might look like in China, it is important to have a general understanding of how the English language has been included in Chinese education. The first uses of English at institutions of higher education in China may have begun as early as the 19th century, but its existence was primarily associated with coursework at Christian colleges (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Sun et al., 2017). This model did not expand as the use of English at Chinese universities had been waning over time and went almost totally out of favor during The Cultural Revolution (Sun et al., 2017). After Mao's passing, some suggested that the central Chinese leadership began to see English as an important tool for advancement (Perrin, 2017; Sun et al., 2017) coming to a pinnacle when China was accepted into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2001. Acceptance into the WTO seemed to open several doors for educational exchange (Ryan, 2010) and the Chinese government returned and encouraged educational institutions to use English for instruction and research. During this time, the number of Chinese students who studied abroad increased in locations like the United States (Sun et al., 2017; Yumei, 2010). As China began to open its economy, a number of top-down policies were introduced out of the Chinese Ministry of Education that suggested increasing exposure to English through coursework as early as

kindergarten (Foskett & Maringe, 2012; Sun et al., 2017). For students attending high schools in China, an important gatekeeping exam, the College Entrance Examination, or the *Gaokao*, is taken. Although there is variation from province to province the test typically contains sections on Chinese literature, mathematics and a foreign language and aims to predict the future academic success of a student. Although the English language tends to be the most popular selection for the foreign language, many Chinese regions have added a bit more flexibility in the weight of this section (Foskett & Maringe, 2012; Rui, 2014). After passing the Gaokao, admitted university students are required pass the College English Test (CET), which is administered by the Ministry of Education and a pre-requisite for the bachelor's degree (Foskett & Maringe, 2012). The CET has many levels, but CET-4 and CET-6 are the most familiar to students who do not need English for their major. Chinese undergraduate students must pass the CET-4 to obtain their bachelor's degree while the CET-6, a similar test to the CET-4, is optional and more difficult (C. Chen et al., 2017; M. Gu, 2018; Perrin, 2017; Yumei, 2010). The test has writing, translation, listening and reading components; speaking is an optional, separate test.

For students in China, exams such as the CET and Gaokao play a major role during a given educational experience. Numerous studies have observed the washback effect on Chinese students' learning behaviors, classroom experience, and even self-confidence (Bailey, 1999; Li et al., 2012; Zhi & Wang, 2019). Gu (2018) reported that nearly 10 million people took the CET in 2017 alone demonstrating its importance for Chinese students. Although these test are common place, many students experience negative washback and develop negative perceptions of their English classes. Some students report the skills and content needed to pass the exams have little application outside the test while others they feel too much of their English language classroom experience is centered on testing (Li et al., 2012; Zhi & Wang, 2019). The overall perception

suggests students feel significant amounts of stress and anxiety to achieve high test scores in English for educational and professional advancement; although some question if that stress is from the exams or from the English language itself (Rui, 2014)

Beyond assessment, central education policies supported by the Chinese government have encouraged professors to use English while teaching or employ content classes using English as the Medium of Instruction (EMI) (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Fang, 2018; Macaro et al., 2018; Sun et al., 2017). Overall, the consensus of implementing EMI policies in the classroom can result in additional demands on professors unaccustomed to teaching in English, as well as students attempting to learn (Byun et al., 2011; Liyanage & Walker, 2014; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). At the same time, many universities in China draw a line directly between implementing English as the Medium of Instruction (EMI) and internationalization (Byun et al., 2011; Duong & Chua, 2016; Liyanage & Walker, 2014; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). In Korea, Byun et al. (2011) summarized student responses to EMI in the Korean university and found overall students thought the adoption of EMI increased their English proficiency, although they also expressed concern that the change was hindering their acquisition of content as one student stated “when I’m reading an English textbook, there are so many words I don’t know that it takes too much time to look them up... if I don’t study the terms in advance, I can’t understand it and can’t follow the class” (Byun et al., 2011, p. 440). Although this comment could be seen as an agreement with EMI, others will observe it is difficult to assess any relationship between general language proficiency and EMI in the classroom revealing the agreement is based on the individual’s opinion on language rather than the policy. The introduction of EMI and whether students respond negatively or positively may be in part related to the context or how long the university has had EMI in place. Research seems to suggest that when EMI is introduced into higher

education institutions where English is not the primary language, students' initial struggle is resolved after one year (Airey et al., 2017). Briguglio (2011) also stresses that an individual student's negotiation with EMI may not be entirely related to language but associated with the general acculturation into academic life (Briguglio, 2011). Although this does not mirror what is seen in the United States, the resulting creation of these courses reveals the tension between what type of English is expected when the majority of staff, faculty, and students are non-native speakers and to what extent native-speaker ideals are necessary (Dearden, 2015; Perrin, 2017; Zhang, 2018) to fully embrace a truly international education.

Universities in China are also invested in internationalization both in terms of recruiting and in partnerships and exchanges. Since around 2004, China established around 100 Confucius Institutes on U.S. campuses to facilitate language and cultural courses, workshops, and programs. Although these institutes have not been without controversy (Lo & Pan, 2016; Peterson, 2017; Redden, 2018a), they represent China's efforts to introduce the outside world to China through soft power. China is also actively growing its own international student population by actively recruiting international students through the Chinese Scholarship Fund. The expansion of international education for China has been aligned with a larger global development strategy referred to as the Belt and Road Initiative or just Belt and Road. This centralized plan aims to create a network of infrastructure and development projects across the globe that include educational projects such as research and student exchange (C. Chen et al., 2017; Ferdinand, 2016). As a result of these efforts, for some Chinese universities have had to create specialized courses and programs that aim to improve academic writing and publication rates for international students (C. Chen et al., 2017) at the university level. China has also been very receptive to engaging in Transnational agreements, which attempt to describe the more

formal relationships between schools located in different countries (C. Chen et al., 2017). For example, one definition articulates joint-degree programs as “education in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based” (UNESCO & Council of Europe, 2000), but other categories such as branch campuses, franchises, articulations, twinning, corporate programs, online, and study abroad fall into this seemingly “borderless education” (Knight, 2007; Perrin, 2017) definition. For ELSPs in this environment, they may provide English language support services for the entire university community as found in the agreement between Duke University in the United States and China’s Wuhan University. Thus, in many cases, English has expanded from a foreign language subject to the language that subject matter, or content, is delivered in and ultimately aligned with academic and global success (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Sun et al., 2017). All of these factors created an environment in which ELSPs, although not the same as what is seen in the U.S., are present, nonetheless.

Given that an introduction of what an ELSP is, how it is developed, and an overview of the context where this study takes place has been provided, I will now provide an overview of the approaches that can study ELSP development established through an internationalization agreement.

2.4 Ecological Approaches

Haugen (1972) encouraged those who study languages to study them within and in relation to their wider environment, or ecosystem. Approaching language study from an ecological perspective has been a useful metaphor to apply to ELSPs as they exist in a type of ecosystem that “consist [s] of a complex, interrelated set of components and areas of performance and decision-making involving tangible and intangible assets...and reputation”

(Pennington & Hoekje, 2010, p. 10). From this perspective ELSP development elements like a classroom lesson, a policy document, a teacher training program, or a hiring practice are all part of an ecosystem that should be connected and theorized together (Blommaert, 2005; Hult, 2010; Lemke, 2000). How far an ELSP's ecosystem might reach is in part measured by those tangible assets like classrooms, teachers, and students the latter often being from around the world. There is also an argument to be made that the language, the English language, that ELSPs facilitate has a global connection and perhaps reputation. For certain, the English language has become very global, and by proxy, ELSPs have also based on the populations they serve. Thus, positioning ELSPs within their educational contexts, as suggested by Pennington and Hoekje (2010), reflects how programs are connected from the global level citing the increase of global exchange to the local with students and teachers in a classroom. Here Pennington and Hoekje (2010) describe the relationship between ELSP directors, English, and the world:

Language program leadership is situated in the context of a globalized world and complex and rapidly changing educational environments. The context of language program leadership is described in relation to the spread of English, the increase in international exchange, the language program as a community of practice, [and] the multiple functions of a language program (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010, p.3).

Along with acknowledging that ELSPs exist within larger systems, there are other features of ecologies, such as diversity, interrelatedness, and change that are essential to its survival. They are, of course, also subject to the flow of global mobility and are impacted by institutional functions related to admissions, acculturation, and socialization as well as strategies such as diversity and internationalization (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Duong & Chua, 2016; Graves, 2008; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). However, the individual agents attending ELSPs

also contribute to an ELSP's culture. For Dafouz and Smit (2020, 2016), this means when describing international universities, researchers need to recognize the number of languages within the university and how they are interrelated, the observed and lived academic habitats of academic agents, and virtual spaces as all part of the ecosystem. This suggests that ELSP development cannot just be understood as a top-down process but rather needs to be understood as multifaceted where the process can come from multiple areas.

To describe the ecology of an ELSP, one might find use in Spolsky's (2004) tripartite model, originally developed for Language Planning and Policy, which describes the global, institutional, and individual factors within the ELSP ecology from literature. Spolsky includes 1) language management, 2) language practices (patterns of language) 3) language beliefs (values and ideologies about language). If one includes all three of these levels into the ELSP development process, one can normalize the inclusion of the explicit top-down management of ELSPs, the curricular and teaching practices, as well as the aims and beliefs of different agents in the development process (Hult & Hornberger, 2016; Menken & Garcia, 2010a; Shohamy, 2006).

2.5 Discourse and ELSP Development

Linguists have traditionally viewed discourse as text in use, or a study on how spoken or written discourse performs, as in pragmatics (Jones, 2012; Lane, 2010). In the pursuit of connecting what is said or written within educational spaces to society, some researchers have found critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to be useful approaches. Within the vein of critical discourse approaches, how international education is portrayed in the media has provided some insights into the larger societal discourses that might exist. On one level, media functions as a framing mechanism; the way problems are discussed, organized, or visually portrayed (Saraisky, 2016) for readers or observers to understand an issue. On another level,

media serves as a gatekeeper, which highlights certain stories and backgrounds others. Here news media outlets might curate some education philosophies and approaches as desirable while others are critiqued or omitted.

Within the coverage of U.S. education by Western media outlets, it is no surprise that at times the United States is portrayed as the leader of successful models of higher education and international exchange. Suspitsyna (2015), in her review of articles published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* suggested authors positioned China and the Chinese education system as “culturally inferior” (p. 33) positioning it as needing global engagement, or an infusion of Western teaching practices to be a successful global player. Further discussions of China were discovered in Anderson (2020) who applied a combination of thematic and critical discourse analysis to 391 Canadian news articles. Here he discovered, Asian or Chinese students (among other minority individuals) were consistently embedded in controversial or negative coverage of job availability or a lack of housing. He suggested this type of frequent and repetitive coverage might result in “othering” the international students or describing them as threats (Anderson, 2020). Within newspaper media, international education and global mobility are often discussed in terms related to school choice or the market, such as students opting to study in one country or another, or selecting schools based on cost, reputation, or perceived competitiveness (Yi & Jung, 2019). These types of news stories that frame international students or international education are important because they may influence how readers shape support or opposition for policies (Anderson, 2020; Fairclough, 1993; Suspitsyna, 2015).

In addition to analyzing newspapers to understand society level discourses on a topic, other media can reveal trends. Chan (2009), using genre analysis and critical discourse analysis, demonstrated how U.S. university strategic plans, when compared to those from universities in

Hong Kong, were more focused on fundraising and philanthropic concerns. Her analysis suggested U.S. institutions placed more priority on funding and globalization/internationalization. Berger, Friginal, and Roberts' (2017) study investigated school communication mailed to parents through corpus approaches to reveal if there were differences in messaging based on whether students were considered native or non-native speakers. Through comparing two corpora of parent communication based on native vs. non-native, it was observed that for families with native-English speaking children, information about college was present in the communication, while for non-native English speaking children, English language support was the priority (Berger et al., 2017). For the authors, this suggested that schools might tailor their messages based on what they think might be best for students or perhaps more critically, tailor messages based on their biases.

Berger et al. (2017) provide a window into how researchers have leveraged corpus approaches to understand the intersection between education policy and individual actors. Although corpus approaches have supported research focused on sociolinguistic concerns (Friginal & Hardy, 2014; J. Johnson & Partington, 2018), the application of corpus approaches in ELSP development has primarily been focused on refining language that might be appropriate for the actual curriculum (Charles, 2007; Coxhead, 2000; L. Flowerdew, 2005; Swales, 2006). In this case, to identify these linguistic units, tools like corpus analysis or genre analysis are embraced to analyze real content in order to identify the most useful or frequent language that can be included in a course (Basturkmen, 2006, 2010; Brown, 2016). This corpus can then be analyzed to create materials modified into carrier content, or the content used to teach the target language (Basturkmen, 2010; Belcher, 2006; Dudley-Evans & John, 1998). The identification of the language used within academic contexts here is often tightly connected to a needs analysis

(Basturkmen, 2006, 2010; Brown, 2016); here a curriculum developer will identify what functions need to be accomplished and tie particular linguistic units such as vocabulary, genres, and grammar to those functions. This approach has guided curriculum developers towards the concept that particular fields have unique vocabulary when compared to general English. This perspective is observed when Basturkmen (2006) states: “the idea that although scientific and technical writing has the same grammar as general English, particular grammatical structures and vocabulary items are used more frequently (p. 35). Nonetheless, despite these differences, the combination of ESP and corpus for language courses has been achieved, and often, with a positive result (Charles, 2007; Cortes, 2007; L. Flowerdew, 2005; Lee & Swales, 2006).

Returning to studies that leveraged corpus approaches to investigate media discourses, good examples can be found in Johnson and Partington (2018) and Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2009, 2015). To investigate the concept of term “underclass” Johnson and Partington (2018) gathered a wide variety of newspapers representing a spectrum of political leanings and geographic locations (England, U.S., Hong Kong, India) to uncover if the term received a different treatment or attention. Although the term “underclass” existed in each newspaper, the researchers observed how the word co-occurred both within the node and the text in order to understand how the word was used in context. In the end, striking differences in how “underclass” was addressed by the different media outlets such as framing the topic through race (U.S.) or government policies (China); however, similarities were also identified such as the theme of visibility. Like many studies that combine corpus with qualitative approaches, Johnson and Partington (2018) strongly recommend researchers employ both in order to avoid confirmation bias and characterize the findings out of context. An example of this can be seen in Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2009), who used corpus approaches to investigate the media coverage of global mobility and language

policy. Here, through focusing on newspapers published in Arizona, she took the common postulation that discourse around immigration would color and mirror the discourse around English as an Official Language. To do this, Fitzimmons-Doolan (2009) created four specialized corpora based on topic and newspaper publication along with a fifth corpus of general newspapers as a reference corpus. Through applying keyword analysis, she observed the amount of difference or sameness among the specialized corpus. Ultimately, she found little overlap between the newspaper publications which suggest that newspapers did not cover the topics of language policy and immigration in the same manner and thus might not have the impact on the readership that was assumed.

Along with what is said and written, discourse has been theorized across linguistic and anthropological fields to be called communicative action (Swales, 1990), discursive actions (Eskildsen, 2018), or social practice (D. Johnson, 2011). The latter terminology views discourse as social action and asserts that discourse(s) are meaning systems that include historical, institutional, socially shared habits, behaviors, and perceptions (Dafouz & Smit, 2016; Lane, 2010; Scollon, 2001), or what Gee (2011) refers to as discourse with a capital 'D'. With this definition of discourse in mind, ELSP development and its associated actions, such as a needs analysis, material development, and teaching can all be shaped and built by discourse. Social action also includes statements written in a policy or spoken during a meeting as well as non-linguistic actions like a teacher handing out a piece of paper to students. Each social action has its own values, social meaning, and expectations embedded within and may trigger additional actions or cycles of discourse. For example, the action of passing out a paper in a classroom may be tied to the expected norms of a classroom, or perhaps the training the individual teacher received or the curriculum imposed by the school. In this way, when social action is repeated and

co-constructed it becomes social practice (Jones & Norris, 2005). In sum, social action represents not just what happens now, but personal histories and the norms around us (Hult, 2016; Lane, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Viewing discourses in this manner has provided an avenue for a number of researchers to access social practices in language policy, program development, and teacher development (Dafouz & Smit, 2016, 2020; Hult, 2010; Källkvist, 2013; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015) all of which use social action as the main unit of study. For ELSP development, social action could then connect or factor in elements across time and observe how discourse mediates individuals, builds identities and policies, or situates ideas (Bhalla, 2012; Hult, 2015; Lemke, 2000). This means rather than understand ELSP development as just a program or a course given in a location to students, one can position the ELSP within its current and historical context to understand the norms that guide individual decision making and practices that ultimately create the program (Bhalla, 2012; Lane, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Returning to our earlier discussion on ecology, social action also exists within a larger system that is not necessarily hierarchical or separate. This means elements such as institutional policies or decisions made by university presidents that might be mediated by societal-level social actions are equally important to those taken on by a teacher in their classroom based on values and histories (Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Further, social actions do not live in a vacuum or separate layer from one another, rather they permeate and influence one another based on their histories, the moment, and the future (Agar, 2005; Dafouz & Smit, 2016; Lemke, 2000).

The process of analyzing a social action, or discourse, can be aided by the notion of scales. Blommaert (2007) notes that, in particular, when addressing situations related to

globalization, scales are a useful tool as social events and processes “move and develop on a continuum of layered scales, with the strictly local (micro) and the global (macro) as extremes” (p.1). Hult (2007), further pulling from Blommaert (2007), describes the usefulness of leveraging the concept of scales across social events because they are both fluid and dynamic across social organizations as well as repeated across those social organizations. Thus, a researcher selects a social action based on they want to explore and then analyze it from multiple angles that can encompass time, society, and space (Hult, 2010, 2015). In addition to scales, Hult (2007) added the metaphor of fractals (Agar, 2005) to view how global and national processes can both effect and be affected by how individuals navigate their local scale. For example, although it might be easy to assume that agents within the ELSP development process are fixed and deans in administrative meetings seem “higher” than a teacher in their classroom; in fact, individuals slide up and down scales and have the ability to influence results depending on situation and context (Shohamy, 2006). Essentially, anything an individual does, both observed and unobserved, is considered a social action as it is embedded in a “social context and meaning-making” (Hult, 2010, p. 92).

Within ELSP development, individuals take actions on a variety of scales. One might participate in a set of meetings that establish a new language policy for a school (Finn & Avni, 2016; Källkvist & Hult, 2016), or a teacher may decide to modify their teaching despite a policy in order to help her students (Menken & Garcia, 2010a; Pease-Alvarez & Winsler, 1994). This concept was theorized and expanded to view an event, either spoken or acted upon, to be the result of events from the past as well as from the current context (Blommaert, 2005). This useful perspective has been used to investigate individuals and their multilingual identities in relation to a high stakes English placement test (Fuentes, 2016; Harklau, 2000; Hirano, 2014) or studies on

university EMI policies and the subsequent reactions from faculty and staff (Airey, 2012; Gallagher & Haan, 2017; Gao, 2015; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). With this in mind, one can view the development of an ELSP as embedded scales from the classroom to the world that exist together across space and time (Bhattacharya et al., 2007).

2.6 Nexus Analysis

“Nexus is defined as a link between two different ideas or objects”

(Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 169).

With social action at the center of study, ELSP can then be studied with the aim to uncover meaningful moments in the development process and view how things are connected from multiple angles (Hult, 2007; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Soukup & Kordon, 2012) in order to fully realize its process. Nexus Analysis (NA), as developed by Scollon and Scollon (2014), has provided a useful approach to do this as it provides both a theory and methodological toolbox for researchers to investigate events within dynamic ecosystems. At its core, the theory behind NA states that all types of communication are essentially social action and worthy of study. For NA, social action includes both physical, verbal and written actions, and sets of practices within a social system, or a *Nexus of Practice* (Scollon and Scollon, 2004). The concept of Nexus of Practice is similar to what social cultural theorists would call a Community of Practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991), except since NA is focused on social action (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), so anyone involved in the nexus of practice are part of the analysis even if they are not acknowledged by those on the inside (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992; Lane, 2014; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). In order to investigate this phenomenon, Scollon and Scollon (2004) identified three levels of discourse that aggregate social action.

The first level of discourse called *Discourse in Place* includes all societal discourses that are present (Lane, 2010; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). This “highest” level of discourse at the society level, taps into both explicit and non-explicit discourses that have become norms for a given society, from considerations of physical space (classrooms, signs, design) to the larger social views on a topic (Hult, 2016). The discourse is “in place” as they are situated contextually to mediate the social action under study (Blommaert & Huang, 2011; Hult, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). To analyze this level of discourse, approaches associated with critical discourse analysis can be useful (Hult, 2016). Overall, NA aims to describe how single moments of social action are nexus points for discourse across scales (Hult, 2016; Lane, 2010; S. Norris, 2002; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). The second level of discourse is called *Interaction Order*. Here a researcher aims to perceive the power dynamics or mutual relations between individuals through observing interactions in different social situations (Goffman, 1983; Kuure et al., 2018; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). This might be observed through instructors discussing challenging classroom situations amongst themselves and then observing those instructors within the classroom setting acting differently. This level of discourse should be considered at the level of “community” because it requires research to consider how individuals interact when around one another and within their environment. NA researchers suggest locating a site, like a meeting room or classroom and employing the tools from the ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1974) in order to observe how individuals foreground or background ideas (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). The final level of discourse is *Historical Bodies* focuses on the individual scale and includes the past experiences of the participants. Within this scale, it is observed that “different people may play the same role differently” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13) as they approach the situation with different experiences. Here individuals may face unique

contexts but bring with them habitual ways of acting and thinking that are influenced by their past experiences. A lifetime of habits can guide an individual to what it means to act like a student or how a school is run “without seemingly being told what to do” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13). To access this scale, researchers should tap into introspective data and may use tools like ethnographic interviewing or surveys to obtain it (Hult, 2016). The three types of discourse and how they mediate social action or the Nexus of Practice is illustrated in Figure 2-3.

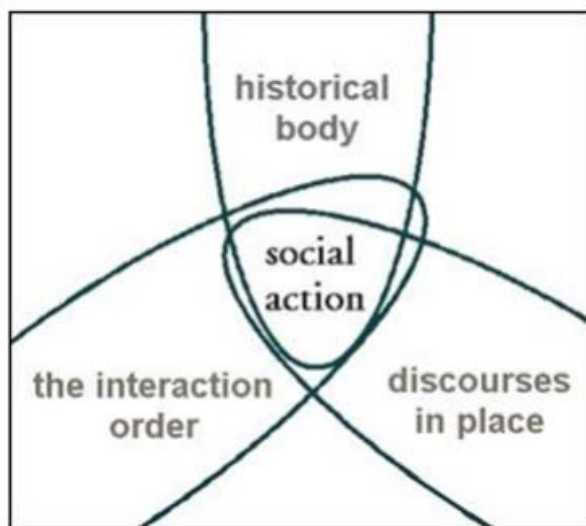


Figure 2-4 Discourses Circulating Social Action.

Adapted from Nexus Analysis: Discourse and the Emerging Internet (p. 154), by R. Scollon and S.W. Scollon (2004) Routledge, New York.

The method of NA aims to approach dynamic, complex problems through qualitative traditions from interactional sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, and critical discourse analysis. According to Scollon and Scollon (2004), there are three stages for a NA research study: *engagement, navigation, and change*. This three-stage framework is associated with identifying significant moments within a *Nexus of Practice* and uncovering mediating discourses. Typically, the engagement phase is characterized by five steps: 1) establish the social issue 2) find the crucial social actors 3) observe the Interaction Order 4) determine significant cycles of discourse, and 5) identify the zone of identification (p. 154). In particular, the engagement state

is a period for the researcher to gain access to the context, identify the social actors, locate important discourses and gain an understanding of the lay of the land through activities such as participating in casual conversations with participants, deepening relationships, attending to the local and national news, and engaging to discover language program development itself (Hult, 2016; Lane, 2014; Wells & Wong, 2012).

The engagement stage also allows researchers to identify meaningful factors of study within educational spaces and clarify central issues or problems that are important to the researcher (Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Soukup & Kordon, 2012). Researchers within NA suggest that, upon approaching complex phenomena from multiple points of view, one can narrow down a study through selecting something close and familiar (Casanave, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) or reflecting on a problem at hand (Hornberger, 2015; Hult, 2016). This convergence of identifying topics that are personal, problematic, and applicable has proven beneficial in assessing real-life language situations. One example of this is in Soukup and Kordon (2012), where applying NA demonstrated how using English as a lingua franca (ELF) was a beneficial tool rather than a burden within the context of supervision counseling (a counseling technique focusing on quality communication and self-reflection).

Soukup and Kordon (2012) provide a number of elements useful for the novice researcher to perform a NA. Following the suggestions of NA, Soukup and Kordon (2012) observed a variety of discourses enabling the counseling technique, including body language, perceptions and norms held by the counseling community, and the genre of a training session. This approach could be identified as the navigating step in NA. Data was collected using familiar qualitative tools such as audio recording followed by transcription and analysis with the different scales and discourses in mind. Of particular interest to the authors was the observation of

semiotic cycles by Soukup and Kordon (2012). Here transcripts were analyzed to evaluate the anticipated strategies embedded in the counseling technique, a cycle Scollon and Scollon (2004) would classify as an anticipation cycle. Additionally, interview transcripts were used to determine what individual experiences each participant brought with them, revealing the historical bodies discourse and the current ideologies in using ELF, or the discourses in place (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). In the end, it was concluded that linguistic tools associated with ELF, such as pausing and hesitation, along with the skills and experiences the individuals brought to the session, such as the need to establish clarification and time for reflection, were positive. From the outset, Soukup and Kordon (2012) set clear positionality statements where they admit their aim is to influence the perception of their colleagues' use of ELF during counseling, or what might be identified as the final step, *Changing the Nexus of Practice*. The change step was extended as they reported changes in the Nexus of Practice through citing presentations at a conference and achieving a "paradigm shift" (p. 313) within the field. This is important to mention, as many consider NA a methodology particularly useful to researchers that want to make an impact within the context of their study.

NA researchers recognize that the three NA stages (engage, navigate, and change) occur simultaneously, however, most would suggest the bulk of the data collection is completed during the navigation stage. The aim of navigating the nexus is to observe how the three types of discourses (discourses in place, interaction order, and historical bodies) flow through a social action. A researcher may observe that the discourses occur and intersect at any moment or may evolve and change over time. In either case, the goal of an NA is to map the cycles of the people, places, discourses, objects, and concepts that circulate through the moment when the social action takes place (Scollon & Scollon 2004, p. 159) and discover "anticipations, time scales, or

transformations and resemiotizations” (p. 170). The observation of connections between texts, or intertextuality (D. Duff, 2002; Kristeva, 1980), connections between discourses or interdiscursivity (Bhatia, 2010, 2012), and finally resemiotization where discourse can transform across “events, spaces, times, modes and media” (Scollon, 2008, p. 241) illustrated in the work of Iedema (2003).

The benefit of this approach was observed in Hult and Källkvist (2016), in which they investigated the local language planning process of English-Swedish parallel language use in a university. In this context, individual universities were called upon to establish language policies for their respective institutions in order to enact a national language policy set by the Swedish national government (discourses in place). According to Hult and Källkvist (2016), the multiple scales of discourse from the nation to the university to the individuals within the university (Interaction Order) provided the perfect scenario to apply NA. In this case, one of the co-authors was able to participate in the policy planning meetings as a language planner while simultaneously collecting data as a researcher. This procedure is central to NA, whose proponents often state that if the researcher is not central to the action at hand, it is impossible to conduct an NA (Scollon & Scollon, 2014). Data collection was conducted through participant-observation, analysis of transcribed audio, field notes, and the collection of meeting notes and official documents. All of this data was then analyzed with the aim of teasing out the discourse processes of language policy planning and individual agency. In the end, the local university developed policies which stipulated guidelines for the medium of instruction and bilingual language development that went beyond the policy published by the state by expanding the definition of parallel English-Swedish language use to include additional languages (Hult & Källkvist, 2016). Finally, the researchers noted that neither the top-down nor the bottom-up

discussions around the English language could escape the discussion of the role of English internationally. The language policy exercise was also influenced by the international context of higher education and the discussion of the production of knowledge, linking “situated needs and wider circulating ideologies” (Hult & Källkvist, 2016; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008).

Returning to the concept of resemiotizations, NA is interested in how discourses mediating those actions are taken up and shifted as they move between written, spoken, and other semiotic tools. This calls on researchers to look at how respective cycles develop within the Nexus of Practice or intersect with a moment of social action (Hult, 2010). For example, an agenda in a meeting may lead to a conversation followed by a written policy statement that then mediates a series of new actions (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Reflecting on the context of universities, those involved with writing planning or policy internationalization documents will find this cycle familiar. Chan (2009), when analyzing university strategic plans, noted that the document allowed individuals to conceptualize competitiveness and mediate decision making towards institutional change. This observation that written policy may be taken up in either spoken or physical action describes resemiotization (Iedema, 2003; Scollon, 2008) and underpins how an action may move forward or be redefined depending on the individual.

Applying NA to professional development has also resulted in meaningful change for the researchers involved. In Räisänen and Korkeamäki (2015), the first author analyzed her experience of implementing a new approach to teaching within the nexus of practice of herself, her classroom, and the students (Scollon and Scollon, 2004). To analyze the discourses in place, the physical layout of the classroom as well as social expectations of a Finnish classroom, or *habitus* (Blommaert, 2005; Bourdieu, 1990), and the teacher’s control over the classroom (Interaction Order) served as the data. The instructor, who was also one of the primary

researchers, included reflective journaling to capture her experiences with the new curriculum, daily practices, and thoughts (Grundy, 1987). Finally, classroom events and activities were videotaped. Along with including the observation of the discourses in place and the interaction order, the researchers pulled from Grundy (1987), who proposed three motivations, or interests, that underpin a curriculum implementation process (technical, practical, and emancipatory) and could be used to analyze the data further. By reviewing the journals and videos, the researcher teacher was able to identify moments of tension when the traditional expectations of a Finnish classroom met with the new approaches to teaching, as well as when she might be serving one or all of Grundy's (1987) interests. This was accomplished through linking the observed interaction of specific words or sentences (microstructures) performed in the classroom. The videos also allowed the practitioners to observe when she dominated the classroom or gave way to newer collaborative learning techniques (Interaction Order). Findings were collected over the year and cyclically analyzed and related to the instructor's self-reflection on curriculum expectations, as well as Grundy's (1987) suggested interests and guidance from Finland's National Board of Education curriculum documents, ultimately establishing a *semiotic cycle* (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Through highlighting the nexus of classroom room interactions, self-reflection on curriculum, and expectations of traditional classroom teaching in contrast to new teaching practices, this study documented the transformation of old practices to new in which the instructor made changes over time including altering the physical layout of the classroom and favoring new approaches in teaching. The concepts provided by Interaction Order (Goffman, 1983) and habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), according to the authors, provided a foundation to analyze the complex development practices found when attempting to implement a new curriculum (Grundy, 1987).

To my knowledge, there have been no studies describing ELSP development over time through the lens of social action including a holistic, ecological approach that includes elements of internationalization, university partnerships, institutional norms, and agents. Dafouz and Smit (2020; 2006) may provide the best guidance through their analysis of multilingual universities who have implemented English as the Medium of Instruction. Here their work establishes the theoretical underpinning of language ecology, social action, and language policy to introduce a framework that has six components (seen in figure 2-5) intended to assist a researcher in road mapping social actions they observe.

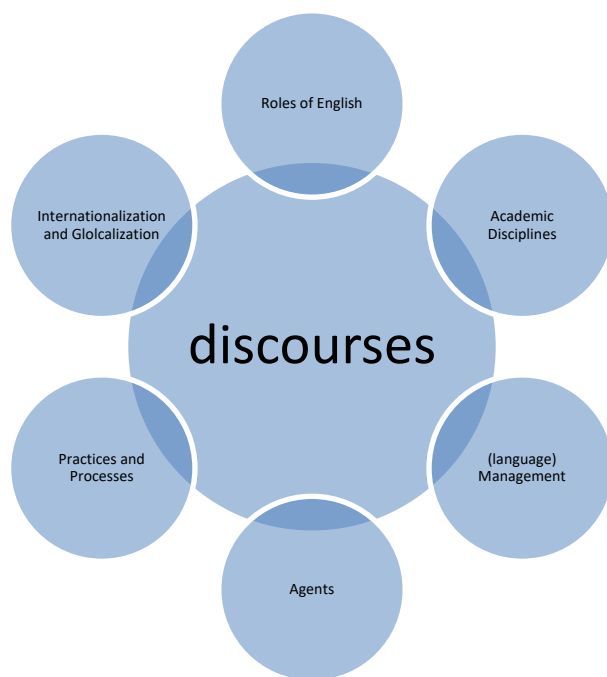


Figure 2-5 Road-Mapping framework for EMEMUS

Adapted from Toward a Dynamic Conceptual Framework for English Medium Education in Multilingual Universities (p. 404), by Dafouz and Smit (2016)

For Dafouz and Smith (2020; 2006), using this framework allows researchers to make connections and adopt multiple perspectives across components while addressing the particulars of an EMI environment. For example, while interviewing, an agent may reference institutional

policy as well as their perspective on the role of English, simultaneously providing the researcher with a roadmap to connect the two discourses. Although Dafouz and Smit (2016) urge researchers to apply this framework so it can be developed and tested, their suggestion to approach educational complexities through an ecological and discourse as social action approach provides insight into how ELSP development could be addressed similarly.

To address this gap in ELSP development research, my study applies approaches found in language planning and policy, linguistic anthropology and sociolinguistics, and corpus linguistics. All of these approaches will fall under the umbrella methodology Nexus Analysis in order to explore discourses that mediate the process of ELSP development. Given the number of elements that might go into an ELSP development project, I believe this approach allows a fuller picture of the process while grounding it in the actual work of program development. Further, by highlighting the fluid nature of the development process, including the discourse scales of society, community, and the individual which mediate the process, I hope to move ELSP development away from a set number of tasks that a developer must complete to a framework that provides flexibility and nimbleness in the face of a change.

Few in applied linguistics or TESOL address ELSPs beyond their research potential until there are large shifts in enrollment. The current state of U.S. ELSPs, unfortunately, is no longer benefiting from high international student enrollment and many ELSPs have closed recently (Redden, 2017, 2018b); this has left some challenges for higher education institutions that rely on ELSPs for not only language support, but cultural and academic acculturation support (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Simpson, 2016). As a result of the lack of conversation about ELSP development flexibility and sustainability, ELSP development as social action remains

unexplored. In order to conduct this study, I established the following questions to guide my preliminary goals and objectives:

1. How do official and de facto policies and assumed norms of language classrooms guide individuals' actions during language program development within the Chinese and U.S. institution?
2. During the process of language program development, what norms of interaction mediate the process within the Chinese and U.S. institution?
3. How do individuals' past learning experiences shape the current ELSP development process within the Chinese and U.S. institution?

As Nexus Analysis itself provides a roadmap for researchers to develop more salient research questions, my final research questions will be presented in Chapter 3.

3 Methodology

This study follows in the ethnographic tradition of Nexus Analysis (Bhalla, 2012; Hult, 2010; Lane, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Scollon and Scollon (2004) that the aims to employ “systematic and ethnographic” tools to “study of the many cycles of discourse that come together to form a nexus of practice” (p. 29). To unpack the later goal of this approach, the aim is to actively participate in a personally, socially meaningful context (nexus of practice) and to “understand how people take actions of various kinds and what are the constraints or the affordances of the mediational means (language, technology, etc.) by which they act” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 21). Beyond simply observing the cycles of discourse and how they might mediate an action, in this case, ELSP development, NA is often referred to as methodological approach with activist tendencies (Lane, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004); in this case, the researcher is not only acknowledged as a participant, but also one who will effect change, in a

hopefully positive manner, on the nexus of practice. Scollon and Scollon (2004) describe the relationship between the researcher and the study as “an intervention, but it is one that does not purport to have a positivist solution” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Given that the goal of this study is to reframe how ELSP development is understood as well as “work through” the current challenge of developing a new ELSP, a NA design seemed the most suitable.

This study followed the recommended three stages for NA *engagement, navigation, and change* proposed by Scollon and Scollon (2004), all three of which include a toolbox of qualitative approaches. For the engagement stage, I followed Scollon and Scollon’s (2004) model, completing five tasks: 1) establish the social issue 2) find the crucial social actors 3) observe the Interaction Order 4) determine significant cycles of discourse and 5) identify the zone of identification (p. 154). While in the engagement stage, I used three guiding questions to explore the social action and to gain a deeper understanding of my participants.

- 1) How do official and de facto policies and assumed norms of language programs guide individuals’ actions during the development within the Chinese and U.S. institution?
(Discourses in Place)
- 2) During the process of language program development, what norms of interaction mediate the process within the Chinese and U.S. institution? (Interaction Order)
- 3) How do individuals’ past learning experiences shape the current ELSP development process within the Chinese and U.S. institution? (Historical Bodies)

The engagement stage in many ways had already begun with my first trip to China where I conducted my needs analysis in 2016. It was over the years working on developing this project that I met and deepened my relationship with participants, identified significant discourses as well as opportunities and challenges within the development process to arrive at three major

areas of interest that I had identified were worthy of analysis: the ELSP establishment, the ELSP implementation, and the future of the ELSP.

Transitioning from the engagement phase to the navigating the nexus of practice, I was able to observe, navigate, and collect data in earnest during the ELSP development (Hult, 2015, 2016; Lane, 2010; Wells & Wong, 2012). With the focus I gained from the engagement phase, I transitioned my general guiding questions to focus on the three significant areas (establishment, implementation, and evaluation); this allowed me to capture how different levels of discourse, *discourse in place, interaction order, and historical bodies* mediated the language program development and discover moments of connections intertextuality, interdiscursivity, and resemiotization (Bhatia, 2012; D. Duff, 2002; Iedema, 2003; Kristeva, 1980; Scollon, 2008). Based on my three areas of focus, I modified my guiding questions to address each area respectively (Table 3-1)

Table 3-1 Research Questions

Area of Focus	Research Questions
Establishment of the ELSP	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) How do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals' actions during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution? 2) How are norms of interaction maintained or transformed during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution? 3) How do individuals' past learning experiences shape ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution?
Implementation of the ELSP	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) How do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals' actions during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution? 2) How are norms of interaction maintained or transformed during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution?

	3) How do individuals' past learning experiences shape the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution?
The Evaluation of the ELSP	1) How do the discourses in place support individuals' actions related to the future of the ELSP?
	2) How are norms of interaction maintained or transformed to support the future of the ELSP?
	3) How do individuals' understandings, beliefs, and values guide the future of the ELSP?

To focus on the establishment of the ELSP, I first regarded the social level of discourse by analyzing newspaper articles and media published during the year 2016. I then thematically analyzed headlines related to education and global engagement as well as applied critical discourse analysis paired with corpus analysis approaches to provide context and balance (Baker et al., 2008; Berger et al., 2017; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2009, 2015; J. Johnson & Partington, 2018). Along with the news media documents, I also collected education policy and language policy documents at the national and institutional level that were in place that supported the creation of the new ELSP. These were also analyzed thematically and often informed by the interviews I conducted with participants. At the interaction order and historical body discourse level, I used interviews and questionnaire data to understand the institutional relationships and past schooling and program development experience of administrators, faculty, and students.

For the implementation phase of the study, I focused on what discourses mediated the actual delivery of the ELSP. The first section focuses on the Chinese college professors who had extensive experience learning English and living abroad (historical bodies), but were also navigating the institution's policy on EMI (discourses in place). Through an analysis of the policies in place along with interviewing the participants, perspectives given by these professors suggested the interaction of these two discourses reveal their current use of English in the

classroom and individual modifications to the EMI policy. The second section focuses on the Chinese students enrolled in the ELSP course delivered by the U.S. graduate school. Through a questionnaire and participant interviews, it was revealed that these individuals, also with extensive English language learning experiences (historical bodies), found themselves navigating both their own ideologies of English as well as expectations to pass national and institutional exams as well as publish (discourses in place). Their reflections and actual lived experience at the Chinese college provided insights into how the curriculum should be revised and how the program could be improved. Finally, the last section provides reflections from the director and a graduate student teacher-in-training who attempted to deliver the curriculum and navigate new surroundings and classroom norms. Through field observations, journaling, videotaping, and interviews the classroom practices of the director and graduate student teacher-in-training both revealed the tension and opportunities that exist within training and delivery of a program.

For the final phase of navigating the nexus of practice, I focused on the evaluation of the program through observing the mediating discourses that impact the sustainability of this ELSP. This was done first by analyzing the newspaper corpus and articles published in 2019. For this, I analyzed the term international and the headlines that occurred while the program was underway using applied critical discourse analysis paired with corpus analysis approaches to provide context and balance (Baker et al., 2008; Berger et al., 2017; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2009, 2015; J. Johnson & Partington, 2018). Along with the analysis of the corpora, I turned to the organization of the institutions and how the interaction of the position of both the Chinese College and the U.S. ELSP both assist the future of the program but also introduce challenges. This was addressed through participant interviews reflecting on barriers and current understandings of the role of ELSP.

This dissertation concludes with the last stage of NA, *Changing the Nexus of Practice*. This stage is defined by the level of engagement and embeddedness of the researcher and aims to understand how the nexus shifted as a result of the engagement. As Scollon and Scollon (2004) suggest, a researcher does not take on a NA unless they are interested in a particular social problem and want to effect and affect change. Part of the change to the nexus of practice is inevitable as by engaging in NA, I influenced the nexus of practice (Lane, 2014; Scollon, 2001; Scollon & Scollon, 2007; Wells & Wong, 2012). I know I also attempted to bring about change both in my program in the U.S. as well as the program in China. In the final chapter of this dissertation, I will revisit the initial objectives and guiding questions as well as introduce a framework to navigate the ELSP development process in light of internationalization.

Before describing each stage of the research, I want to provide some personal background and discuss my researcher positionality in terms of my perspectives and researcher-participant role. I hope this lends some transparency and provides an insight into my efforts to investigate this project with attention to balancing my emic and etic perspectives. Following this will be sections covering the context and background of the study, the guiding research questions, and a discussion of the data collection.

3.1 Researcher Positionality

NA provides a number of tenets to guide a researcher's role during the study. In this approach, it is suggested that a researcher design a study based on relevant personal experiences and contribute to society or to solving a problem. Further, the researcher should actively participate as a member of the selected community; and finally, it should be assumed that through the researcher's participation that the results of the study are co-constructed and influenced (Hult, 2016; Jones, 2012; Källkvist & Hult, 2016; Lane, 2014; Norris, 2002). Here I

will share, what I believe, to be relevant personal and professional background information to contextualize my analysis and relationship to this project.

I grew up in a small, mostly white, English-speaking town on the coast of Oregon. Newport Oregon, although fairly small in population (~8,000 people) with a fishing and tourism industry, is typically liberal-leaning and hosts numerous dance and theatre companies. My upbringing, which I learned later was a bit atypical, included lively left-of-center dinner conversations, attending protests, serving as a Page for my house representative, and raising funds for the local democratic committee. I was an average student with no apparent tendencies towards learning languages (a C-average in Spanish) when two major events shaped my world view. Toward the end of my middle school years and into high school, my small town's demographics changed. Immigrants from Mexico and further South relocated to work the fishing industry in Newport and brought their families with them. Although my grades in Spanish were poor, I befriended a number of new students who were primarily Spanish speaking. They learned quickly that I liked to dance and invited me to join their Ballet Folklórico (traditional dance) troupe. In short time, through the dance troupe's practices and performances, I had to increasingly use more Spanish and as a result, my grades benefited. Beyond that, however, I realized a key for me to learn a language was really through social interaction. My journey towards greater Spanish proficiency was interrupted at sixteen when I was selected as a recipient of a Rotary Exchange scholarship. For a year, I lived and attended high school in Helsinki, Finland. Although I did not realize it at the time, my philosophies of how to learn a language and perhaps how to teach it were formed while in Finland.

I returned to the U.S. with a High Advanced proficiency (based on the ACTFL OPI) in Finnish and the realization that I could not stay in Oregon. With my new found worldview, I was

accepted to Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio a school whose reputation is built on non-traditional schooling, no grades, and a co-op work program. Distinct among co-op programs of its time, Antioch required students to work off-campus every other semester. I took full advantage and spent time in Australia farming and in England studying a writing system called the Language of Dance (Guest, 1983). At Antioch, I also discovered linguistics and a mentor whose theories on language teaching and learning fundamentally changed my career path from one of dance to applied linguistics. At Antioch, it was common to allow students to be language teachers with supervision. A friend of mine who was of Finnish descent wanted to learn Finnish and I was allowed by my mentor at Antioch to enroll in a teacher-in-training course and teach Finnish to my friend. I do think this event, when the institution recognized my ability to share knowledge despite my status, gave me confidence that it is possible to work within institutions and adopt leadership roles. Eventually, my mentor at Antioch guided me towards my Master's in Applied Linguistics degree, officially transitioning me towards a career in ESL.

After my M.A., I deepened my teaching and administration practice through summer in Japan working at a cram school, serving as an academic director and later a director for language schools in Los Angeles, being a business English trainer for Samsung in Korea, and working as a director of an ESL program at a small college in upstate New York. Perhaps, the most significant aspect of this time was my introduction to the world of International Education. While in Los Angeles directing an Intensive English Program, I also became a Designated School Official who could issue student visas and the main contact to facilitate matriculation agreements between my school and my host university. For three years, I took leadership roles in the National Association of Foreign Student Advisors (NAFSA), including Trainer Corps, and met regularly with the president of my host institution on international student matters. This experience planted

the seed that there was a relationship between ESL and internationalization highlighting one of the motivations behind this study that aligns with my personal goals to investigate the position of ELSP within universities. For many ELSPs within the U.S., the downturn in international student enrollment has forced some programs to close or to rethink their delivery models (Benshoff, 2018; Redden, 2017, 2018b); I believe that by making the process of ELSP development more transparent, ELSP administrators may find new ways to navigate opportunities.

Arriving at my current position as director of an English language support program and global engagement at a university here in the Southeast of the United States, I have learned several things about myself as an administrator. Here I am not only directing the ELSP, but I also serve as a member of the senior staff, at the graduate school. This has given me insight into the inner workings of the graduate school including its policy and decision-making process. My role there is not only to represent ELSP but also to inform the group regarding international and multilingual student matters. Previous to my arrival, the senior staff did not have the ELSP director as part of senior staff, I believe that in part my experience running a language school and involvement with NAFSA contributed to this change. Overall, the leadership at the graduate school is a collaborative, discussion-based, decision-making format that I naturally prefer. This is a type of leadership that I have tried to mirror in my own leadership position. I think, in part, that is why I was also attracted to an approach like NA which at its core collapses the position of the researcher and participants as equals. NA can also support goal-oriented research where the impetus is to solve a problem or accomplish a task at hand, which I think naturally lends itself to administrators.

My current position has also ushered my growth as an instructor. Previous to my current position, I was more familiar with ELSPs that were associated with pre-college preparation. My

time at two language schools in Los Angeles introduced me to the world of Intensive English Programs. Further, while at Samsung I was exposed to an English for Specific Purposes curriculum that was designed to prepare employees to work abroad. My only experience with teaching students after they were admitted was in upstate New York, and there the undergraduate international student population I supported was very small so the curriculum could be characterized as general academic English. It is only at my current position that I understood how to employ genre analysis and corpus approaches to tap into what international and multilingual graduate students might need. This experience was also the first time I struggled as an instructor, and for that matter, with a placement test. This ELSP has always used a placement test to identify students in need of additional English language support, but I have realized over time this test is rather problematic. For me, this placement test has come to represent a rather deficit approach to serving a population that has already been admitted by their degree programs and are advanced learners in their own right. This is a topic that is ongoing in our program and within me as a teacher.

Beyond this current role illuminating my administrative and instructional tendencies, obtaining a position at a highly ranked university and leading a graduate-level ELSP evoked a certain amount of imposter syndrome and drove me to pursue my Ph.D. at Georgia State University. I started my Ph.D. program during the second year of my new job and have maintained full-time employment at my university along with a part-time Ph.D. for the past five years. I have spoken extensively to many members of my committee and my colleagues about the impact this decision made on me. It is difficult to articulate how intensely at times I have felt my various academic identities collide where in one day I can be a student-researcher, a teacher, a director, and a member of a graduate school senior staff. It was clear from very early on that

the dissertation project I would adopt would not only represent all these identities but represent a real-world situation found within my job that I wanted to solve.

As a result, this project is relevant to my professional life and my personal goals to understand the relationships between ESL and international education. I am the director of the ELSP featured in this proposal, and thus this introduces some methodological opportunities and challenges for this study. At each step of this process, I have been deeply involved in the development of this program, from negotiating the agreement to developing the curriculum. I have visited the Chinese university three times and have built relationships with the participants involved and as part of my job and my personality, I am committed to the relationships resulting from this experience as well as to the success of the program.

This position challenges the traditional *emic-etic* balance that many researchers aspire to obtain (Heigham & Croker, 2009; Miles et al., 2014; Stake, 1995). For example, it is clear that when I engage in data collection, my relationship with the participants will affect research activities like interviewing and observing, which can pose a challenge (Talmy, 2011). At the same time, many qualitative research traditions have evolved to recognize the goal of pure objectivity may not be possible or even, perhaps, desirable (Heigham & Croker, 2009; Lane, 2010; Miles et al., 2014; Scollon & Scollon, 2007). For me, in this type of study, the objective is not to necessarily find the correct answer but rather to engage in actions embedded in the situation to contribute, effect positive change, and collaborate with all the stakeholders involved (Lane, 2010, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 2007; Wells & Wong, 2012). Although I have this perspective, during this process I took the time to reflect regularly on my role as both the researcher and participant. Through activities like journaling and discussing ideas with

participants, I attempted to obtain some distance so that I did not miss essential elements or perspectives.

I feel that it is also important to turn a critical eye upon myself as I know I come with a number of advantages and disadvantages as a researcher. I was raised in the U.S. and have worked extensively within academia, putting me at an advantage when attempting to understand the U.S. context. Further, I have been employed at my U.S. university for four years and have established an extensive network of administrators, faculty, and students. Interestingly, this dissertation project also has some risks in that it is tied to my job performance. For example, if relationships were strained as a result of conducting research, it could threaten the viability of the program; thus, I took extreme care with my participants. Within the Chinese context, I face a number of disadvantages. I do not speak Mandarin, which limits my interaction with those who are bi/monolingual. Thus, I had to rely on individuals who could translate Mandarin documents or assist with my interviews. Possible misunderstandings and overgeneralizations were essentially mitigated by repeated discussions and clarifications. I was grateful to have had sustained interaction with my participants to ensure we were fully comfortable in discussing points of misunderstanding. In many ways, these are huge challenges and as a result, will not represent the entirety of the development of the ELSP. I will not be aware of every conversation or decision my Chinese colleague may make during the ELSP development, but that is also a fair representation of my lived reality during this project.

3.2 Context and background of the ELSP

This study observed an English Language Support Program development between two contexts: the U.S., where the ELSP and the curriculum developers are based, and in China at a Chinese university where the English course is delivered. Here I will provide background on

each institution from an international, institutional, and local context followed by a summary of the agreement that was established between the two of them to create the new ELSP. After this information is presented, I will detail how data was collected and analyzed.

3.2.1 U.S. university

The U.S. University involved with this study is a private, R1-university located in the Southeast of the United States in an urban center. This university considers itself a truly international university with an international student population around 17% across all the schools and nearly 40 percent of undergraduates participate in a study abroad experience. It also has a former ambassador as a past president and has obtained millions in external research funding to support projects across the globe. The U.S. university has nine schools, including a college, a school of public health, a business school, and a comprehensive graduate school among others. The graduate school has had an ELSP for more than 25 years and has always served matriculated graduate students; hence, it sees itself as a support program rather than a preparatory English language program. In the formative years of the ELSP, the curriculum focused on supporting international teaching assistants (ITA) but throughout the years expanded its mission beyond ITA work to provide communication support within the graduate context, in general, through credit-bearing courses focused on writing at the intermediate level and speaking at the intermediate, advanced, and superior level. Although the curriculum has evolved, this program states in its mission that its primary audience is first-year graduate students. It is also central to the program that all graduate students who have English as an additional language be subject to a placement test to assess if they are required to take ELSP classes in parallel to degree program coursework. The assessment tool used to identify individuals for ELSP classes is a modified American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Oral Proficiency

Interview and a modified Test of Written English adapted from the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) format. Based on a given students' performance, they may be placed into the intermediate or advanced tracks, which could last their entire first year, or be recommended for an elective. For the most part, all accepted, multilingual graduate students, regardless of their program, achieved a minimum score of 100 on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). Thus, the typical profile of the U.S. based ELSP is a majority of graduate students within the STEM fields (Ph.D. and Masters), postdoctoral researchers who have sought out the program, and a handful of graduate students who opted to take optional ELSP courses. The instructors at the ELSP are all faculty equivalent and are comprised of one director (myself) and four faculty members; however, for this dissertation, only the director and a graduate student are participating.

3.2.2 *Chinese university*

The Chinese University included in this study is located in the Southeast of the country near Shanghai in an urban center. On the international stage, this university, according to its website, has established over 200 academic and research institute partnerships around the world and has hosted over 1,800 international teachers and scholars. The university is located in the populous Jiangsu Province which itself has embraced the goal of educational excellence with the highest density of higher education institutions in China while at the same time being the first area to allow the enrollment of international students (Perrin, 2017). The province has worked in tandem with the Chinese Ministry of Education's goals to provide additional scholarships for international students and supplements for professors to instruct in English. In terms of the University's status in China, it benefits from a very positive reputation as a top research institution. This is evidenced through being selected to participate in every national education

funding scheme (e.g. Project 211, Project 985, and National Thousand Global Young Talents) which all aim to increase research capacity and educational quality of a given institution (Perrin, 2017; Yumei, 2010). As a comprehensive university, it provides education across the humanities, social sciences, and the natural sciences. Among its colleges, the one selected for this study is newer and focused on Engineering and Applied Sciences. During its creation, this college was selected to pilot the university internationalization initiatives that included among many goals: increasing the research quality and rank, hiring faculty from abroad, establishing future-oriented engineering degree-programs, creating partnerships with international universities. In addition to these goals, the college committed to increasing the number of courses in English or use English as the Medium of Instruction (EMI) to deliver core content for the undergraduates. Finally, the college adopted a qualification for graduation that required Ph.D.'s and master's students to publish in a peer-reviewed journal, often in English.

3.2.3 The agreement between the two international colleges

The motivation to create an ELSP for the Chinese college was twofold: the first was to continue the growth of international partnerships and the second as a solution to the potential challenge of the publication requirements for the graduate students and the EMI policy for faculty and student body. For the undergraduate EMI courses, there were concerns that the student body would not be fully prepared to understand and participate in English courses. Additionally, many professors felt supporting research writing for the graduate students was a bit outside of their wheelhouse. In 2016, the Chinese college approached the U.S. ELSP to create a tailored English support course for their graduate and undergraduate students. As a result of this proposal, I have visited China three times, once to conduct a needs analysis (2016), once to pilot the curriculum (2018), and a final time to implement the curriculum (2019). One will note a

rather large gap between the needs analysis in 2016 and the first pilot in 2018. During this time both institutions were deeply engaged with negotiating the program logistics, costs, and personnel. Although this seems like a long time, international agreements take time to move from the idea to the final product. In the end, for the 2018 pilot and 2019 program, the agreement between the institutions stated that an individual(s) from the U.S. institution, including a graduate student, would travel to the Chinese college and deliver courses for both undergraduate students and graduate students. For the undergraduate courses, content would be aligned with the students' EMI course work both in terms of content and also in support of their classroom engagement as requested by the Chinese college. The graduate curriculum would focus on research article writing primarily through one-on-one consultations but it also contained workshops to cover some best practices. Financially, the Chinese college covered the costs of staffing, travel, and housing while the U.S. graduate school covered visa costs, food, and training of visiting instructors.

Now, having described my researcher positionality and the context and background of my study, I will turn to how I arrived at my study as well as how I collected and analyzed the data. In the next section, I will cover three stages of data collection using the framework provided by Nexus Analysis: engagement, navigating the nexus of practice, and changing the nexus. In the following sections, I will detail a variety of ethnographic and corpus linguistic data I collected to represent the three dimensions (social, community, and individual) including newspaper corpora, policy documents, ethnographic interviews, questionnaire, and videos of classrooms, field notes, and journals. Finally, after presenting the data collection techniques and how they align with different dimensions, I will present how I analyzed each context to answer my research questions.

3.3 Stage 1: Engaging in ELSP development

The engagement stage is characterized as the initial work that can help a researcher narrow the discourses and individuals involved to establish the nexus. It is conducted with the aim of identifying a social action (s) worthy of study. This process allowed me to locate multiple sites and agents involved in the study as well as narrowing down my three areas of focus. The engagement stage, for me, started with the initial visit from an administrator from the Chinese university who asked if our ELSP might be interested in creating an ELSP in China. The following spring of 2016, my understanding of the context and participants deepened when I visited China to conduct a needs analysis. The process was intensive and included multiple class observations and interviews with administrators, faculty, and students in China over three weeks, ultimately justifying the agreement between the two schools which took months to negotiate. Scollon and Scollon (2004) suggested that during this stage, the researcher should be exploring what is possible, speaking with participants and participating in social action, in this case, ELSP development (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Between the needs analysis in 2016 and the pilot course in 2018, I was not only engaged in creating the curriculum, but also reading news stories about the two countries in both U.S. publications and Chinese English publications to understand themes or topics that stood out as influencers on the ELSP project. In 2018, after seemingly thousands of emails and phone calls, I visited China again to pilot the curriculum. It was perhaps at this time, I was at a place in my doctoral dissertation that I began to consider this project as a possible study worthy of a Nexus Analysis. As the time came to propose this dissertation, I reflected on what key incident or salient moment(s) could be the focus within the nexus of practice. I also kept in mind, as recommended by NA researchers, not to focus on just one moment or action, as central to establishing relationships between individuals, discourse, and

action in order to understand how the moments connect or create new key incidents (Hult, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). By this point, I had established my primary goals and objectives to guide this process. During the engagement stage, I kept these three questions in mind: 1) how do official and de facto policies and assumed norms of language classrooms guide individuals' actions during language program development within the Chinese and U.S. institution?, 2) during the process of language program development, what norms of interaction mediate the process within the Chinese and U.S. institution?, and 3) how do individuals' past learning experiences shape the current ELSP development process within the Chinese and U.S. institution? Below, each of Scollon and Scollon's (2004) engagement steps are detailed. There are five in total: 1) establishing the social issue, 2) finding crucial social actors, 3) observing the interaction order, 4) determining significant cycles of discourse, and 5) locating the zone of identification.

3.3.1 Establishing the social issue

Through spending significant time in both institutions, speaking to potential participants, reading the news, running the pilot, and crafting the final agreement that would result in launching the program in 2019, I became curious about the role and function of my ESL program for my institution's internationalization efforts and to what extent did my ELSP have any agency during the partner agreement process? This reflection began to shape what I saw were major social issues (Scollon & Scollon 2004) that could hone my nexus analysis and possibly effect change drawing from critical traditions and a desire to contribute to the welfare of humankind, or in this case, contribute to the welfare of ELSP development (Hymes, 1974; Lane, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

3.3.2 *Finding crucial social actors*

Regarding establishing social actors as I have been engaged in this project for over two years, I have access to administrators and faculty central to this effort in both institutions. As with many qualitative approaches, I positioned myself as both a participant as an observer. Lane (2014) describes participant observation as both a within and outside perspective in which the researcher is seeking to understand as an insider but analyzing as an outsider; however, as suggested by many in this tradition, the study itself is a co-constructed experience where the researcher is not able to remain fully objective. Individuals and their actions are central to nexus analysis and so it is suggested that the researcher rely heavily on participant-observation (Hymes, 1985; Lane, 2014) to gain entry into the action, or the nexus of practice (Scollon & Scollon, 2001). In general, to fully capture the scales involved in this project, a range of individuals with different levels of power should be included (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Menken & Garcia, 2010; Shohamy, 2006). Thus, following suggestions of Pennington and Hoekje (2010) and Haan (2009), this study included participants ranging from university administrators and faculty to students at both institutions who were directly involved in the ELSP development. Below is a list of participants, their titles in relation to their role in the ELSP (some participants were faculty but served in administrative positions for this project) and the institution with which they were affiliated.

Table 3-2 Interview Participants Organized by Institution

Institution	Participant	Details
Chinese College	Administrator 1	Long serving administrator and faculty with expertise in graduate students
Chinese College	Administrator 2	Newer administrator and faculty member with expertise in internationalization
Chinese College	Administrator 3	Administrator with expertise in the administrative aspects of the Chinese college
Chinese College	Faculty 1	Faculty with teaching, lab, and research responsibilities including academic writing class
Chinese College	Faculty 2	Faculty with teaching, lab, and research responsibilities
Chinese College	Faculty 3	Faculty with mostly lab and research responsibilities, some teaching including academic writing class
Chinese College	Faculty 4	Faculty with mostly lab and research responsibilities, some teaching
Chinese College	Faculty 5	Faculty with mostly lab and research responsibilities, some teaching
Chinese College	Student 1	Graduate Student
Chinese College	Student 2	Graduate Student
Chinese College	Student 3	Undergraduate Student
Chinese College	Student 4	Undergraduate Student
Chinese College	Student 5	Undergraduate Student
U.S. College	Administrator 4	Administrator with expertise in both the graduate school and university
U.S. College	Administrator 5	Administrator with expertise in internationalization
U.S. College	Administrator 6	Administrator with expertise in internationalization
U.S. College	Faculty 6	Graduate Student Teacher-in-Training

3.3.3 Observing the interaction order

It is within those moments of action that observing the interaction order will become of interest, as it is assumed that individuals behave differently in different contexts (Goffman, 1983; Lane, 2010). Scollon and Scollon (2014) recommend asking questions like “are people usually alone or in small groups?, or, do these actions occur in task groups or teams?” (p. 155). In the

current proposal, one might observe that a variety of contexts, meeting with senior leadership, solitary work on curriculum, refinement of that curriculum with a larger group at the language program, discussion of the curriculum with Chinese faculty, could alter how the language administrator interacts. This observation can be achieved through videotaping, audio recording, or analyzing email conversations.

In terms of identifying relevant discourses, one needs to keep in mind the polysemic definition adopted in Nexus Analysis. On one hand, discourse in this context does include a linguistic study of individual perspectives and texts but it should also include how those belong or are informed by society and shared habits of thought (Lane, 2014; Scollon, 2001). When a researcher engages within the nexus of practice, they should gain access to these along with the cultural tools (language, signs, movement, classrooms), or mediated means, that are important to the participants (Lane, 2014; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Through my own engagement, discourses of internationalization, global mobility, and academic English have been revealed along with their mediated means (primarily spoken and written language) that flow through this project. Regarding the textual evidence, one can include various documents (official reports, needs analysis, internal notes from the director of the ELSP) as well as communications (personal journal of researcher, emails and meetings) as artifacts that have different scales of discourse embedded within them. For example, with this project, the texts I created during the initial establishment as well as institutional documents such as the U.S. university's international strategic plan reveal possible discourses in place.

3.3.4 Determining significant cycles of discourse

Scollon and Scollon (2004) recognize that the social action, in this case the process of implementing an ELSP curriculum, resides at the center of three types of discourse: historical

body, the interaction order, and discourses in place (Hult, 2017). Within this space may reside a number of topics so it is suggested that a researcher should take steps to identify, out of the discourses present, which discourses mediate the social action. As a central part of navigating the nexus of practice includes interviews and questionnaires, I used the engagement stage to test possible interview or questionnaire questions. To do this, Scollon and Scollon (2004) recommends that a researcher conduct a focus group with a similar but different group of participants to check if the ideas and questions resonate. According to Scollon and Scollon (2004) “if you have been careful in your preceding work, these focus groups will mostly confirm your thinking” (p. 158). Although I did not hold such a formal focus group, discussions with my Chinese colleagues about the types of questions that resonated functioned in the same manner. Although Scollon and Scollon (2004) suggest it is difficult to determine the significant cycles of discourse as multiple discourses may be flowing through an action (Hult, 2015), a researcher in this stage should recognize that the different scenes (e.g. a classroom, an office) may evoke different discourses. Through the act of observation, one should attempt to narrow down the potential central discourses by focusing on the intersection between interaction order and historical bodies of the individuals. To do this, Scollon and Scollon (2004) recommend asking questions like: where do participants spend their time?, are there locations important to my study? in order to gain insight into the interaction order. Following this, a researcher can reflect on how participants modify their approaches depending on who is around them and what space they are in. Simply, the best way to merge these two elements and identify the discourses in place is to follow participants around and observe.

3.3.5 *Locating the zone of identification*

Scollon and Scollon (2004) define Zone of Identification as the moment where the nexus of practice can be merged with the researcher being accepted as a legitimate participant. This step is significant in that it allows the researcher to take a focused and systematic or a “point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from the moment of social action” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p.159). In other words, by this point, the researcher should know what nexus of practice they want to study and should be a full member of the community to do so. Following an ecological approach to ELSP frameworks, this study will trace the nexus of practice of ELSP development through an ecological perspective of 1) ELSP establishment 2) ELSP implementation and 3) ELSP evaluation (Brown, 2016; Dafouz & Smit, 2020; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). To capture the processes, I will approach each ELSP stage at the societal, community, and individual level. While previous studies investigating English language program development and internationalization have highlighted a number of critical issues, adding the approach of nexus analysis further allows one to understand the creation and implementation of the language program as the social action that can capture how individuals use their personal experiences, tools of communication, and contextual realities to not only possibly influence the language program but possibility expand institutional understandings of internationalization and language support (Wells & Wong, 2012).

3.4 Stage 2: Navigating ELSP development

Navigating the Nexus of Practice is where the bulk of data collection happened (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). NA serving as a type of umbrella methodology, or what Hult (2016) calls a meta-methodology, I gathered data at the social, community, and individual dimensions within

the ELSP process. Below is a description of the various data types I collected aligned with the scale of discourse (societal, community, or individual) that they could represent: the social scale (news sources and policy documents), followed by the community and the individual scale (ethnographic interviews, questionnaires, classroom observations, and video recordings, field notes, and journals).

3.4.1 News sources

Following the suggestion of Scollon and Scollon (2004), I surveyed news to illuminate what discourses in place might broadly gather news coverage that addresses international education within and between the U.S. and China. I was already aware of some of the main stories addressing international education in both the U.S. and Chinese newspapers as I had been reading a variety of sources since 2016. In order to gather relevant news, Nexis Uni, a database of 5,000 news, legal and business sources, was used to construct three corpora: a Chinese newspaper Corpus in English and U.S. newspaper corpus in English, and a corpus dedicated to the U.S. institution firing two professors. The first two corpora, now to be referred to as the English Newspaper Corpus and the Chinese Newspaper Corpus, were crafted following the principles of building smaller specialized corpora (Berger et al., 2017; Cornut et al., 2012; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2009). For these corpora, I included newspapers, web news, and magazines, and journals that were collected between the dates of April 1st, 2016, and June 30th, 2019. This time span was used to parallel the period between the initial needs analysis and the most recent iteration of the program. My decision to include mostly traditional news sources from Nexis Uni was based on the assumption that print newspapers, online newspapers, magazines, and journals were easily accessible upon publication for a given general population as well as often searchable later online thus, having a longer impact on shaping discourses in

place. Radio and television transcripts, newswires, and blogs were excluded based on their ethereal nature or unlikelihood of them being read by a large swath of a given population.

To build the corpora, the advanced search function within Nexis Uni was used. Using the first menu within Nexis Uni, I selected only 'news' should be searched and used the advanced menu to conduct an initial search using specific content words; these words were: *Chin*(-a-nese)*, *Education*, *United States (U.S.)* and *student(s)*. These content words were selected based on generality as it related to the context of the study but also were informed by the engagement phase of the study. In order for a newspaper article to be included in the search, a combination of all these content words had to exist in the source. Given that the search command required each article to have these four words present, I can propose my English U.S. newspaper corpus and my Chinese newspaper corpus have the general topic of education as it relates to both the U.S. and China.

Once this initial search was complete, I used the options to narrow down my selection using publication type (including only newspapers, online newspapers, journals, and magazines), and then by region (North America or Asia), and then finally specific news sources associated with the respective country. The first two corpora pulled up larger, more popular newspapers with a wider readership. After the advanced search process was complete, the full-length documents were downloaded in a word format, and duplicates removed. Individual articles were then cleaned by removing articles, titles, and additional information like authors before being reformatted into simple text documents. To further reduce instances of duplication and prepare for the corpus analysis, I removed any metadata from the text documents, including titles, publication date, newspaper name, and copyright text using the software R using library Magrittr (Bache & Wickham, 2014); I commanded this information to populate an excel spreadsheet,

leaving me clean text documents that could be analyzed using Antconc (Anthony, 2019) and an excel document to analyze article titles.

The term international(-ize,-ation) was used to drive the search for the first two corpora in order to view the term within its concordance lines, headlines, and in context (Berger et al., 2017; J. Johnson & Partington, 2018). As Knight (2004) noted, the definition of internationalization is constantly shifting based on the context and the individual defining it, so using this procedure, in part, I observed how this topic during this time was represented at the societal scale. Each concordance line and the headline were coded functionally using iterative processes (Barbieri, 2008) and then read within the context of the full article and analyzed in terms of positive or negative orientations (Baker et al., 2008; Gee, 2011, 2011). In other words, concordance lines were coded openly followed by a second iteration of coding to identify themes and group them categorically.

The third corpus was built during the implementation stage following the same procedures above, except using a specific name of a university that was embroiled with a major news story related to firing two professors of Chinese origin. This event was important to capture as the university involved was also the home university for the ELSP. When the university name was included, two additional U.S. publications were pulled up by Nexis Uni: the Atlanta Constitution Journal and the Chronicle of Higher Education. Nexis Uni, although containing a huge database, does limit the type of newspapers available as one narrows their selection, so it took multiple searches to pull up a representative number of newspaper publications to create the two corpora. A summary of the newspapers represented are presented in 3-3 along with their self-reported circulation on their respective websites and suggested “slant”, or if the coverage tends to be left, center or right-leaning as defined through the website e Media Bias Fact Check

(*Media Bias Chart, 2019; Media Bias/Fact Check - Search and Learn the Bias of News Media, n.d.*).

Table 3-3 News Sources Included in Initial Corpora Search

U.S. Sources	# of Articles	Circulation	Slant
New York Times	646	571,500 (daily, 2016) 1,087,500 (Sunday, 2016) 2,900,000 (digital-only, 2018)	Leans left
Washington Post	187	356,768 (daily, 2015)	Leans left
Washingtonpost.com	183	838,014 (Sunday, 2013) 1,000,000 (Digital, 2018)	Leans left
Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN)	147	184,000 (daily, 2007)	Leans left
Dayton Daily News (Ohio)	132	80,712 (M-W, 2001) 133,393 (Th, 2001) 98,831 (Fr, 2001) 92,186 (Sat, 2001) 139,989 (Sun, 2001)	Center
Atlantic Online	129	478,534 (2018)	Leans Left
Total # Articles			1,424
After removing duplicates			949
Chinese Sources			
China Daily	1,180	600,000 (international, 2019) 300,000 (domestic, 2019)	Leans left Questionable Source
South China Morning Post	155	105,347 (daily, 2016) 82,117 (Sunday, 2016)	Leans left mixed source
South China Morning Post.com	229	17,000 (digital, 2019)	Leans left mixed source
People's Daily Online	159	3 million (online 2019)	Right-Wing Mixed source
China Business News	120	Daily online	unknown
Total # Articles			1,723
After removing duplicates			1,232

3.4.2 Policy Documents

During the engagement stage of this study, I discovered several policy documents that either defined a purpose of a given unit, such as the ELSP mission statement, or provided recommendations for the institution to follow, such as international strategic plans. As the study progressed, during the navigation stage, language policy documents and education policy documents were collected based on relevance but also as the result of participant interviews. The data from the interviews also served as a means to gain some understanding of the policies and the practice of that policy. In order to be added to this study, the text needed to be publicly available in print or on institutional and governmental websites. If documents were only published in Chinese, they were translated into English using google translate and verified through member checking. The one addition to this category that is not strictly a policy, is an internal 2016 needs analysis report I completed during the establishment phase. Summaries from this document will be used as part of the analysis in the ELSP implementation, Chapter 6. The documents and their locations are listed in Table 3-4.

Table 3-4 Education and Language Policy Documents Used for Analysis

Institution	Name of Policy	Source
China	Strengthening Undergraduate Teaching in Higher Education and Improving Teaching Quality	Chinese Ministry of Education Website
	Thousand Talents	Chinese Ministry of Education Website
	University Mission Statement	Institutional Website
	College Mission Statement	Institutional Website
U.S.	International Strategic Plan	Institutional Website

Graduate School Mission Statement	Institutional Website
ELSP Mission Statement	Institutional Website
2016 ELSP Needs Analysis	Internal Document

3.4.3 *Ethnographic interviews*

Following the principles set forth by Seidman (1991), this study employed semi-structured interviews that touched on the interviewees' personal past experiences related to the project, their current lived experience, and reflection to tap into the potential a historical bodies discourse and understandings of interaction order and discourses in place concerning ELSP development. In total, I conducted 16 interviews with crucial actors (section 3.3.2). Participants included faculty and administrators, and students associated with the Chinese institution as well as faculty and administrators in the U.S. institution (Table 3-2). The semi-structured format was selected to provide a balance between structured questions and dialogue (Finn & Avni, 2016; McCarty, 2015; Zakhir & O'Brien, 2017) and allowed me to focus carefully on listening and follow-up questions (Starfield, 2010). Participants were recruited through two main means. Faculty and administrators were recruited through direct emails to individuals that I knew and were involved in the establishment of the ELSP (Appendix B) while students were recruited through a general posting on WeChat groups (Appendix B.1), an online social media platform, associated with the ELSP class and content English classes. During the recruitment, in all cases, participants were offered the opportunity to conduct the interviews either in English or Chinese and they confirmed their language of choice before the interview took place. Once a participant was confirmed we used email or WeChat to set a time and conduct the interview in a private location such as their school office or a private room and consent forms were provided in both

languages (Appendix B.3, B.4). I used a professional translation company for the Chinese documents to ensure correctness and comprehensibility. The interview questions were informed by my knowledge of the context as well as the educational policies in place from the respective schools. I specifically asked administrators and faculty about their previous language learning experiences (historical bodies) as well as their daily experiences in relation to their particular positions at the institution along with the future of the ELSP (interaction order) and their relationship to institutional goals like internationalization (discourses in place). For students, I specifically asked about their past and present English language learning experiences, their motivations to attend the ELSP classes (historical bodies), and their understandings of institutional policies (discourses in place) (interview questions: Appendix B.4). At times, due to my familiarity with the participants, the interviews transitioned from semi-structured to unstructured (Talmy, 2011). During these times, if the participant strayed from my original questions, I allowed them to talk about related topics or provide details of their choosing such as government educational policy, classroom management, and promotion of the ELSP. Participant interviews began in the U.S. in March 2019 until mid-June, while interviews commenced in China during May. Following each interview, I recorded field notes (3.4.6) to capture features about the setting, actions I felt were particularly salient, and statements that seemed related to my research questions. From the audio-recordings, I transcribed the interviews including false starts and incomplete sentences. The interview transcriptions were then shared with the respective participant to provide respondent validation (P. Duff, 2006; McCarty, 2015). Depending on the location of the participant, we had an opportunity to review the transcript, add clarification, make corrections, and add additional information before analysis.

3.4.4 *Questionnaire*

To further tap into the individual scale within the Chinese context, a questionnaire was distributed to both the graduate and undergraduate Chinese students using Qualtrics. The questionnaire aimed to gather how historical bodies and discourses in place mediate the student experiences of English as a Second language learning, EMI, and internationalization. The questions were modified from the previous needs analysis conducted in 2016, along with the questions posed in Zakhir & O'Brien (2017) and categorized by either discourse in place or historical bodies (Hult, 2016; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and contained questions with subscales scores as well as open-ended questions for participants to elaborate on experiences (Ajsic & McGroarty, 2015). The questions could be broken down into four main categories including 1) motivations to study English before university 2) general opinions of English language usage and support at the university 3) opinions and opportunities to use English during content classes 4) opinions and opportunities to use English in the ELSP course. Before the questionnaire was distributed in China, it was piloted with a colleague from the Confucius Institute based on the same U.S. campus. The pilot resulted in refining a few questions in English and edits to the Chinese version.

Once in China, in May, the Qualtrics questionnaire was distributed through Wechat groups, a social media platform, associated with the ELSP course, and other English Medium of Instruction courses. Students who were recruited using WeChat received a targeted message that also clearly indicated that all responses were anonymous and had no impact on the course grade (Appendix C). To recruit students attending EMI courses, if faculty indicated they used some English in their classrooms during the participant interviews, I asked if they were willing to share the recruitment message. In total, three professors shared the recruitment message with their

class. In the end, the questionnaire was distributed to two English Language Support classes (one undergraduate and one graduate) totaling 20 students; also, three undergraduate content classes (two based in the sciences and one focused on the arts).

A total of 44 students responded to the first questionnaire. Twelve of the respondents did not complete the questionnaire and were removed from the data set. The questionnaire and consent form are listed in Appendix C.1 in English and Appendix C.2 in Chinese. Appendix C.3 provides descriptive statistics on a number of the questions.

3.4.5 Classroom teaching

Following the examples of Hult (2007) and Räisänen & Korkeamäki (2015), video and audio were used to record the undergraduate English language support class in China. This data was to primarily capture the interaction order between myself, the graduate student teacher-in-training (who will now be referred to as Faculty 6), and the students. A total of two, one-hour undergraduate classroom events were videotaped, one on May 15th and one on May 25th, using an iPad in the back of the room. Before the videotaping commenced, a formal informational notice was read to the students describing the research and to review the consent form. A Chinese translator was present to answer any questions regarding the study or the videotaping process (Appendix D). Students were provided consent forms in both English and Chinese (refer to Appendix D.1, D.2). In each classroom event, I commenced recording at the beginning of the class and stopped at approximately the one-hour mark. I captured myself, Faculty 6, and the students. During the recording, I also took field notes focusing on Faculty 6 or student talk time as well as the student and Faculty 6's participation. Following the class, Faculty 6 and I would discuss the lesson including what we felt worked and what did not work in as well as the amount of student engagement. These reflections were also included in my field notes. The videos were

transferred from my iPad and viewed with VLC media player where I repeatedly watched the video. During the initial views of the recorded video, I took descriptive notes such as “instructor is at the front of the classroom eliciting answers from the students and writing on the board” (field notes 5.18.2019). After the videos had been descriptively notated, I recorded the times where I observed classroom participation including the frequency of students speaking to students, students speaking to the instructor, and the physical use of the room.

3.4.6 Field notes and journaling

During all phases of this study, I kept field notes and a journal. Heigham and Croker (2009) suggest field notes are an essential tool for any ethnographically motivated work as the researcher can collect “meticulous descriptions of the context, participants, and events they witness” (p. 960). I used field notes to document these additional descriptions for both the interviews and classroom events with special attention to what was happening in the environment rather than on my interpretation of the happenings. For the interviews, I would start my field notes immediately after the interview taking note of the room, the individual I was interviewing, and any connections to other data they may have mentioned. These notes were later used to expand the types of policies I might need to analyze as well as provide additional context and deepen my understanding of the situation for the analysis phase (Copland, 2018). When it came to the classroom, my field notes focused on Faculty 6, the classroom, and the students. The field notes supplemented the two video recordings but also included observations on the post-course conversations and classes I did not record. After I collected my field notes, I returned to them for the analysis to provide a thick description of the study (Geertz, 1973) and to support my larger write up (Copland, 2018; Miles et al., 2014).

In parallel with the field notes, I also maintained a journal almost daily during the month of May. I typically journaled at night anywhere from 10 minutes to 30 minutes to reflect on the events of the day. The journal was also a medium to voice my concerns, stresses, successes, and lived experience during the ELSP development process (Dyment & O'Connell, 2014; Richards & Farrell, 2005) and so represented my historical bodies discourse concerning ELSP development. As I also served as a teacher for the ELSP, I would use my journal at times to reflect on the lesson or the students in an interpretive manner. Although not all the parts of the journal were related to this study, returning to the entries to understand my feelings at the time helped me gain some objectivity during analysis. Appendix A provides a summary of the three nexus points, research questions with scales of discourse aligned with the data sources provided above.

3.5 Stage 3: Change in the ELSP nexus of practice

As covered in my researcher positionality statement, the NA researcher is not only acknowledged as a participant, but also as one who will affect change, in a hopefully positive manner, on the nexus of practice. Here, following Scollon and Scollon's (2004) suggestions, I went beyond the typical discourse analysis and viewed my practice and navigation through the ELSP development process as actions that should be addressed by not only me but also participants involved in the process. Change is understood through re-engagement after the nexus analysis has been completed and acted upon in collaboration with participants. This stage of nexus analysis will be addressed, in part, in Chapter 7.

3.6 Analysis

“A Nexus Analysis can be a challenging enterprise because in some real sense just about everything we might know about can circulate through any particular moment of human interaction” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 19)

The analysis of a NA study is often characterized by large amounts of data to be analyzed. As with most studies of this nature, the collection and analysis are frequently performed in a recursive or iterative process (Hult, 2016; Martin-Jones, Andrews, & Martin, 2016; Starfield, 2010). Nexus analysis may fold back in on itself as actions are not necessarily seen as something that happen at one point in time, but rather represent discourses from the past that resonate into the future (Hult, 2015; Lane, 2010; Lemke, 2000). Thus, a primary aim is to understand the relationship between the larger unfolding socio-political-cultural issues, social interaction, and the study of individuals and the social actions they take. Described below are the steps I took to map how people, places, discourses, objects and concepts circulated (Lane, 2014; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) in order to observe, as recommended by Scollon and Scollon (2004), how all the elements in place produced a particular action and how discourses were transformed or resemiotized from one action to another. This was accomplished overall by first analyzing the data by itself and then triangulating it to find points of connection across the dimensions. I have broken up my analysis chapter to include the three areas of focus (the establishment, implementation, and evaluation) but I should note that my final chapter, Chapter 7, will return to the process as a whole to reflect on all three sections.

3.6.1 *ELSP establishment*

The establishment focuses on the time between the initial discussions of the ELSP to the creation of the official agreement. This section describes the separate data analysis at the societal, community, and individual scales and then how that data was triangulated.

Following examples from Dafouz & Ute (2016), Hult and Kallkvist (2016), and Hult (2010), I located discourses at the societal scale from the data found in the newspapers and educational and language policies found at the national and institutional levels. For the discourse at this level, a combination of critical discourses analysis and corpus approaches were employed to provide a richer, more balanced analysis (Baker et al., 2008; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2009).

For the establishment section, I only analyzed newspaper articles published in 2016 to represent the beginning of the development process. Newspaper headlines pulled from the corpora using R and were coded first broadly and then re-read and grouped into categories and sorted by topic and frequency (J. Johnson & Partington, 2018; Miles et al., 2014). Turning to the respective corpora, newspaper articles cleaned of any extraneous information with the term *international* (-ize, -ation) were identified using Anconc (Anthony, 2019). Each concordance line was then analyzed separately within its respective collocation following the approaches found in Berger et al. (2017), Fitzsimmons-Doolan (2009, 2015), and Johnson and Partington (2018). Here, I thematically coded concordance lines and applied critical discourse analysis to identify themes to understand how the discourse of international* was both normalized as well as critiqued within the context of the higher education landscape.

Parallel to this, I thematically analyzed specific education and language policies found at both the national and institutional levels. This included Chinese educational policies such as *Strengthening Undergraduate Teaching in Higher Education and Improving Teaching Quality* or

institutional statements on the Thousand Talents program, institutional mission statements and policies; and from the U.S. side: *University International Strategic Plan, Graduate School Mission Statement, and the ELSP Mission Statement* (full list of policies in Table 3-4). The analysis was applied with attention to how text can be understood as an actual actionable policy (Ball, 1993; Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Vaara et al., 2010) and thus had potential power over actors. This approach revealed what discourses in place were present and could be drawn upon to guide social practices. These observations revealed the impact of the global economy, university partnerships, and global engagements as well as the impact of English as an academic lingua franca on practices related to ELSP development.

Once societal discourses were identified, I used the context of the ELSP establishment and analyzed it in the spirit of interaction order. Hult (2015) reminds us that the interaction order functions as a bridge between the discourses in place and the historical bodies. Here, I sought to understand how participants related to each other in terms of power and position. I hypothesized that although the discourses in place were present the relationships between individuals may create *de facto* policies to enable the agreement (Baldauf, 1994; Saarinen, 2017). I also took care to observe the negotiating process of the ELSP and how instances of intertextuality or interdiscursivity were either underrepresented or foregrounded (Blommaert & Huang, 2011; Dafouz & Smit, 2020; Hult, 2015; Scollon, 2008). Participant interviews were coded and analyzed in terms of how individuals referred to their role in the establishment process using NVivo, a software tool for qualitative analysis. My coding procedures included rereading the transcripts multiple times keeping the theme establishment in mind with the support of Nvivo. Interview coding began first broadly and then was grouped together thematically (Miles et al.,

2014). This process revealed a number of agents whose relationships between each other, with or without institutional support, mediated the establishment process.

Finally, following principles of illuminating the main actors involved in the ELSP development process and their historical bodies (Blommaert & Huang, 2011), I analyzed the interviews, questionnaire, and my field notes, to tap into the past experiences that might have mediated the process (Bhalla, 2012; Dafouz & Smit, 2016, 2020; Fuentes, 2016; Liddicoat, 2016; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015). Interviews were again coded and thematically grouped using Nvivo with the focus on past language learning experiences, ELSP, and internationalization development experiences; results were used to trace intertextuality or interdiscursivity upward.

The final step in the engagement analysis was to take the separate dimensions and triangulate them to identify major discourses mediating the establishment of the ELSP. To address the *question how do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals' actions during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution?*, the participant interviews were analyzed in conjunction with the discourses in place such as the mission statements, to reveal to what extent the explicit or de facto policies supported the establishment (Baldauf, 1994; Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Liddicoat & Baldauf, 2008). To address, *how norms of interaction were maintained or transformed during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution?*, I used the official positions of the participants, their roles in the establishment process in relation to the discourses in place to observe how they navigated the establishment process. Finally, to address the question *how do individuals' past learning experiences shape ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution?*, data from the interviews that tapped into the participants' experiences covering their professional history, language learning and time studying abroad were linked to the

discourse in place justifying the establishment of an ELSP. During the entire analysis phase where I observed how the policy documents, news articles, and interviews intersected, I used my field notes to confirm common themes and help myself maintain some distance and researcher reflexivity during data collection activities. Chapter 4 provides detail in how these elements resulted in the major mediating discourses that underpinned the establishment of the ELSP and the figure below (3-1) visually represents the intersection between the dimensions with the research questions answered in Chapter 4, The Establishment.

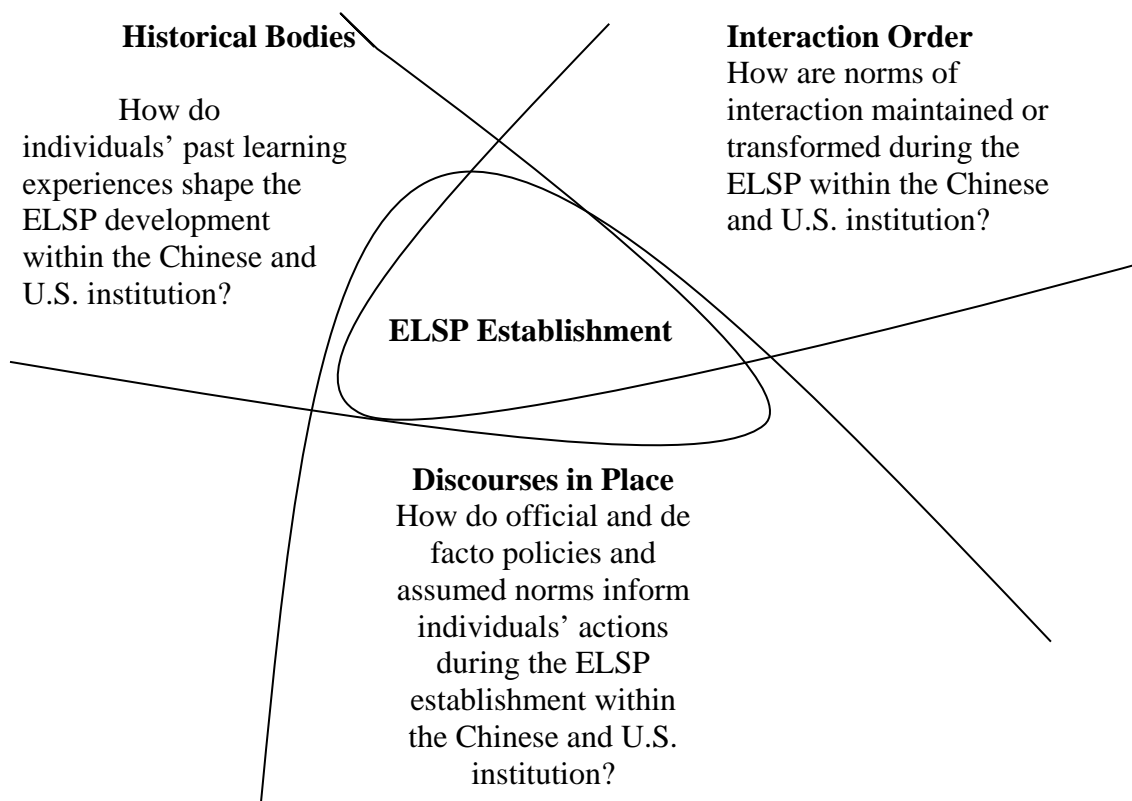


Figure 3-1 Guiding Questions for ELSP Establishment

3.6.2 *ELSP implementation*

The implementation stage of the ELSP focuses on the data collected just before Faculty 6 and I departed for China in April until the end of May 2019 when we delivered the program. To contextualize and illuminate the discourses in place, policy documents, a questionnaire, and interviews were used to identify the ideologies around academic English and academic testing. Data from these documents were coded thematically to identify statements that either described or evaluated English as the de facto language of academia. In particular, data, both the policy and statements from the interviews, were analyzed to characterize the EMI policy in place at the Chinese college. Following this, I analyzed the books and associated documents that I used to create my initial needs analysis and curriculum 2016 with the aim to reveal my own assumptions and values of EAP and ELSPs (Basturkmen, 2006, 2010; Brown, 2016; Swales & Feak, 2012). Finally, the classroom video and audio was notated to describe the norms of the classroom in terms of layout and location of the classrooms within the Chinese university (Hult, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Once salient discourses were uncovered at the social scale, I then considered the classroom level to investigate the interactional relationship between the policies in place with the classroom practice. My analysis of the classroom interaction took place at the Chinese university and included the students, Chinese faculty, and administrators, and Faculty 6. The interactions in the undergraduate classroom included in this dimension was analyzed through coding the video recordings of the student-teacher interactions (frequency of interaction, space between students and teacher) to capture the evolving nature of the curriculum (Hult, 2015; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015). The classroom observations were both recorded through my field notes and on video. In total two hours of classroom observation was video recorded and then transcribed as

accurately as possible based on the audio quality. Videos were coded both in terms of the topics covered, but also for the length of time each speaker held the floor and what content they were attempting to communicate, ultimately highlighting how individuals co-constructed discussions and make connections between the individual historical bodies as well as the discourses in place. Further annotation of the classroom video included the layout of the classroom, where students sat and how the graduate student in training was moving or gesturing in kind, and my own reflections and reactions to the class.

Finally, I focused on the stakeholders actively participating in the program through participant-observation and ethnographic interviews to investigate participants' past experiences with English language learning or ELSP development; I also focused moments of conflicting discourses that were also relevant. Adding to the participant interviews, I conducted a questionnaire to deepen my understanding of participants' experiences with English language learning. For the part of the questionnaire that resulted in quantitative data, the numbers were averaged and used to triangulate the discussion around historical bodies discourse. Participant interviews were transcribed and coded in the same manner as described in the establishment section, but with an eye towards program implementation and ideology related to ELSPs. Finally, the analysis for the student questionnaire employed an iterative coding procedure for the open questions.

The research questions within their nexus can be viewed in Figure 3-2. The implementation of the ELSP will be discussed in Chapter 5.

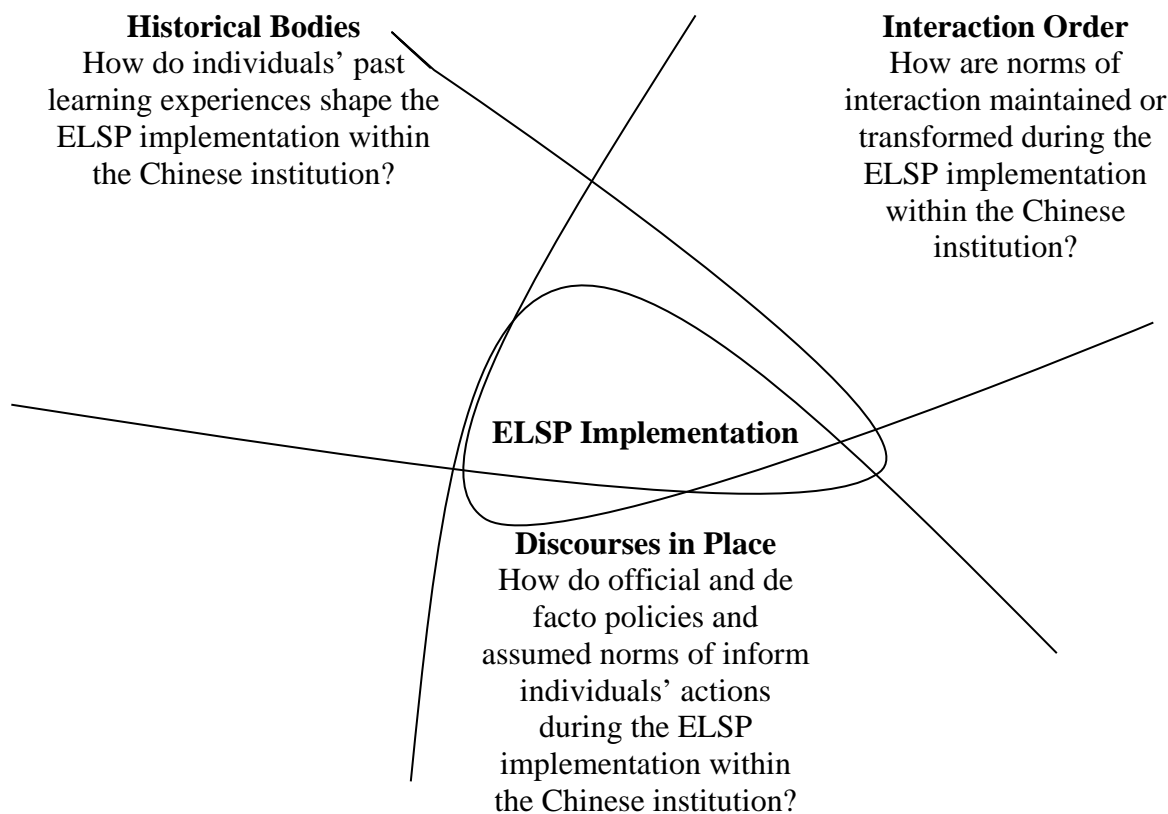


Figure 3-2 Guiding Questions for the implementation of the ELSP

3.6.3 *ELSP evaluation*

This section uses data ranging from the establishment to the implementation to consider the social actions in place that might mediate the sustainability of the ELSP. To capture the discourses in place, I returned to my newspaper corpus with special attention to the latter half of the corpus to uncover discourses at the social level through thematic and corpus approaches. This helped establish particular themes about sustainability that will inform the future of the ELSP.

After identifying themes from the newspaper corpus, I returned to my transcribed interviews, rereading the transcripts multiple times keeping my focus on themes around the future of the program using Nvivo. Following the same procedure as the other areas of focus, coding began first broadly and then grouped together thematically through an iterative approach

(Heigham & Croker, 2009; Miles et al., 2014). As I started to observe trends from the interviews, I used the field notes and my journals to confirm common themes and help myself maintain some distance and researcher reflexivity during data collection activities. Chapter 7 explores how the future of the ELSP was mediated. The guiding questions for the future nexus can be viewed in Figure 3-3 and will be addressed in Chapter 6.

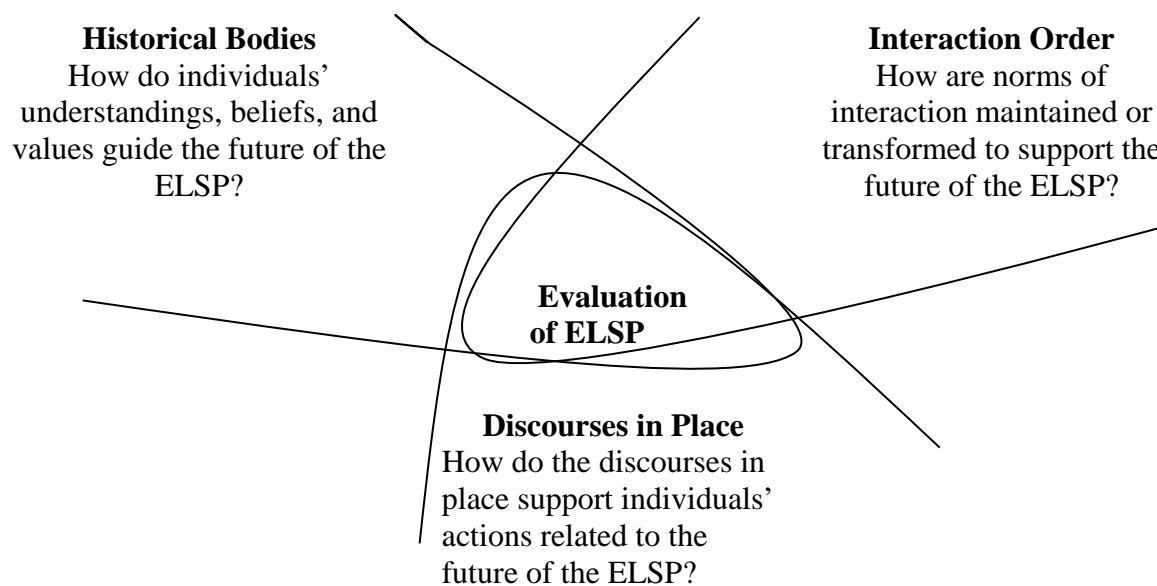


Figure 3-3 Guiding questions for the evaluation of the program

Overall, the three levels of discourse were used to triangulate each other where different sources of data are juxtaposed to identify patterns and themes (Heigham & Croker, 2009; Miles et al., 2014) within each context. These were analyzed both in terms of being informed by the discourses in place and Interaction Order, and also as bottom-up as sometimes an interview or observation introduced a new Discourse in Place or relationship that was not transparent. All of this was done with the goal to “to identify just the most significant elements for further analysis” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 19).

4 THE ESTABLISHMENT

Administrators and faculty charged with creating ELSPs within academic institutions often focus their ELSP development efforts on connecting the specific language or communication needs of learners to the learners' context (Basturkmen, 2010; Brown, 2016). This chapter aims to fully describe the context in which the ELSP was established to expand the picture beyond the curriculum itself for the U.S. and Chinese institutions. It also aims to understand the establishment of the program from different scales (international, national, institutional, and personal) in order to observe how these different levels intersected and transformed to create a new ELSP. This was done first through moving from the broadest discourses in place related to education and language (e.g. discourses of global mobility, institutional policies and mission statements or program mission statements) down to the individual stakeholders' beliefs with the understanding that all of these discourses, in part, contributed towards the creation of the ELSP between the two institutions.

It will be shown in this chapter that the discourses circulating at the societal level, including media and national and institutional policies, are entwined and treated in parallel with individual stakeholder experiences and relationships when it comes to ELSP establishment and ultimate development. Moreover, these observed discourses are influenced by entrenched ideologies around the place and role of English within academia and the drive for universities to internationalize. Thus, this chapter begins with a description of the general expectations for universities to engage in internationalization or global engagement through inner-institutional partnerships drawing from discourses found in the news followed by an analysis of the respective institutional plans and policies. After this, contributions found between actors working at the respective institutions and how their roles and past histories enabled the establishment. Taken

together, these elements will highlight 1) how do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals' actions during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution? 2) how are norms of interaction maintained or transformed during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution?, and 3) how do individuals' past learning experiences shape ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution?

This section of Chapter 4 provides a general picture of the discourses in place that mediated the establishment of the ELSP. First, I will provide an overview of higher education internationalization through the findings from the two newspaper corpora and an analysis of the term *international** integrated with a thematic analysis of the newspaper headlines, specifically for articles found within the year 2016. Following this, I will present the major national and institutional policies in place for each respective institution that contributed to the establishment of the ELSP.

4.1 Discourses in the media

Although there are many outlets to observe social commentary on education and global engagement, newspapers provide a window both into what is considered professionally “newsworthy” but also what the newspaper editorial staff and perhaps the educational institution might be interested in highlighting (Anderson, 2020; Fairclough, 1993; Scollon, 1998; Yi & Jung, 2019). As internationalization has become a central theme and interest for institutions of higher education (Duong & Chua, 2016; Knight, 2004, 2007; Liddicoat, 2016; Neubauer & Zhang, 2015), I took a particular interest in how the media was discussing this phenomenon. I recall when I first visited China, my hotel provided me with copies of the China Daily, which I read often cover to cover, in part because there was nothing else to read, but also because it provided me a window into what this newspaper wanted to share with English readership in

China. I was impressed by how often the newspaper covered topics around education and for that matter global exchanges and research activities.

A search using the keyword *international** produced 322 hits in the U.S. Newspaper Corpus and 414 hits in the Chinese Newspaper Corpus.

Table 4-1 Frequency of term *international in 2016**

	U.S. News Corpus	China News Corpus
# Articles in Corpus	937	178
# of articles with <i>international*</i>	76	88
# of instances of <i>international*</i>	322	414

After the rounds of coding the occurrences of *international**, concordance lines were grouped and categorized into four main themes: business, politics, culture, and education. Table 4-2 presents the coded themes presented as frequencies based on the theme within each newspaper corpus. Following this table is a discussion of each theme.

Table 4-2 Raw numbers of thematic codes associated with the collocation *international**

	U.S. Newspapers	Chinese Newspapers
Business	19	151
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New businesses • Trade and financial Information • Tourism and Travel • Economic reports 		
Politics	87	45
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elections • UN, NGO, Government • International Relations 		
Culture	29	45
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Festivals, sports, arts, dance 		

Education	184	173
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University Partnerships • Study Abroad • Admissions and Mobility • International Schools • International Education Cost • Academic Excellence 		

4.1.1 *Business theme*

Although not explicitly focused on education, the theme business associated with *international** was identified through finding collocations that mentioned the economy and industry such as ‘international market’ or ‘international financial system’ within the corpus. Keeping in mind that globalization is often conflated with internationalization within university contexts (Altbach & Teichler, 2001; Beck, 2012; Knight, 2011; Marginson, 2006; Phillipson, 2017) the articles in this corpus also had the keyword student* within them, so these phrases existed within the same narratives about learning or education. Within the U.S. newspaper corpus, 8 articles in total were coded as business with 19 uses of the keyword *international* within the subset of articles. Within the Chinese newspaper corpus, 20 articles were coded as business with 151 instances of the keyword. The samples above represent some of the general themes observed in the corpus and were selected to illustrate the major themes found throughout.

Text Excerpt 4-1 Concordance lines of international coded as business

Corpus Text	Source	Summary
is the main drag, lined with an international array of restaurants and brick apartment complex	<i>A Crossroads of the World</i> , New York Times, May 8 th , 2016	Real Estate Article about a likable neighborhood to relocate to
Alaska Airlines announced plans to build a \$40 million maintenance hangar at	<i>State-by-State</i> , Dayton Daily News (Ohio) August 5, 2016	Article highlighting new building projects specifically for an International Airport – a location

Ted Stevens Anchorage

International Airport.

The new hangar is part of a \$100 million investment that includes terminal updates and new cargo planes.

for the global youth travel industry, **international** destinations like Berlin and Amsterdam welcomed hostels

Hostels Lay Groundwork for Revival in New York,
The New York Times
December 6, 2016

Article highlighting the return of hostels to New York City. Uses international as a location. Also uses phrases like 'global youth' with travel industry

the international stage, the vital platform for **international** capacity and cooperation in equipment manufacture

Led by Construction of 'Belt and Road', Creating New Ground of Opening Up-Key Speech by Minister Gao Hucheng at Series Seminar on the Outlook of 13th Five Year Plan
China Business News
April 14, 2016

A positive speech about the Belt and Road plan given by a government official in China which highlights both international as a location and means

actively adapt to the new normality of domestic economic development and complex **international** trend, insist on the road and belt concept of Chinese featured foreign assistance

2016 Business XV: Hold High Great Banner of Mutual Benefit, Win-Win Result, Positively Perform International Obligations
China Business News
January 18, 2017

End of a speech given by a government official positioning China as a leader in political, cultural, and economic forces

Eugene Clark brings an **international** legal perspective to many China projects and institutions

Law man, China Daily
July 15, 2016

An article highlighting an international professor who can bring a particular perspective while consulting Chinese companies

Overall, the term *international* used within the business context reveals a positive association with the concept of place or location. In the first newspaper example, a neighborhood can become more attractive when it is located in a place that has international flair as described

as: “the main drag, lined with an international array of restaurants and brick apartment complex[s]”. This first article also mentioned high ranking schools as a desirable feature for this neighborhood. In the third example, the term *international* is used while covering a story to reopen youth hostels in the city. Here, the writer of the article urges New York City to be like other international destinations that welcome hostels which are, in turn, desired by the globally mobile students. The concept of aligning *international* with prestige or success is also highlighted in another New York Times article in the corpus, *Relying on Trust not Source* (August 16, 2016) where Nicolas Beau, international director of watches at Chanel, describes his successes as an international business person and the exponential growth of the company.

The term *international* can also link to desirable investment or expansion projects like hostel, airport, or underpin an entire economic policy along with important cultural values like the Belt and Road Initiative, described in Chapter 2, out of China. Below we can see an example of the balance between international business and maintaining values in a newspaper article from the corpus from the China Business News. Here the Belt and Road initiative, an economic program, is described through its relationship to providing foreign aid but describes a balance between recognizing new norms and navigating the complexities of international trends.

Working Conference according to the deployment of the Central Party Committee and the State Council, actively adapt to the new normality of domestic economic development and complex international trend, insist on the road and concept of Chinese featured foreign assistance, regard the new development concept as the guide, stick to deepening reform and innovation, comprehensively strengthen management, improve foreign assistance quality, benefit and welcome the successful convening of the 19th NPC of the Chinese Communist Party. (2016

Business XV: Hold High Great Banner of Mutual Benefit, Win-Win Result, Positively Perform International Obligations China Business News January 18, 2017

Here the text reads as both motivational but firm. The statement makes it clear that the type of international assistance that will be provided will be “Chinese featured foreign assistance” although it also recognizes some adaptation will be necessary but can deepen relationships and benefit the quality of the projects conveying an overall positive message. According to this article, this information above, was presented along with information bringing students and leaders from outside China to Peking University to attend an institute to learn about the Chinese governance model, further solidifying the importance of the Belt and Road project to international exchange. It is also a government approved report, so will most likely be very positive about the results of the initiative. Finally, the term *international*, within these examples, is also used to frame how individuals who have international experience might provide expertise such as those highlighted in the Law Man article, to help nations navigate them: “Eugene Clark brings an international legal perspective to many China projects and institutions”. It happens, according to this article that Eugene both consults with industry but also works for a Chinese university. In all these instances, international and education discourses are found near one another and to some extent support the suggestion that these topics merge and create an environment where education, and in this case universities, are understood through the lens of the global financial marketplace (Chan, 2009; Fairclough, 1993; M. M. Gu & Lee, 2018; Liddicoat, 2016).

4.1.2 Politics theme

Turning to the theme of *politics*, two main topics repeatedly occur across both corpora. The first was general topics covering international relations and trade, the other was the U.S. presidential campaign and election of a new president in 2016. Unlike the coverage of business topics, international politics took a more negative tone in the U.S. corpora while the Chinese corpora was more balanced.

Text Excerpt 4-2 Concordance lines of international coded as politics

Corpus Text	Source	Summary
varied as military sales to foreign countries, international trade, highway management systems and real estate	<i>Scholarship or Business? Think Tanks Blur the Line</i> The New York Times August 8, 2016	questions affiliations of donors
Twitter spats, and rapid-fire hashtags draw international attention. Public sentiment can be readily manipulation	<i>War Goes Viral</i> , Atlantic Online, October 11, 2016	Covers 2014 invasion of northern Iraq and how it was revealed on twitter
devoted to free trade and dislikes any international trade treaties, including those that protect work	<i>In a Tight Race, Every Party Matters</i> The New York Times September 27, 2016	Covers the positions of 3 rd party candidates for president
We need to enhance strategic coordination in international affairs and deepen our coordination in multilateral forces such as the United Nations and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).	<i>Full text of Chinese president's signed article on Uzbek newspaper</i> People's Daily Online - English June 22, 2016	Article covering an agreement with Uzbekistan under Belt and Road
UN said indefinite imprisonment of detainees without charge or trial violated international law, calling on the United States to	<i>Chronology of Human Rights Violations of the United States in 2015</i> China Daily April 15, 2016	A summary of a report published by the State Council Information Office of the People's Republic of China

close the military prison camp.

a handbook for disaster recovery. The handbook of **international** cooperation was approved by China's Ministry of

Gifts of the heart
China Daily
September 2, 2016

Story a non-profit that assists in disaster relief. Highlights American volunteer in China working with this group

Within the context of articles related to government elections, policies, and agreements, the U.S. articles tended to treat the term international within the context of politics negatively. The first example pulled from the U.S. newspaper corpus, *Scholarship or Business? Think Tanks Blur the Line*, addressed the relationship between think tanks and donors calling them “universities without the students” who may be more susceptible to questionable donors that provide undue influence on their policy recommendations. The second article, *War Goes Viral*, covers an international incident that was shared, altered, and highlighted through social media shares. Finally, the last example out of the U.S. corpora focuses on statements made by a political candidate in relation to their stance on international trade. Understandably, a majority of articles for the U.S. corpus collected under the theme politics were related to the presidential election. Particularly relevant to this study, the newly elected U.S. president had run in part on the promise to reform how the United States related to China. As a result, some news headlines reflected a certain unease about how new policies might impact relations between the countries. For example, one headline from the New York Times published right after the election echoed the fears from the education sector by stating: *Is It Safe Foreign Students Consider College in Donald Trumps US?* (Nov. 17, 2016).

The Chinese news articles covered international politics more positively. For example, promoting new trade partners or non-profits working to help citizens in disaster; however, the

Chinese press took the opportunity to criticize other nations' political stances and actions through negative coverage such as the article entitled, *Chronology of Human Rights Violations of the United States in 2015* which highlighted curated actions taken by the U.S. and cited by organizations like the U.N. as violations.

Within this category, two topics such as business and politics were addressed at the same time; for example, the New York Times article entitled *Luring Chinese Investors With Trump's Name, and Little Else* (The New York Times. October 20, 2016) focused on a possible investment controversy where an investing company associated with Donald Trump (current U.S. president) may have promised worker visas as part of a pitch to Chinese investors. Although no direct link between Trump and this particular pitch could be found, the coverage of the article suggests the new U.S. president is discussed within both the domain of politics and business.

4.1.3 Culture theme

Both the U.S. and Chinese corpus highlighted stories related to art, music, and sports in a very positive manner. Below is a selection of the concordance lines with international* that were categorized as culture from each corpus.

Text Excerpt 4-3 Concordance lines of international coded as culture*

	Source	Summary
highlights From International Jazz Day. The first International Jazz Day concert took place four years	<i>International Jazz Day Enlivens the Capital</i> The New York Times May 2, 2016 Monday, Late Edition	Review of Jazz festival in Washington DC
Abby Wambach has the record for most international goals scored, by a male or female	<i>The Conversation</i> Atlantic Online April 18, 2016	Opinion: Readers respond to articles

Upstairs in the same building, the 2015 Taiwan International Metal Crafts Competition showed off a wide	<i>Memphis beyond Graceland: A King-size array of attractions</i> Washingtonpost.com April 17, 2016	Travel story: Memphis
Siu-tung, popularly known as Tony Ching, won international recognition after he directed stunts in Hollywood	Beijing Review September 29, 2016	The partnership between Chinese and Indian film
long-distance events in China have the word " international " in their titles. As a result, some smaller	<i>On course for an extended run</i> China Daily December 14, 2016	Highlights growing interest in running as a sport
and yet linked to past traditions, before an international audience. "The aim of this event is to	<i>Juliet in Forbidden City</i> -Beijing Review October 20, 2016	A review of stage show combining Chinese play Peony Pavilion in Kunqu Opera style and Romeo and Juliet

When addressing the culture theme, articles reviewing events such as theater or music were central. Overall the reviews were positive and often framed as an excellent way to experience an event and learn something about the culture. Blending culture and internationalization also provided an opportunity for artists to collaborate and work together to create new experiences, such as a movie highlighted in Bollywood Brotherhood, a Chinese/Indian partnership.

Among the articles highlighting sports events, participation numbers, awards received, and origin of the participants were included and perhaps demonstrated the importance of the event. The "On course for an extended run" article provided readers with the impression that it was a desirable event and runners would travel from other countries to participate in Marathons in China or vice versa, Chinese runners were traveling abroad to represent China and win medals. The alignment between prestige and the number of medals won was also a central theme

in Atlantic's Conversation about Abby Wambach. Overall, coverage of international cultural topics suggested readership could gain access to new cultural insights by attending events that provided opportunities for international cultural exchange and could learn about prestigious events or individuals who had succeeded through competition.

4.1.4 Education theme

Analyzing the headline titles for both corpora, the Chinese News Corpus, which included 179 articles published in 2016, 30 or 23% highlighted topics of students studying English, universities engaging in exchange, and international education cooperation. This was in contrast to the U.S. newspaper corpus which had only about 10% of its articles directly addressing international education, student exchange, and student mobility. Nonetheless, among both the corpora, an overall positive message or positive framing of education (Anderson, 2020) could be found. Newspaper headlines covering international education highlighted stories describing increases (such as surges in enrollment or educational exchanges on the rise), but also fast-tracking programs or building relationships.

Table 4-3 Newspaper Headlines Portraying Positive Messages

U.S.	China
<i>US colleges a surge in international students, The Washington Post December 22, 2016</i>	<i>More younger Chinese students study abroad report China Daily October 23, 2016</i>
<i>Colleges Pledge to Send More Students Abroad, Atlantic Online, May 2,7 2016</i>	<i>China Ireland student exchanges on the rise China Daily October 31, 2016</i>
<i>Kent's commuter campus welcomes Chinese students Kent State at Stark is hosting 17 students from Shenzhen, Dayton Daily News Ohio, September 6, 2016</i>	<i>China to put educational exchange on fast track China Daily December 12, 2016</i>
	<i>Exchanges target sports development China Daily November 12, 2016</i>

In 2016, many colleges in the U.S. that were not in the top 20 over the year of 2016 had begun to observe changes in the number of international students (Redden, 2017) and some

newspaper headlines began to reflect a change in international student interest because interest had “slowed” in the United States and now colleges were “seeking warm bodies” from other locations besides China. Although these headlines signal a shift in the international education landscape, they still reflect that U.S. colleges would like to maintain a certain level of international student enrollment.

- *Colleges Seek Warm Bodies From Overseas* The New York Times April 20, 2016
- *Flow of students from China to US slows Universities now recruit in Middle East Latin America* Dayton Daily News (Ohio) November 17, 2016

Transitioning to the Chinese newspaper corpus, although more headlines were signaling a supportive view of internationalization as demonstrated above, a few headlines highlighted international education in a negative light using words like *abysmal* and *underwhelmed* to qualify the experience of Chinese students in the U.S.

- *Abysmal global literacy of US college students*, China Daily, October 21, 2016
- *Overseas but underwhelmed*, China Daily October 11, 2016

Analyzing Chinese newspapers in English only provides a narrow view of what discourses might be flowing; additionally, it can be assumed that these newspapers are written for a certain audience in mind (e.g. English speakers) (Yi & Jung, 2019) and so publishing negative or positive news about a topic should be understood within this context. The two headlines directly comment on the quality of education that Chinese students might experience when going abroad. Considering the readership, it might be suggested these headlines are for universities outside of China; thus, suggesting the message is not warning Chinese students to stay away but signaling that English readership needs to be concerned about declining numbers.

Framing international education in this manner provides readers with information that normalizes global engagement within higher education. It is expected that international students

would attend a college or university within the United States as well as it being desirable for U.S. students to spend some time abroad. Even with headlines that may suggest a more negative tone such as “Chinese students flood private schools” (Washington Post, 2016), the content of the article focuses on the importance of Chinese students to start English education early and the economic benefits that private schools can reap.

As suggested by Scollon and Scollon (2004), although not necessarily an objective source, the news may be one tool to identify germane topics to provide a window into “what the news is talking about” (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p.156), and reflect social level discourses in place. Based on this analysis, discourses around internationalization within the two country’s news sources provide a sense of how the concept is used. Within the context of business, *international* is considered a positive word indicating economic prosperity and opportunity. Within the context of politics, *international* can at times be portrayed more negatively, in particular when it comes to international relations. As seen in the examples, at times the category of business and the related discourses can merge with discourses politics in particular when it is related to trade. At the same time, policies, either political or educational, can frame values or goals of a particular policy for the readers. This may parallel observations with educational policies where the authorship of the educational policy may be unclear but the aim is to encourage readers to take action on the policy (Chan, 2009; Cornut et al., 2012; Saarinen, 2017; Vaara et al., 2010). It appears that when international is used within the context of culture it is considered an overwhelmingly positive thing where individuals might gain access to new experiences or gain status through exposure. This could be aligned with earlier discussions of Knight’s (2011) observation of universities attempting to promote cross-cultural opportunities through internationalization. International and culture also have links to themes around

competition and prestige which connects easily to the topic of education as universities tend to embrace competition through activities such as admissions, publications, and research dollars and exchanges. Now that a number of discourses have been identified within the newspaper corpora, we will review the educational policies in place for both institutions respectively.

4.2 Institutional education and language policies

For the college in China and the ELSP in the U.S., there were both national and institutional policies in place. This section provides an overview of each respectively.

4.2.1 Chinese University and STEM College

The Chinese College in this study is a part of a larger university located in China's most populated province, Jiangsu. China itself has invested in activities that could be associated with internationalization for some time although some observe that it is still in the process of achieving its goals (Cai, 2013; M. M. Gu & Lee, 2018; Sun et al., 2017). Although Chinese universities may still be working on internationalizing their campus, the college in this study has historically benefited from almost every major central education policy to achieve this aim put forward by the Ministry of Education (Sun et al., 2017; Yumei, 2010). The Chinese university in this study was identified early on by the Chinese Ministry of Education as one of the universities that should acquire high prestige through rankings and international research contributions ("Over 10 Billion Yuan to Be Invested in '211 Project' - People's Daily Online," 2008; Yumei, 2010). Focusing on rankings might suggest China's relationship with international education as somewhat transactional (Bolton & Botha, 2015; Huang, 2007; Neubauer & Zhang, 2015). This might be observed again where institutions tend to focus on sending students abroad with the aim for them to return paralleled by recruiting skilled instructors with international experience. The webpage of the Chinese college in this study reflects some of these goals in terms of research

excellence but also expands the objective to include a wide number of participants beyond just simply students and faculty.

Text Excerpt 4-4 Chinese College Statement on Internationalization

- 1 Selected by [name redacted] University as a test bed to pioneer the university's
- 2 internationalization initiative, the Engineering College is taking a systematic
- 3 approach in its efforts toward building a world-class college.
- 4 Internationalization is being implemented in every facet of the college
- 5 (education, research, administration, faculty recruiting/assessment, and
- 6 infrastructure), and virtually every member of the college (administrators,
- 7 faculty, staff, students) is participating.

(An Introduction to the College of Engineering and Applied Sciences, n.d.)

In many respects, the Chinese college has a unique status as a global college as recognized by the university (lines 1-2). It seems to also approach internationalization holistically by including multiple offices and agents in the process (lines 4-7). It is in the first batch of international colleges to be established and recognized by the Jiangsu Provincial Department of Human Resources and Social Security. This status was memorialized through a plaque located on the upper floors where a number of Chinese college administrators had their offices.



Figure 4-1 Plaque recognizing college's global status

For many universities in China, the English language has been an important factor related to internationalization (Pan, 2011; Sun et al., 2017; Yumei, 2010). In 2001, the Ministry of Education (MOE) published a document entitled “Opinions on Strengthening Undergraduate Teaching in Higher Education and Improving Teaching Quality” which in part encouraged the increase in the use of English in university classrooms (Fang, 2018; Hu & McKay, 2012; Ministry of Education, 2001). The eight suggestions on this document referred to both the type of classroom English that Chinese universities should consider as well as suggesting the percentage of courses offered in English overall.

Text Excerpt 4-5 Document Promoting Teaching in Foreign Languages

Actively Promote Teaching in Foreign Languages such as English

- 1 In accordance with the requirements of "education facing
- 2 modernization, facing the world, facing the future", in order to adapt to

3 the challenges of economic globalization and technological revolution,
4 undergraduate education must create conditions for the use of English
5 and other foreign languages for public and professional courses. For
6 biotechnology, information technology and other majors in the high-tech
7 field, as well as finance, law and other majors that are needed after
8 China's entry into the WTO [World Trade Organization], we must take a
9 step forward and strive to reach 5%-10% of the courses offered in
10 foreign languages within three years. Schools and majors that do not
11 have the conditions to directly teach in a foreign language for the time
12 being can implement foreign language teaching materials and Chinese
13 teaching for some courses, step by step. (Ministry of Education, 2001).

This section of “Opinions on Strengthening Undergraduate Teaching in Higher Education and Improving Teaching Quality” document states that Chinese universities should focus their efforts on delivering course work in English to fields that are directly tied to the country’s entry into the World Trade Organization (lines 5-10). Although the policy provides universities some leniency on achieving the 5%-10% goal by allowing those without the resources to take a “step-by-step” approach (lines 10-13), the college identified for this study opted to take a much more aggressive set of goals by not only listing what courses they could offer in English on their website but also posting a statement clarifying the use of English as the Medium of Instruction in their main webpage:

Text Excerpt 4-6 College Policy on English Medium of Instruction

- 1 The curriculum of each department... offers a wide selection of courses
- 2 taught by world-class faculty scholars. The medium of instruction for
- 3 many courses (target percentage: 50%-80% in five years) is being
- 4 converted to English. High quality course work is also combined with
- 5 extracurricular activities, many of which are international such as an
- 6 international summer camp of engineering design in collaboration with
- 7 the [name redacted] University

The statement above from the college's webpage signals a few factors in terms of internationalization and the use of English. First, in line 1, there is a recognition that the college's faculty is world-class evoking a sense of prestige but through using the term *world* they suggest they have international experience. In lines 2 to 3, the college states the goal to establish EMI courses at an ambitious rate. Finally, the course work is linked to outside activities that are international in nature (lines 4-7).

In order to achieve many of these goals listed above, the Chinese college took advantage of the Thousand Talents Plan (TTP) initiated by the Ministry of Education and replaced now by the National High-end Foreign Expert Recruitment Plan (Jia, 2018; *Thousand Talents Plan*, n.d.). The TTP started around 2008 when the MOE shifted priorities from funding research to enhancing research funding to support and repatriate highly successful professors to work for Chinese Universities (Jia, 2018; Perrin, 2017; *The Recruitment Program for Young Professionals*, n.d.). Within the TTP, a number of categories were established such as supporting long-term and short-term visits, and identifying individuals that could be early and late-career

faculty, as well as recruiting international faculty. The college within this study had several faculty who were hired under this program and held both research and teaching positions.

4.2.2 U.S. University and graduate school

The U.S. university is a private R1-university located in the Southeast of the United States in an urban center. As with many universities of its size, it is characterized as a decentralized institution with each of its nine units, along with a number of hospitals, establishing their hiring processes, educational aims, and research focus. Unlike the description of the Chinese university, the U.S. university is not subject to a central government education office in terms of shaping its mission or curriculum. Thus, a few central offices, such as the Provost's office, provide leadership for the entire university.

In regards to leadership for global engagement, this U.S. university has a central Global Strategy Office (GSI) which provides leadership and strategic planning. This office does not supervise or dictate internationalization activities but rather works in partnership with units that would like to start or maintain engagement projects. Below is a portion of its mission statement:

Text Excerpt 4-7 GSI Mission Statement

1 [name redacted] University's Office of Global Strategy and Initiatives
 2 (GSI) is dedicated to the support, promotion, and expansion of [name
 3 redacted]'s international engagement. Through the strategic
 4 internationalization of programs, curricula, and research, GSI supports
 5 creative global initiatives, fosters cross-unit collaboration, promotes a
 6 culturally vibrant and diverse campus, and coordinates [name redacted] 's
 7 international resources and partnerships. GSI leads the implementation of

8 [name redacted]'s global strategies, which it helped develop through a
 9 multi-year effort involving broad community input. The strategies provide
 10 a vision for the future of [name redacted] 's global engagement.

(About the Office of Global Strategy and Initiatives, n.d.)

The document is considered by the U.S. institution as a living document and continues to be revised. Two subsections of this document were of particular interest to this project, one addressing China (Goal 3, Initiative 1) and one addressing English as a Second Language Services (Goal 1, Strategy 1). Both are provided below:

Text Excerpt 4-8 Goal 3, Strategy 1: Develop and implement country-based initiatives

1 China: Chinese students make up 41 percent of international students at [name
 2 redacted] and 7 percent of the overall student body. [name redacted] has more than
 3 85 faculty conducting China-related research and scholarship, and China is the
 4 third-most common destination for [name redacted] faculty traveling abroad
 5 Among foreign scholars who co-author publications with [name redacted] faculty,
 6 China is the no. 3 country of origin. Since designating China, a priority location,
 7 [name redacted] has deepened its ties with the Chinese University, primarily in the
 8 area of research collaboration and conference presentations.

Text Excerpt 4-9 Goal 1, Strategy 1 Options for better-coordinated ESL offerings

1 As [name redacted] international populations continue to grow, English
 2 language support (ELS) and other language resources are essential to their
 3 success. Currently, ELS resources are mostly located at the school level and

4 are varied in offerings and staffing. However, many of [name redacted]'s peers
5 rely on a centralized model for support that serves both the university and the
6 wider community. [name redacted] should evaluate ways to expand access to
7 ELS resources, to capitalize on current strengths and to explore possibilities
8 for new models of support.

9 UPDATE: GSI has been working with English language support staff across
10 the university to evaluate ways to expand access to ELS resources, whether
11 through a centrally coordinated ELS center or other structural models. In
12 FY2017, GSI and Graduate School's ELSP have convened an internal review
13 committee that will continue to meet in FY2017 and produce a report with
14 recommendations for the future.

China was selected as one of five countries that the U.S. University would focus its global engagement efforts on. In the Goal 3, Strategy 1: Develop and implement country-based initiatives, it is clear that China plays a significant global engagement role in terms of enrollment, faculty research, and travel abroad (lines 1-4). The Chinese University mentioned in line 6 is the university where the college for this study is based (line 7), so it is also significant in its role to the U.S. university's global engagement. In addition to China, the Global Strategy addresses investigating options for better-coordinated ESL offerings. Lines 3-4 characterize the U.S. University's decentralized approach to supporting multilingual students with each school or college hosting some type of ESL support. As a result of the decentralization, GSI suggests that centralization should be investigated, and the graduate ESL program is assisting in this exploration

(lines 4-14). The graduate ELSP mentioned in this document is the same graduate ESL program involved in this study.

The graduate ELSP is both a partner with the GSI office as well as embedded within the graduate school. The graduate school itself, in comparison to the other units on campus, is newer just reaching its one-hundredth anniversary in the 2019/2020 school year. As might be anticipated, the graduate school's mission statement is tightly connected to the needs of the graduate school and students. Typically, the mission statement is carefully crafted by the dean of the graduate school with input from multiple agents.

Text Excerpt 4-10 U.S. Graduate School Mission

- 1 The School of Graduate Studies is committed to graduate education that
- 2 provides students with deep and broad expertise in their chosen fields,
- 3 creativity to cross discipline boundaries, courage to challenge
- 4 convention, and confidence to ask unexpected questions and articulate
- 5 bold new perspectives. The mission of the Graduate School is to:
- 6 Collaborate with our partners in other schools and units to provide
- 7 broadly based, excellent graduate education that supports the research
- 8 and scholarship of students, faculty, and the university as a whole;
- 9 Foster an environment of inclusion to ensure the range of educational
- 10 benefits that can only come from diversity across the academic
- 11 community; Complement the world-class education our faculty offer by
- 12 preparing our graduates for success in competitive national and global
- 13 economies through contemporary professional development and career

14 planning resources and programming; Increase the visibility of graduate
15 education nationally and internationally through advocacy that
16 emphasizes the critical role of graduate education to the mission of the
17 research university, to the competitiveness of the United States, and to
18 the global good.

The first few lines of the mission statement highlight the commitment to students pursuing graduate education. Expectations are set high where graduate students are expected to challenge boundaries and conventions through previously unexplored areas (lines 4-5). Further down in the mission statement, there is mention of providing graduate students with career pathways to navigate “competitive national and global economies” (lines 13-14), perhaps acknowledging that the investment and time it takes to achieve a graduate education will prepare you for a career. The final lines of the mission statement (lines 14-18) aim to increase the visibility of graduate education as a valuable project both in terms of economic value (competitiveness of the United States) but for greater international good. These final lines (14-18) give a sense that the graduate school is acting as a pond where the study and research results ripple out into the world. It also suggests that the graduate school is focused primarily on the central study and research aims and considers global engagement a secondary, indirect activity.

The graduate ELSP program is a unique unit in that it is located centrally within the graduate school rather than in an academic unit. It was established about 25 years ago with the main objective to support newly matriculated international teaching assistants who were facilitating undergraduate classes. Over time, the program evolved

and shifted its curriculum to support all matriculated graduate students involved in language instruction (line 1).

Text Excerpt 4-11 ELSP Mission Statement

- 1 ELSP strives to provide high quality language instruction to students whose first
- 2 language is other than English and to encourage on-going and long-term improvement
- 3 of speaking and writing skills. The curriculum focuses on the development of accurate
- 4 advanced language skills for graduate level study, [name redacted] teaching roles and
- 5 the speaking demands of the professional world inside and outside the university
- 6 community. We believe that language instruction early in the first year and a half of a
- 7 student's studies ensures reliable second language acquisition, which inevitably
- 8 translates into stronger graduate performance.

The ELSP mission statement establishes the boundaries of who is served, what the curriculum contains, and what the objectives are. In the second line, it delimits support to “students whose first language is other than English” and was intended to focus on international students with F1 visas as well as domestic students who speak multiple languages. The curriculum (lines 2-4) is framed through a graduate lens describing it as one that develops “accurate advanced language skills for graduate-level study” suggesting that the individuals enrolled may not have these skills. Along with describing the curriculum of the program, the mission statement introduces the policy that graduate students access this program in the first year and a half of their study (line 6) and suggests this timing is based on “reliable acquisition” that results in better performance outside the ELSP classroom. There is no mention of global engagement or internationalization within the ELSP mission statement.

The educational policies and mission statements presented here, from both the U.S. university and the Chinese university, provide a window into how they articulate their view on education, internationalization, and the English language. Both institutions were recognized and active internationally in terms of research and were actively engaged in internationalization activities. At the institutional level, there were references to enhancing global engagement and supporting programming, although that was not specifically focused on ELSPs, which suggested that both institutions were interested in creating new opportunities internationally while maintaining established ones. This is observed within the U.S. university's GSI mission and strategic plan where it is stated: GSI is dedicated to the support, promotion, and expansion of [name redacted]'s international engagement (lines 2-3) and specifically with China as highlighted in their strategic plan. On the Chinese side, the college's mission statement recognized the importance of outside international partnerships through the statement: "High-quality course work is also combined with extracurricular activities, many of which are international such as an international summer camp of engineering design in collaboration with the [name redacted] University. Finally, to a point, both institutions understood the role that English played within their internationalization plans although the Chinese college has a much more explicit objective, to implement EMI, whereas the U.S. university has little control over its ELSP offerings and desired to centralize them. Based on these documents, there seemed little connection between the ELSP and internationalization other than to serve speakers with English as an additional language who were admitted into the graduate school.

4.3 Local interactions to support ELSP establishment

There may be several reasons, occurring simultaneously, that an ELSP is established. Although discourses of university partnerships, the role of English, and internationalization may be circulating, simply having these ideas or even policies in place are not necessarily the main driver behind establishing or maintaining a new program. Some suggest it is individual leaders and their interactions with one another that result in successful internationalization projects (Childress, 2009; Egron-Polak & Hudson, 2014; Goffman, 1983; Hudzik, 2016; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). Here I will describe a number of key actors individually as well as their relationships with the discourses in place and one another.

Among all the individuals working within the U.S. university, Administrator 4 was particularly important. I had been working with this individual since my hire as they had been a member of my search committee and we both were associated with the graduate school. As discussed before, the U.S. graduate school's mission statement did overtly state expectations or aims to create or maintain international research or study projects, but Administrator 4 had been serving as a faculty representative in an administrative capacity with this directive for some time. The fact that the graduate school created this position suggests there was some understanding that universities should take a role in global engagement at some level. As a result, the graduate school would send this administrator to India or China to attend recruitment fairs and connect with partners who were engaged with international research projects. It was during one of these visits that the idea of a new ELSP was discussed:

Text Excerpt 4-12 Mackenzie and Admin 4 discuss ELSP creation

Administrator 4

Mackenzie: ...Can you describe to me a little bit about your experience with that [ELSP] like how did that evolve and kind of what how did that happen?

Administrator 4: So, there was a professor [name redacted] that was a member of the biomedical engineering program

Mackenzie: had you guys work together or how did you guys know each other?

Administrator 4: I was somewhere over in China already and I went there for several days I met several people there including [name redacted] who kind of is the driving force behind the ELSP we discussed like a zillion different things while I was there and one of the things he talked about was an English language program that he had been percolating in his mind and I said something about well you know we just hired a new English language person that would be awesome to do this for working with you and he expressed an interest and then I think he communicated with [name redacted] who was still at [the U.S.] university who's not at [name redacted] university anymore and it all mushroomed into the program that ultimately developed with collaboration between Administrator 2 and you [Mackenzie]

Although many steps occurred after this described meeting to create the ELSP, Administrator 4's description of the process above advanced based in part on the relationship between people.

Administrator 4, in his capacity to represent the U.S. graduate school to support global engagement, was sent to China to create global engagement opportunities and ultimately connected to an individual at the Chinese college who was described as being interested in discussing "a zillion things" including and ELSP. After what the Chinese partner perceived as a positive discussion around creating an ELSP he contacted a professor, who happened to also be affiliated with the Chinese college and its internationalization efforts, at the U.S. institution.

What is significant with this account is that the meeting described was exploratory in nature and without any specific aim to create a new international project. When Administrator 2 mentioned they were considering an ESL program, Administrator 4 connected it to the graduate ELSP, not

because of its mission or current activities but because he had been part of my hiring process and knew of my personal dedication to internationalization.

For others at the Chinese college, justifications to establish an ELSP were also motivated by observations that Chinese students had a hard time functioning in English and English classrooms. In 2016, the college had already started to shift some of the coursework into English and with the policy in place many of the Chinese faculty and administrators observed students struggling in the classroom with spoken English. This observation seen in practice was paired with some generalized feelings about English language performance that were not systematically observed but assumed to be correct.

Text Excerpt 4-13 Admin 1 and Faculty 1 discuss using English with Chinese students

Administrator 1

Administrator 1: So, at the beginning my major focused on science, so the English – reading is no problem, I can write no problem. But speaking (laughing) is my weakness.

Mackenzie: Well I can understand you 100%, so not too bad I would say (both laughing)

Administrator 1: But as a teacher in [name redacted] university, for 23 years, I have trained a lot of graduate students, about 50 or 60. I found in my group, because English is in fact is a tool for us. When I do some research, I get scientific information from the English literature, or reference. Usually, I think my graduate students have no difficulty in getting some information from English literature, but ...[phone rings recording off]

Mackenzie: (Describes courses in response to Administrator request)

Administrator: 1 In China, most students have [to] learned English for many years from the period of primary school, but they can't speak English." (Administrator 1)

Faculty 1

Mackenzie: I imagine that must be frustrating. So, then the one class you took in your undergraduate time that was in English and was really heavy in the technical terms, what would you say was kind of the style of teaching from that professor? Was the

classroom very interactive?

Faculty 1: No. Not very interactive. I would say that in most classes in China they are not very interactive. I think the Chinese students are used to the style that teachers do all the talking and they just listen and take notes. Even though in my class I try to get them more involved more engaged, but unless I ask a specific student to answer a question. Most of the time unless I ask, they would not volunteer. There will one or two students who are very interactive and would volunteer, but most students will not.

Both Administrator 1 and Faculty 1, while speaking about their own educational backgrounds, also described parallel student deficits. Administrator 1 included an assessment of their own skills: “so, at the beginning, my major focused on science, so English reading is no problem, I can write no problem. But speaking (laughing) is my weakness.” This was followed by a similar assessment of their students’ performance where students were described as being able to engage with literature, but had a hard time speaking. This seemed to suggest Administrator 1 thought that reading is easier, in general, for both themselves and their students in contrast to speaking. The criticisms of how the students performed in class extended beyond written and spoken language when Faculty 1 described the generalization that Chinese students are normalized to receive information and might be hesitant to interact. This observation transferred into Faculty 1’s teaching when they observed “even though in my class I try to get them more involved more engaged, but unless I ask a specific student to answer a question. Most of the time unless I ask, they would not volunteer.” In both of these cases, students’ lack of language and interaction was framed as a problem (Ruíz, 1984).

Despite the justifications identified by the Chinese college and the interest in the project by my American colleague, Administrator 4, and I to create an agreement and a new ELSP, there was one final major hurdle to overcome in the establishment of the program. Since the U.S. ELSP was embedded within the graduate school with a primary mission to support matriculated

graduate students at my U.S. institution, it was difficult to find a reason that we should become involved. For many within the ELSP development process on the U.S. side, questions arose as to why an ELSP with the mission to provide ELSP support for students within the Graduate School, should provide support outside of that sphere. Although a number of U.S. administrators were involved in the discussion, Administrator 5, a final U.S. participant, and I reflected on the lynchpin that seemed to open the door for the new ELSP.

Text Excerpt 4-14 Administrator 5 discusses ELSP development

Administrator 5

Mackenzie: ... going back to something earlier you said [related to] the idea of fit, and I remember but the project never really seemed to fit until the topic of training graduate students kind of came in ... where that shift happened where before I was like okay go find go find things that could make extra revenue to now, like oh now we have we need to narrow down and try to find revenue that fits within the graduate school mission and I remember that being something that really impacted me because I was actually through the development of this program at that focus kind of came more apparent.

Administrator 5: yeah maybe we should never be doing things just to make a dollar right so if that was the initial instruction like make some money you know that's wrong. That's not the intention of these exercises but ya know I it's I I think that what we think of activities and what we should be doing as institution we need to have a very clear understanding of what we are at our core what do we do, right? and then then only do affiliated actions that are closely associated with that right? so graduate education time makes a lot of sense it also makes a lot of sense if you're trying to build a pipeline into graduate education or if you're thinking institutionally I'm saying well if we do this with this partner university we're building a potential undergraduate and then a graduate population pipeline and build that way. so all those make sense ...

Two major themes should be highlighted from this conversation between Administrator 5 and me. In the second line, I mention the topic of graduate student teacher-in-training. In order to gain buy-in from the graduate school, a teacher-training element had to be introduced. It was negotiated that in addition to a U.S. ELSP faculty member traveling to China, a graduate student would also be able to come and teach. Although an unplanned feature of the program, the introduction of the graduate student allowed the program to transition from a program that would

pull U.S. ELSP faculty away from the program to ELSP faculty acting as a mentor to a novice instructor. Interestingly, when I brought up the graduate teacher training program, Administrator 5 linked it to narratives of admissions and pipelines “so graduate education time makes a lot of sense it also makes a lot of sense if you're trying to build a pipeline into graduate education or if you're thinking institutionally I'm saying well if we do this with this partner university we're building a potential undergraduate and then a graduate population pipeline and build that way”. This statement links not only links back to the discourses in place found in the newspaper corpus about international students and admissions but also recognizes the importance of mission fit and leveraging programs that could be considered at the meso-level of hierarchy.

4.4 Past experiences contributing to ELSP establishment

On the U.S. side, a small number of administrators were involved in the establishment of the ELSP between the U.S. ELSP and the Chinese college. I had worked with them for several years in my capacity as the director of the Graduate ELSP and was familiar with their roles within the institution. For almost all of them, they had program planning in their background and some experience in global engagement either through creating contracts or working with students, although most had no ELSP experience. One thing that did unify them was a shared past experience with learning foreign languages and study abroad either during high school or college.

Text Excerpt 4-15 U.S. Administrators describe past study and language learning

Administrator 5

Mackenzie: I wanted to ask you...tell me a little bit about your past educational experiences and if in language learning, but did you have any experiences with language learning in the past?

Administrator 5: hmm I don't have any other than just a traditional schooling. Any experience with language learning basic schoolwork and taking Spanish, French and Latin in high school, and living in Spain or living overseas and that sort of thing.

Administrator 6

Mackenzie: How would you describe it past language learning experiences did you study other languages when you were younger tell me a little bit?

Administrator 6: yes, I studied other languages when I was younger. Yeah, in terms of formal training in high school in college German, French, Italian, and Russian but the problem I recognized with my approach to it is that I was interested in too many different things, So I ended up with German. German was where I got the furthest because it was we had friends in Germany and we spent time in Germany, but in retrospect I should have been more focused and gotten to a higher level of achievement and then it would have been more useful to me in the long run because I feel like I know a lot of things about language from studying language but I'm not proficient.

These two U.S. Administrators, who were important to the establishment of the ELSP, had slightly different ways of describing their language learning and study abroad experiences.

Administrator 5 provided a rather factual account that described a broad range of languages studied, some classical in nature like Latin, and spent time in Spain studying abroad.

Administrator 5's description that this was considered 'traditional schooling' seemed to suggest that studying multiple languages and studying abroad was typical or normalized mirroring some of the discourses in place observed in the newspaper corpus. The normalized experience to study multiple languages and spend time abroad was also articulated by Administrator 6, but during our conversation, they also signaled they saw purpose beyond academic study. At one point Administrator 6 states "German was where I got the furthest because it was where we had friends" which suggests, in part, this participant feels gains in language proficiency happen outside the classroom. Both participants signal they did not feel comfortable in the languages they studied by describing them as basic (Administrator 5) or not proficient (Administrator 6).

Although not stated directly, it could be suggested that the U.S. administrators related the importance of education and study abroad, but not make the same connection between education and language learning.

At the same time, when I asked the U.S. administrators to reflect on creating the ELSP between China and the United States, one noted how the act of developing new ESL programs had been part of past job experiences, “I guess professionally, the other piece of experience [is] with ESL programs working with...continuing education ... in terms of helping them think about how to structure their program” (U.S. Administrator 5), while others described language learning experiences as essential and adding to their current positions at the university: “Well I think I'm a firm believer in the importance of language study, and I have my own sort of positive and negative lessons from my own experience. I think it was also part of an educational trajectory that put me in touch with things international” (U.S. Administrator 6). These types of statements signaled that although the U.S. administrators were not directly embedded in ELSP development, they saw themselves as stakeholders or knowledgeable about the process as well as able to connect their own language learning experiences to their current profession.

A very salient example of an administrator connecting their personal past experiences with the desire to craft the current ELSP into a formal agreement arose out of my interview with Administrator 5:

Text Excerpt 4-16 Mackenzie and Administrator 5 discuss formalizing the ELSP

Administrator 5

Mackenzie: yeah I remember the discussion we had when we were first trying to figure out what... how to kind of present the agreement and I remember I was going through the track of like oh it's it's a MOU like that's what we do and you were like, no let's do a contract. Talk to me a little bit about that decision

Administrator 5: Well you know I think it's it's part of that is unrelated to part of that is unrelated to this specific piece of wording, but also a reflection of what I inherited a little bit in the school. you know I think my first one was was we were signing very vague what we would call an MOU or a contract with various universities ...and it was unclear to me ...I was uncomfortable with the language that we had been using because it was not specific enough and what we were trying to achieve it seemed like we were more interested in just signing an agreement of some sort versus actually building a substantial partnership right they would scale things up. so I think my response to that was to you was probably formed by some of those other experiences of that makes sense.

Here, Administrator 5 pulls on his past experience with universities engaging in agreements (historical bodies) and his observation that some have not been successful because the language was too vague. The comment about vagueness can be connected back to some of the critiques of how often international partners would like to do collaborative projects but in the end are not able to execute substantial results (Knight, 2011). It also could be observed that by wanting to call the agreement document a contract, transitions to a formal discourse in place. By describing the agreement as something that can be “scaled up” (Administrator 5) the agreement is moved towards positive financial and enrollment benefits associated with global engagement found within the discourse in place.

The aim to establish an ELSP might have been a bit clearer for my colleagues in China. It could be suggested that there is a very clear and direct goal to engage in international activities and to use English as part of that strategy. Further, the interaction order between the two institutions suggested that such an agreement could be possible (e.g. Administrator 4 (U.S.) and Administrator 2 (China) met officially to discuss potential areas of collaboration). However, during my interview with Administrator 2, a more personal motivation for the establishment of an ELSP was revealed.

Text Excerpt 4-17 Chinese Administrator 2 Discusses Language Learning

Administrator 2

Administrator 2 ...But in graduate school I was able to take classes in English and had to write papers in English. and very importantly, that university and offered a language training program to help international students like myself to adapt to the English medium education system, and I thought I thought that was very very helpful...when I do back the real illuminating experience about language training was actually [was] with all those taking classes in English writing papers and their importantly the language training program. ..., so this is how I started the idea to work with you and the U.S. university/ language [name redacted] center. we started to work together and bring the expertise of [name redacted] University's language center to here [name redacted]

Administrator 2's comments about language learning stands in contrast to the American counterparts in a number of ways. First is the context: unlike a quick study abroad experience, Administrator 2 conducted his graduate studies in an English-speaking environment. He was also one of the few agents involved in the establishment of the program who had experienced an ELSP tailored to his academic experience. Although not the only reason for establishing the ELSP, this personal past experience seemed instrumental for this central agent in the development process.

4.4.1 Conclusion

ELSP establishment between international partners is a complex social action that depends on the interplay of an acceptance that higher education institutions should be and are involved in research and that student exchanges exist in formal and informal agreements. It also requires that the interaction between the institutions be aligned in terms of fit, mission, and similar goals and relations between the stakeholders. Here, I will frame what I have discussed above to address my guiding questions related to the establishment of the program.

First, it can be suggested that official and de facto policies and assumed norms informed individuals' actions during the establishment of the ELSP within the Chinese and U.S. institution. In particular, relevant discourses in place from the newspaper corpus suggested international collaborations and global mobility were common and even prestigious. These concepts were also mirrored in the institutional educational and mission statements that encouraged agents to engage in international partnerships. As illustrated, both universities were actively engaged with plans and policies that encouraged research exchange. For the U.S. institution, China was named as a central partner and had existing projects between the two institutions already. Similarly, the Chinese institution has embraced discourses of global engagement and implemented a number of policies to advance international faculty hiring and provide courses in English. Discourses in place also suggested that English was a part of international engagement, although framed differently in the respective institutions. The discourses in place underpinned the initial meeting between Administrator 2 and Administrator 4 where official meetings were held to explore new international partnerships. One rather salient example of the circulating discourses of internationalization and practice took place during my interview with Faculty 4. Here when I asked him if he would teach in English in the future, he connected his choice to follow the English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) policy in relation to the college's status as an international school as signified by a plaque (pictured on p.103). Below, we can observe Faculty 4 using the process of resemiotization allowing the Ministry of Education award to inform his teaching practice.

Text Excerpt 4-18 Faculty 4 discusses the status of English within the global college

Faculty 4

Mackenzie: do you think if you were to teach another graduate level class that you would do it in English or do you think you would switch it to Chinese?

Faculty 4: I go back to that I probably will return to that course maybe this fall, promised to give everything in English our College is supposed to be able sort of International College we actually got the plaque from the Ministry of Education of China to be recognized as model for international education right so so so this this kind of course is kind of essential for college I think some other professors posters like doing that but not too many

Through the process of establishing the program, it could be observed that norms of interaction were both maintained and transformed. On one hand, the agreement was formalized through a contract so both institutions would be required to follow the framework, so in this way the power dynamics could be formalized and thus maintained through an official document. Although this document provided a symbol of formality to the establishment of the program, the remainder of the policy documents, or discourses in place, played only a partial role. The interaction between the individual agents and their personal networks and past experiences also contributed to the establishment. If Administrator 4 was not aware that I was open to expanding my program's mission, he might have not been able to respond to Administrator 2's ideas. Perhaps the largest transformation could be seen within the graduate ELSP itself. By allowing myself to engage in agreements with international partners, the graduate school moved the needle slightly on the types of activities that the ELSP might engage in. Not only did the process transform the program to include global engagement but also an element of teacher training, a function that the ELSP had not participated in previously. The inclusion of the teacher training element can also serve as an example of how a policy like a mission statement, in this case the graduate school mission statement, can shape the final ELSP.

Finally, the influence of individuals' past learning experiences on the ELSP development had some influence on the establishment. On the U.S. side, most of the administrators had had

experiences studying abroad as well as studying multiple languages. These experiences did not, however, translate smoothly into developing an ELSP between the U.S. and China. At a minimum, it could be suggested that their past experience informed them that an ELSP could be beneficial, but there is not a lot of direct evidence. Perhaps the most salient example of how past experiences influenced the establishment came from Administrator 2, a Chinese administrator and faculty whose position at the Chinese college allowed him to act upon establishing the ELSP. Although his role encouraged him to create new internationalization programs, it was his past positive experience with English language learning that was forefronted.

5 Implementation

In its simplest form, needs analysis is a pre-course design process in which information is gathered to help the teacher or course developer decide what the course should focus on, what content in terms of language or skills to include, and what teaching/learning methods to employ. Over time needs can change and the teacher can also gain an increased understanding of the situation and the learners' needs in relation to it. Thus, the needs analysis also plays a role in refining the ESP course once it is set up and running (Basturkmen, 2010, p. 26)

The preceding chapter illustrated how the ELSP establishment was mediated through discourses circulating around higher-education internationalization realized through both explicit institutional policies as well as de-facto societal expectations. Within this context, individual agents, with their own personal histories of studying abroad along with their professional institutional roles, interacted across international borders and institutions to create an ELSP. In turn, this current chapter focuses on the ELSP implementation and the events that occurred during May 2019 when the U.S. director and Faculty 6 delivered the three-week program. Pennington and Hoekje (2010) suggest the implementation stage often rests on gathering the necessary resources to achieve the “mission, goals and timelines” (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010, p. 259). Among those resources include the curriculum, faculty, and instructors within the ELSP,

but also the greater ecology of the institution, which includes the policies and norms of the Chinese college, the physical space and location of the college, and Chinese administration and faculty outside the ELSP. To explore this, NA will be applied to how the ELSP fits in relation to the particular education policies shaping the Chinese college's English language teaching environment, or the discourses in place, and the historical bodies individual educators' experience within this context (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) that may force the program to change on the spot or reassess its purpose. This is not uncommon as Basturkmen (2010) suggests, once the needs analysis is complete and curriculum developed that

“needs can change and a teacher [or administrator] can also gain an increased understanding of the situation and the learners' need in relation to it. Thus, the needs analysis also plays a role in refining the ESP course once it is set up and running” (p. 26).

This chapter captures the actions of the ELSP in China as it is “set up and running” and the discourses and mediated changes on the ground. Accordingly, this chapter discusses these program-level resources and the mediating factors that are present while individuals navigate their professional and classroom experiences. For this ELSP, this includes discourses addressing the presence of English as an academic language, how English is used within the classroom, and how English is experienced in the ELSP.

In order to tap into the social level discourses that mediate the ELSP implementation, the first section of this chapter presents an overview of how the English language, both as a required subject and a testing tool, has been experienced by administrators, faculty, and students within the Chinese college. Here, I will focus on how the participants engage with discourses of English as the primary academic language and how that plays out in practice. The results from the participant questionnaire and interviews position the English language as a required subject that

should continue without a definite end underpinned by increasingly high stakes testing. Further, as discovered through the interviews and questionnaire, the action of English study is linked to a variety of future aims such as studying abroad or employment. Ultimately, overall, Chinese staff, faculty, and students expressed mixed emotions related to their long histories of English language learning and how or if it relates to their current lived experiences.

With academic English established as the main discourse underpinning the experience of individual faculty and policies such as the undergraduate EMI policy and the graduate publication policy, the next part of the chapter addresses, at the community scale, the experience of the Chinese faculty and how they navigated these discourses in place. Readers will observe the interaction between the faculty's past personal experiences studying and working abroad in English contexts did not connect to following the college's EMI policy nor guarantee their support of an ELSP (Byun et al., 2011; Dearden, 2018; Zhang, 2018). At the same time, based on the interviews, the publication policy for the professors presented as a clear objective that justified further ELSP support; thus an ELSP seemed a welcome solution to the perceived deficits in student performance (Cai, 2013; C. Chen et al., 2017).

Following the discussion of the role of Academic English, I discuss the ELSP curriculum. An analysis of the curriculum reveals certain ideologies of academic English were upheld while others were omitted. It is important to note, in our timeline of this study, it had been three years since the needs analysis, so although the Chinese administrators and faculty were aware of the ELSP's existence, many aspects of the college had changed and faculty members had had time to consider or try the college's EMI policy in practice. So, in some ways, the interviews conducted during this time re-informed the program as participants reflected on their experience in situ,

which captured both the cyclical nature of the ELSP as well as how the individual agents navigated the change on the ground.

Finally, the last part of this chapter focuses on the individuals within the program taking action on the resources they had available (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010), readers will encounter how this program navigated logical and physical challenges and remained responsive and reflective as resources and agents changed (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Brown, 2016; Fox, 2009; Pennington, 1991). This section addresses how Faculty 6 and I navigated the classroom and training experiences that exposed some tensions between the idealized form of an English language learning classroom and the physical and logistical constraints found in delivering a program in an unknown location (Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). For Faculty 6, their interview explores their own impressions of the classroom, the delivery of the program and, the interplay of idealized discourses of the English language and English language teaching that occurred. This will be paired with managing the classroom enrollment and the technology and individuals who may mediate the process.

For all the following sections, selected vignettes will be used to illustrate the multiple scales of discourse that can enter into how an individual expresses a social action (Hult, 2015, 2016; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). In other words, at times it is difficult to separate the nexus in to clean scales when also focusing on the relationship between the cycles of discourse in place, interaction order, and individuals' historical bodies (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). At the end of the chapter, the vignettes will assist me in answering: 1) how do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals' actions during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution?, 2) how are norms of interaction maintained or transformed during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution?, and 3) how do

individuals' past learning experiences shape the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution?

5.1 English as a gatekeeper

If the purpose of an ELSP in a university is to teach academic English, it is useful to understand agents' past experiences with learning English and the perceptions or practices of how the language is in practice by the individuals involved in the program. For the participants in this study, English language study within the Chinese education system was a unifying experience for participants. In particular, their relationship with past English language study was tied to several high-stakes exams that ensured their future or current careers (Hu & McKay, 2012; Kirkpatrick, 2016; Sun et al., 2017).

In general, it understood that language tests, like an English placement exams, often serve as de facto language policies that impact curricular decisions, teaching practices in classrooms, and individual identities (Dunworth et al., 2014; Finn & Avni, 2016; Menken, 2008; Menken & Garcia, 2010a). The participants in this study, including administrators, faculty, and students, were no exception in that they all stated they experienced extensive exposure to English as a foreign language in their youth (primary and secondary) and as a school subject tied directly to high-stakes exams. Most of these exams had sections testing English language knowledge and were important to score well on because it allowed the individuals to advance to the next better school or university. As a note, the Chinese college has on average 130 undergraduates and 210 graduates enrolled at any given year.

Text Excerpt 5-1 Faculty 5 summarizes their past English language learning

Faculty 5

Mackenzie: looking back on your past experiences, can you tell me a little bit about your English language acquisition?

Faculty 5: For the English part I just took the normal education as most of the students did in my age. We started to study English from the beginning middle school which is 11-12 years old. Kids these days study even before primary school. My English alright in the beginning because we just do the examinations but for the speaking and listening, we didn't have too much training in the middle school but we do not need to pick these tasks up as well. I entered university things change quite a lot because we need to take some entry exams (referring to Gaokao) that but when we enter we have to take another exam to decide what for which level you should start with level 1, 2, 3, 4

In the above exchange, Faculty 5 described what they considered to be a 'normal' English language learning education. As described by Faculty 5, learning started at a young age but was not so difficult because the exams did not include speaking and listening. This comment, where the participant identified speaking and listening as difficult, was common across many of my participants. This commonly held belief demonstrates an intersection between a past lived experience, or historical bodies, and an agreed upon discourse in place (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Many of my participants saw themselves as more successful language learners when they were younger and, as in the case above, describe a learning environment with few exams and lower expectations. Faculty 5 then describes as their studies advanced the English language exams became increasingly more structured and had higher stakes. The exposure to studying English early and encountering exams was mirrored within the Chinese student population as well. Questionnaire results of 31 students enrolled in English content and my ELSP courses suggested English language study started early, on average around age nine years old, and the Gaokao exam (Rui, 2014), was a major motivating factor to study English before entering university. For this question, students were allowed to select more than one answer.

Table 5-1 Student Questionnaire Responses: Motivations for Studying English (N=31)

obtain a good grade on the Gaokao	31
fulfill a required subject	23
acquire language skills for study abroad	20
acquire skills for future job opportunities	17
gain personal enrichment	5
Other	4
respond to a family request or society obligation	2
Total # of responses	103

Based on this questionnaire, students in addition to selecting the Gaokao, stated that they studied English because it was a required subject and that it might help when they study abroad. It could be suggested there is a relationship between studying English because it is a required course and studying English so that one can obtain a good score on the college entrance exams. Both represent fairly tangible and fairly transactional motivations. The decision to study English because it might help you study abroad is a bit more aspirational and tied to some ideologies of what role English plays for society. Out of the four individuals that selected ‘other’, two commented in the importance of English in relation to internationalization “English as an international language, will be used in life” and “English is an important tool for seeing the whole world”. My interviews with the students expanded on the type and number of English exams an average Chinese student might experience during their educational journey.

Text Excerpt 5-2 Students discuss past English language learning and tests

Student 2

Mackenzie: Well first of all why don't you tell me a little bit about your past experience with learning English do you remember like when did you start learning English and tell me a little bit about your past experience?

Student 2: I started learning English while I was in my primary school in our primary school this English teacher and we have English class maybe twice a week... you know that we have English exam when we enter high school the examination so during the junior high school English is very important and we should get high score and then we entered a senior high school and English is more important the English score is 150 the same as Chinese oh yes so in students should study English very hard

Student 3

Mackenzie: So when you studied in Middle School in high school was it mostly to prepare for the Gaokao or was it for another purpose?

Student 3: I think the major purpose is about Gaokao and I think during the learning process I think I have the talent maybe to learn English and I can have fun I can I can enjoy the process so I wanted to develop English into my into mine into something that is further than Gaokao I think oh yeah so I think the process of learning English for Gaokao mainly like the process of learning English.

Student 4

Mackenzie: Why don't you tell me a little bit about your experience with learning English?

Student 4: yeah maybe in high schools add to my learning about English was mostly for the Gaokao but before the high school because Gaokao do not test our speaking the oral English and before the before the high school were usually needed to practice our oral speaking so I think before the high school maybe way usually intended just for the Gaokao.

Students 2, 3, and 4 all discuss the importance of the various exams they had to take during their primary and secondary school years, in particular, the Gaokao. Student 2 refers to an exam that takes them from middle school to high school through stating: “we have English exam when we enter high school the examination so during the junior high school English is very important and we should get high score” signaling that if you are unable to get a high score you may not be able to matriculate into the high school of your choice. Student 4 mentions how the Gaokao was their primary manner to learn English, however since it did not focus on speaking and listening those were things they needed to adopt additional study. In the end, Student 4 suggests that the main purpose of studying English was to study for the Gaokao. Student 3 mirrors the other students in agreeing that the main purpose of studying English in high school was directly tied to the Gaokao, but also signals that the process of studying for the Gaokao was meaningful because Student 3 discovered they enjoyed English and could use it beyond simply obtaining a high score. Student 3 states, “and I think during the learning process I think I have the talent maybe to learn English and I can have fun I can I can enjoy the process so I wanted to develop English into my into mine into something that is further than Gaokao”. These statements, just like my interview with Faculty 5 (Text Excerpt 5 3) students 2, 3, and 4 establish a salient discourse where when reflecting on past language learning experiences testing is a significant mediating factor and linked through interdiscursivity (Bhatia, 2010; Blommaert, 2005; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) across their entire educational career.

For undergraduate students, the Gaokao was not the English test they would take. Once admitted into the Chinese university they were required to take College English Test (CET) administered by the Ministry of Education. Based on their score, or if students were unable to pass the test, they would be required to take additional English classes (C. Chen et al., 2017;

Yumei, 2010). Passing this test was a prerequisite for the Bachelor's degree (Foskett & Maringe, 2012).

Text Excerpt 5-3 Student 1 & 2 discuss the College Test of English requirement

Student 1

Student 1: yeah I need it even in the in my graduate time when you entered this university for at the graduate student yeah you also learn English for a one term

Mackenzie: okay and what did you do in the graduate one term class? What was that class?

Student 1: it has two parts one is called academic English including the also how to write correspondence in academic communication and how to present conference presentation talk in conference and how to write a paper they but I think is somehow simple some basics not very complicated and another part is you can you can choose one type from listening or speaking English so and the form depends on I think the form totally depends on the teacher in my group my teacher will talk to class the basics half of the term I choose spoken English yeah and then and she will talk about some basics in spoken English and then we will form a group of 6-7 people per group and the two and do drama

Mackenzie: I see, so like a little play or something like this

Student 1: yeah I didn't know how to yeah and the way we will show this to the whole class I think that's for the graduate.

Mackenzie: were these classes both the academic communication and the oral communication out of the [name redacted] College or was it a different who's teaching these courses

Student 1: I think he's from the Department of [name redacted] in China they have this yeah I think they have a linguistic background

Mackenzie: I see so they have classes that are kind of open for everyone to take

Student 1: yeah I think every student must take this course and not only for students working on science or engineering and also and also other the other departments

Mackenzie: so how would you compare the class you took as a graduate student to the class that you took as an undergraduate student where they had different kind of

purposes

Student 1: the graduate class is more about academic I think I think undergraduate I'm the more about your skills to communicate with others and the undergraduate is more like to teach basics and what taught in the senior high school or something

Student 2

Mackenzie: what type of experience that you have was studying English when you got to your undergraduate did you do your undergraduate here at [name redacted] university. Do they have they have any English requirements classes there

Student 2: we take CET4 and CET6 which is a Chinese/English test okay yes by the way you needed to a pass that these tests

Mackenzie: that like standard across all universities that they have this test across China

Student 2: Yes but we don't have much English classes

At the time of this interview, Student 1 was a graduate student at the Chinese college, but they were also an undergraduate at the same institution, so were able to provide commentary on both contexts. Student 1 described their first year at the Chinese college and taking English for one semester. Although Student 1 describes the courses, academic English and academic communication, as not necessarily just general English classes, they suggest that the content and the manner in which they were taught was based on the teacher rather than the curriculum. When comparing the classes they took as an undergraduate and a graduate, Student 1 characterized the graduate class as more 'academic' in comparison to the communicative focus of the undergraduate course. Student 2, who was also a graduate student as well as had been an undergraduate at the college, described the requirement of the classes in relation to the CET but did not think content was very substantial. Here in both instances, students' described limited, yet required English language courses that were "somehow simple, some basics not very complicated" (Student 1). Student 1's statement echo the circulating discourse that as one

progresses through their education the language learning experience changes and perhaps becomes more difficult, or in this case academic. However, I also noticed both Student 1 and Student 2 were rather quick to critique the manner in which the courses were delivered or the perceived difficulty of the material reflecting the frustration that the required class did not really fill a need (Brown, 2016; Dearden, 2018).

Although graduate students did not have to pass the CET exam, the Chinese college had a publication requirement in place for both the master's and the Ph.D. level.

Text Excerpt 5-4 Mackenzie and Administrators discuss publication requirement

Administrator 1

Mackenzie: So, you were saying, what you're in general you feel like the graduate students are really comfortable getting like looking in English to the for the literature to understand the references and things like that

Administrator 1 yeah but you know in our university in our college or if the graduate student want to get a degree, a master's degree or a PhD degree, they must, they have to, publish some English papers like this. So they must, know to write a paper in English.

....

Mackenzie: ...let me ask this this is there a difference, even so master's students and the PhDs students must publish? Is it the same criteria like does the master student have to try to reach the same journal as the Ph.D. student or do they have slightly different requirement as far as like what journal they should publish?

Administrator 1: Usually, the Ph.D. students we have a high requirement. For example, the journal levels, we usually think a very high rank for them. But for the Master's students, usually just so so.

Administrator 2

Mackenzie: that's part of their graduation requirements to write yes?

Administrator 2: Yes, they have to publish some papers in international journals so so yeah this is some that faculty members definitely care about [writing] because we have

no choice. for undergraduate students they are not required to publish in English, so oh and also in your undergraduate period they don't write a lot.

Based on the comments above, one might observe that the policy requiring graduate students to publish is understood by both Administrator 1 and 2. Administrator 1 connects the policy to the actions of the students by stating “they have to publish some English papers like this. So they must, know to write a paper in English”. Later Administrator 1, clarifies this statement to describe a hierarchy within the policy based on the students’ degree where PhDs have the most pressure to publish in high ranking journals while master’s students can publish in journals that are just “so so” suggesting there are fewer expectations for the master’s students. It could be gathered from these comments that the publication requirement seems to be a task associated with graduating Ph.Ds rather than a process that is designed from the time a student is an undergraduate. Faculty 2, describes the type of journals that students need to aim for as international connecting the discourses between publishing in English and internationalization (Neubauer & Zhang, 2015; Sun et al., 2017). Like Administrator 1, Administrator 2 suggests the policy has a direct impact on the participants, in this case the faculty: “faculty members definitely care about [writing] because we have no choice”. Administrator 2’s decision to describe the lack of choice in relation to the policy reflects the top-down nature of discourses in place, in this case writing in English, often felt by individuals.

Returning to the comments by the students, we get a sense that these participants may view the study of English as something that begins at a young age and is then used as a tool to achieve higher levels of education. However, this progress of passing English exams, is not always aligned with the ability to use the language. Students voiced concerns that the classes they were required to take within the college did not prepare them for much except the CET and

that they did not get much out of the classes. Overall, participants seemed to express more comfort with skills like reading and writing over speaking and listening, although the ability to write was challenged by requirements like publishing in English. Among all the Chinese participants the relationship between learning English and testing was consistent, and many participants made reference to needing a certain level of English to pass major exams both in secondary and post-secondary schooling. Despite this longstanding experience, students who were enrolled in the ELSP did not seem to place a high value on testing or want the curriculum to be modified to align with possible future tests such as the Graduate Record Examinations (GRE) used by U.S. universities. Here, I ask Student 4, an undergrad, directly if I should modify the course:

Text Excerpt 5-5 Mackenzie and Student 4 discuss modifying the ELSP

Student 4

Mackenzie: so in this case would it be better so if you were for the class I thought would be better if that class was to help prepare for that test?

Student 4: No, I don't think so I think I think the process to prepare for the SAT for our tests is kinda boring and you know our Chinese students well just practice do all the other tests before to get some get some knowledge from those tests and we can come up with our conclusion to face the test ourselves yeah I think that's a that's quite a boring process I think.

Based on this answer, it seemed that Student 4 pulled from their past experience, or historical bodies (Blommaert & Huang, 2011), to indicate that they felt equipped to study for tests on their own because students “just practice do all the other tests before” and there was no need to introduce it into the current ELSP curriculum because it would be too “boring”. Motivations behind enrolling in the ELSP were further expanded in my questionnaire, where students could select more than one answer. Of the 22 students who answered why they enrolled in the ELSP,

the top three reasons were: to assist in English content classes, study abroad, and for future job opportunities.

Table 5-2 Student Questionnaire Responses Motivations for ELSP (N=22)

assist with English content classes	16
acquire language skills for study abroad	13
acquire skills for future job opportunities	10
fulfill a required subject	9
gain personal enrichment	5
Total # of responses	53

Two of the undergraduates I interviewed, both enrolled in an elective English content class, mirrored the questionnaire results by stating their motivations to enroll in EMI classes were related to acquiring skills to study abroad and personal enrichment. Although their current class was not related to their major, they both expressed they wished they had more courses in English.

Text Excerpt 5-6 Students discuss why they want to study in English

Student 3

Mackenzie: if you had a chance to have more classes in English would you want them and why?

Student 3: I want them because I think the classes teach in in teach in English it is quite different from the classic to teach in China because I think I think maybe the style the teachers may give us a plus with an English speaking teacher maybe more active in the

class in may give us much more communication I think and I'm I think I'm good at English so maybe if I take the class I will get a feeling of superior I think I think and that is that also gives me that also helps me to practice my orals speaking me and my listening and maybe my writing

Student 4

Mackenzie: if you had a chance to have more classes in English would you want them and why?

Student 4: I'm looking forward to now because I need to go abroad as an access a master to learn the most made compulsory or compulsory classes are just in the USA so I think I'm a little afraid about this because to me I think I have some awareness about some terms in my in my field and I think I need to get some more practice and also the foreigner class has always have the introduction between the professor and the students maybe I'm a little timid about this right yeah I need to be more practice right

Although the participants had experienced extensive English study and testing, the students interviewed here expressed very different reasons for further English study. Student 3, who did not have plans to go abroad, spoke towards how when courses were taught in English they felt they were more interactive: “English speaking teacher may be more active in the class in may give us much more communication”, further Student 3 saw a classroom taught in English to be a good place to practice the language skills they had already acquired. Student 4, who was planning on starting a master’s program abroad, enrolled in an English course in part to prepare both academically and socially. Student 4 expressed that although she felt she had some awareness of terms in her field she needed more practice and at the same time she described herself as timid in social situations so wanted additional practice there as well. In both these cases, one can observe the possible discourses in place related to English language study circulating. The first discourse being if classes are taught in English, and thus associated with Western approaches to teaching, then they are by nature more communicative (Liyanage & Walker, 2014; Sun et al., 2017) even if classroom interactivity may be based more on the

teaching style (Airey, 2012). At the same time, Student 3 represents a certain agency in their confidence and how they might perform in this hypothetical English class and can imagine their future-self performing successfully. For Student 4, who will study abroad, suggests studying English formally may assist them in both academic and social interactions. Although true to a point, researchers in the field of International Education have noted how language courses cannot cover all the skills necessary for a study abroad nor do study abroad experiences result in meaningful communication with locals (Dearden, 2018; Knight, 2011). Although both students had rather positive things to say about learning in English, this feeling was not universally applied in every situation. In particular when interviewees were asked about more high stakes situations, like courses related directly to their degrees, and with grades that could impact their overall GPA or future, English was a less attractive option.

Text Excerpt 5-7 Students discuss their concerns with EMI and Content Courses

Student 3

Mackenzie: when there's a class in English how do you learn about it like is there some announcement that a particular class will be in English and how do you find out or you just show up on the first day and all sudden you learn the teacher will be teaching in English?

Student 3: We had some warning before yeah we have some warning which is from the students who are older than us yeah they told us it's quite difficult to understand what is being said and if you really can't and can't understand the teacher just look at the materials.

Student 5

Mackenzie: do you wish that there was more English lectures in your major?

Student 5: I think if we listen this we cannot understand

Mackenzie: so in that way you think it's better to have the lectures in Chinese

Student 5: maybe we can have the information in Chinese as a for example PowerPoint in Chinese in English and but we can hear as a lecturer in English

In both cases, Student 3 and 5 indicated concerns over comprehending the lessons and relying on the materials or PowerPoint files to understand them. In these answers, the discourse in place related to English and testing and performance returns resulting in a more negative analysis of using English for learning. This concern was also felt by the faculty as described in the next section.

5.2 Interaction between past education abroad and EMI in the classroom

The Chinese professors embedded within the Chinese college were highly regarded. All five professors interviewed had a similar academic past that included a science and technology track during high school and college, followed by a period of study abroad in the United States, England, or another English-speaking country, and then a return to China often under the Thousand Talents program. For many of them, their time abroad not only gave them more meaningful experiences in terms of learning new information but also facilitated being mentored by experts in the field. At times they described a humbling experience as their time in secondary school and then college left them feeling fairly confident in their ability to communicate, but upon arrival in their new environment, they encountered gaps in their daily English use and academic English related to their careers.

Text Excerpt 5-8 Faculty discuss encountering language challenges while abroad

Faculty 1

Mackenzie: So then also looking back can you tell me a little bit about when you thought you first started to study English, like what age about did you start to study English academically?

Faculty 1: I think I'm started learning English was at the end ...after of primary school. After primary is 1996, I would be 18 years old. Academic English actually, when I was an undergrad student there was one class and that was taught in English..Oh that was a hard time I really struggled (both laugh). I don't know if I really learned a lot of English from that class. Because this was the first class taught in English and that class

was very heavy in technical terms. So, I had to both learn about basic or ordinary English. And I had to learn all the technical terms. I think I really started to learn in English when I was in graduate school when I was in the U.S. I mean I had no other options. I think that was also really hard.

Faculty 3

Mackenzie: so was so then when you went to [name redacted] university what was it like so what was that transition from China into the university for like both language and academics?

Faculty 3: I think certainly it was a big change. Language wise, certainly it was a huge difference even if you prepare you do the test. You go to the room you concentrate right then you've got a high score yeah yeah you do the listening and after long-term practice you understand like 95% percent right but like that's the test test right. Well when I actually went to the states, I start my graduate life at [name redacted] university you have to keep talking to people during daily life and in the beginning, it is quite difficult. At that time is not like you could concentrate right so like well they actually pay attention to things certainly I understand them but at a time it's like you have to keep like talking to people it's certainly pressure but over time you got used to it and I think there are differences if you do good preparations in advance like yeah basically if you have very high scoring all these tests right typically they you get used to the new environment like a faster so I think the test does make sense right yeah it's kind of it's not a very like a clear one-to-one correlation but uh it's in still there are some correlations.

Faculty 5

Mackenzie: then also looking back oh yeah go ahead please yeah so also just looking back through your past experience can you tell me a little bit about your English language acquisition so for example perhaps when you first started to learn English and then maybe later you started to learn more academic style English.

Faculty 5: so when I moved to UK after the graduation from master's degree it took me some time to get used to the language because I thought my English was all right but when I tried to use it every day it's just not that easy right but the good thing is the postdocs who supervised me at the beginning she was a German but she also told me that it took her like half year to get used to the English so I felt okay I think I started writing my first English paper one year later so I did take some course but like writing was later I didn't found that in English the language was not the terrible part I found how to how to make a cover story was that was challenging part you have the idea about what you write and you can always make it readable and understandable also well my thoughts the best way to learn use of English every day English is to go to the pub.

All of the faculty here (1, 3, and 5), describe a transformation from studying English mediated by exams to studying English while being abroad resulting in significant gains in English proficiency. In this interview, Faculty 1 compares the little amount of English they learned formally in school to the great amount they had to learn out of necessity as a graduate student. They do this through positioning their first encounters with English, their formal English classes in China, as inadequate ultimately mirroring the same themes expressed by the students in Text Excerpt 5-3. Faculty 3 also states that test preparation did little for them when they actually needed to use the language, but then gives some credit to studying since it might provide an individual a good foundation and a quicker start towards actually using the language: “I think there are differences if you do good preparations in advance like yeah basically if you have very high scoring all these tests right typically they you get used to the new environment like a faster” (Faculty 3). Faculty 5 also noticed that once it was necessary to use English daily, they identified gaps in their communication, but through their colleagues, they were able to obtain support, tell a story with writing, and leverage the power of social situations like going to a pub. Faculty 5, in particular, describes their language acquisition through places and people, part of the interactor order (Goffman, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), that mediated their experience and helped them progress.

Many the faculty working at the Chinese college, who also spent time working abroad and conducting high-quality research, were recruited as excellent candidates for the Thousand Talents program, mentioned in Chapters 2 and 4, and could accomplish the de facto institutional language policy to introduce more English into the classroom. As a reminder, the EMI policy of the Chinese college (fully described in Chapter 4) calls for 50-80% of courses to be facilitated in

English within 5 years. Within the context of the Chinese college, faculty consider teaching undergraduate activity, since graduates take fewer courses. Here is an excerpt of a discussion between a professor and me regarding how they define teaching:

Text Excerpt 5-9 Mackenzie and Faculty 1 discuss a definition of teaching

Faculty 1

Mackenzie: yeah how many do graduate students also take classes

Faculty 1: I do not I do not teach graduate classes I would ask how to say when they the graduate student classes are not taught in English. I could not think of one class that is taught in English. You now in China teaching typically means teaching undergraduate students by default. And teaching undergraduate students is counted as your work, but teaching graduate students is not. It is very different. It is not, it is just as you teach but not counted as your workload.

Here Faculty 1 makes two important distinctions for the Chinese college that 1) undergraduate teaching is the only type of teaching that counts towards their equivalent of tenure and 2) graduate students rarely take classes and if they do, they are never taught in English. This was a significant realization at the time and a challenge to my own habitus as both a graduate student and a language program director for a U.S. graduate school, it was difficult to adjust that no course work or language support was typically provided.

The classes I observed while doing my needs analysis in 2016 were undergraduate classes. When I returned in 2019, I was lucky enough to follow up with two of the professors I had observed in order to see how they were lecturing in English. Between my observations in 2016 and 2019 a number of things had changed in their approach.

Text Excerpt 5-10 Mackenzie and Professors discuss English in the Classroom

Faculty 1

Mackenzie: so you know I remember when I first came here to [name redacted] university, there was this idea or a hope that some professors might try to do some of the classes in English. My understanding was that it was a choice a little bit more like that like I start a strict policy, not like you have to do in English but just like us trying to encourage, but since I guess I came in what has been kind of the change in that thinking around teaching English in the classrooms?

Faculty 1: I don't know about the other professors. From my experience, I started to see that the students would learn more if I used more Chinese. And therefore I started ..we typically have a 16-17 week seminar a semester and I typically start with less English and more Chinese and gradually increase [the English].

Mackenzie: And would that be for the undergraduate classes?

Faculty 1: Yes. And in my class there are a lot of technical terms. I find a good way for students to learn is for them to know the prefix or suffix. So if they learn one word they can guess what the other words might mean.

...

Mackenzie: ... when you say like you noticed the students could understand more [in Chinese] was it based how, how did you kind of observe their understanding?

Faculty 1: I think one way is from the quiz. We have an in class quiz every class. The other is when I talk with them and teach. We have communication. I can see if they can really understand or if they are confused.

Faculty 2

Mackenzie: okay yeah so you I remember us talking even you were reflecting on your own experiences like a new teacher because you were having so not only was it new school it was kind of new teaching and then you were also thinking a little bit about teaching in English so and how have things changed now over the past couple years like is it about the same have you kind of modified what you're doing.

Faculty 2: I'm modifying. In the first year, my PowerPoint is in English and I teach in English. But this year, my PowerPoint is still in English but I teach in Chinese.

Mackenzie: did that happen suddenly or did it? happen over time?

Faculty 2: It happened suddenly because I know the students may not accept it. They could not understand what I spoke about, so I changed in Chinese. The results were a

lot better.

Mackenzie: How could you tell how did you kind of measure their understanding?

Faculty 2: Some exercises, I give them quizzes, and final exams and from their scores, I know.

Mackenzie: was the quiz in English or in Chinese?

Faculty 2: Yes

Mackenzie: okay and it's the quiz now in Chinese?

Faculty 2: It is in English too. Except all my teaching everything is in English. Reading English for Chinese students is easy. Listening and speaking is hard.

For both of these faculty members, the observations of students' performance within the classroom mediated their decision to switch their lectures from English to Chinese. Returning to earlier assumptions that reading and writing are easier than speaking, these faculty members switched from lecturing in Chinese to using English PowerPoint slides and textbooks as the primary English artifacts. Echoing discourses related to the importance of testing and success this hybrid EMI model, for the professors, appeared more productive for the students and enabled them, presumably, to achieve higher test scores. Here both professors engaged in a level of agency to modify the EMI policy, a discourse in place, but still, based on their perceptions follow it. Through using English textbooks and PowerPoint files in English, the faculty resemiotized what is an EMI classroom through still exposing students to English, but in a way that would make them the most successful and still follow the policy (Källkvist & Hult, 2016)

Although the actual class practice mediated the amount and type of English used in the classroom, Administrator 2 provided additional factors:

Text Excerpt 5-11 Administrator 2 describes challenges to EMI classrooms

Administrator 2

Mackenzie: so as far as the how have you seen in the past few years, I know initially you talked about having some instructors teaching English, I remember a couple of days ago you so well some have shifted now they're kind of changing the philosophy about teaching in English can you tell me a little bit about what's happened over the past couple years and teaching courses in English?

Administrator 2: um I um I think though a couple of things have happened. one thing is that, here, teaching is not considered as important as research. so many of the faculty started to feel that okay I'm putting efforts, but I'm not receiving a whole lot of positive feedback from the university administrators so that's one factor. another factor is entry as I mentioned, just the overall probably the dominant opinion here in Chinese universities. People still think the students are not ready for this, so there is pushback. but as I said I actually the students feel differently they actually want more courses taught in English parents definitely feel this way as well yeah especially parents, parents are willing to pay extra to attend those institutions that teach courses in English.

Administrator 2 provides three main reasons that the faculty may have departed from using English in the classroom. The first is related to the pressure to publish over teaching. In this case faculty may be more focused on the activities in their various labs over facilitating undergraduate classes in English. This observation by Administrator 2 mirrored earlier conversation with Faculty 1 (Text Excerpt 5-9) where it was expressed that teaching does not count towards promotions or success. The second is related to the external factor that Administrator 2 describes as feedback. Administrator 2 describes both the lack of explicit institutional feedback as well as general social feedback that may have framed using English in the classroom as either unnecessary or too difficult. The circulating discourses related to the challenge of facilitating courses in English, according to Administrator 2, seemed to be understood through desires or

emotions. Administrator 2's analysis of the faculty framed their rejection of EMI in relation to the students' readiness. While in contrast, parents and students desired the experience so much that they were willing to spend money to get the experience. More than anything, Administrator 2 mediated the significance of the EMI policy to the foundation of the college program.

Text Excerpt 5-12 Administrator 2 discusses the EMI policy

Administrator 2

Mackenzie: and then so this initiative could I find so this overall goal that the university had to kind of bring more English-medium courses is this an official policy that's written down somewhere or was like how did how did people learn about it? Was there like and kind of like an email out to everyone like "hey this is what we would like to do or..."

Administrator 2: I'm not sure whether it's written anywhere. To me when I was hired here I was just told by the international dean so he said that at the time for the new department it was his goal to have all the technical courses taught in English because we are a new department and all the faculty or the new faculty here are essentially this thousand talent faculty. then everybody should be able to do this, but as time went by things just happen and that has not become reality but initially, I was yeah, I was told this is the goal to have every course taught in English...

Here, there seems to be a difference between institutional EMI goals and how the instructors implemented them. The observed interaction between the use of English and the test scores (Goffman, 1983) informed the instructors that they wanted to shift the EMI policy to work for the students instead of against them.

In contrast to the EMI policy associated with the undergraduates, the faculty had a fairly unified and positive view on the graduate student publication requirements. In fact, it seemed that the faculty felt graduate students needed the most support: "I would say the graduate students definitely need more English training. And the undergraduate side, I started to feel they do not need so much English. I just have this feeling" (Faculty 2). When faculty spoke about the English publication policy for graduate students, they expressed a great need for graduates to

publish in English but also frustration with having to take on the task of making a document publishable.

Text Excerpt 5-13 Faculty 1 and 3 discuss publication requirement

Faculty 1

Mackenzie: How large of a role should ELSP play?

Faculty 1: yeah like so does it should it play a bigger role or is it okay right now or maybe it's not needed or it should pay a bigger role, currently we don't have any besides your program. This it should play a bigger role otherwise all the burden is on my shoulder. Students will do an experiment and write a first draft and send it to me. The first thing I have to figure out what they are trying to say and then I have to completely have to rewrite it. That is what I have to do. I am pretty upset about this, but that is the fact.

Faculty 3

Mackenzie: so for you what has been your experience with working with the students and trying to kind of help them construct a research article in English

Faculty 3: it's I think it's a pretty it's a pretty challenging thing because the writing level is not there so frankly speaking it's not a rewarding experience

Here Faculty 1 and 3 express frustration and dislike mentoring student research writing in English and uses that frustration to mediate the justification for an ELSP. Faculty 1 signals approval for additional ELSP support as it might lighten the burden put on their shoulders. Here one might observe the common discourse that content faculty are not responsible for teaching writing (Airey, 2012), and that skill is best addressed through outside writing support or an ELSP (Freeman, 2016; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Ruíz, 1984). Faculty 3 notes how their students' English language level is not high enough to make mentoring rewarding, so helping the students produce publishable research articles is challenging. The burden Faculty 1 and 3 experience a

result of adopting a publication requirement is not surprising (Airey, 2012; C. Chen et al., 2017; Hu & Lei, 2014) as it is understood that teaching writing is difficult; however what stands out about these professors' statements is their use of emotion to mediate their understanding of the responsibility. The choice to use words like 'upset' and 'not rewarding' helped me understand how strongly, and perhaps negatively, the faculty felt about the policy and their past experiences trying to navigate it.

The ELSP was not the sole support for the publication requirement at the college. Returning to the course, mentioned by Administrator 1, provided by the college that focuses on Reading and Writing, when speaking with Faculty 3, Faculty 3 who had taught the course, I expressed to him that I wished we had had the chance to collaborate considering it seemed such a need to support research writing.

Text Excerpt 5-14 Faculty 3 defines academic writing support

Mackenzie: It would be cool if it we could integrate our courses

Faculty 3: I started of course of our associate dean talked with me because the initially they had a pretty disorganized course. The students complained about it and said this course is kind of terrible. there's always have a bad evaluation bad feedbacks that' why they asked someone to do it. In the beginning, I really don't want to teach this course I'm not a writing teacher yeah I should do a more legitimate course for me yeah okay because every time yeah it's pretty clear and pretty interesting because every time when I talk to my friends like I'm teaching this course then they will pause and switch a gear. So it is kinda weird. So, when I spoke with my associate dean I told her that I wouldn't do this as like a language course yeah if it's truly a language course right that shouldn't be me right I think maybe at the beginning they try to ask my colleagues to teach language that's why everyone hate

Interestingly, instead of agreeing that we should collaborate, Faculty 3 continued to describe the challenges they expressed in Text Except 5-13, and expressed frustration in having to facilitate a graduate research writing course at the detriment of teaching a legitimate course, e.g. one that fit their research area. The prominent discourse that research was perceived as more important than

teaching was very apparent for Faculty 3, who described the reactions from colleagues. According to Faculty 3, when the writing class was mentioned amongst peers they would “pause and switch a gear”, or topics. This interaction seemed to be interpreted by Faculty 3 as negative, and perhaps this experience along with the societal and institutional pressures to publish and present as a serious researcher took a stance that he would not focus on language while teaching the Reading and Writing class. This event reveals a possible deeper understanding of the discourses at play when language support is introduced into an academic program. Although Faculty 3 has their own unique experience, for the ELSP director understanding the feelings and opinions about who is responsible for teaching language skills can be a barrier to collaboration and how our interactions might be mediated in the future (Goffman, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Based on these interviews, policies enter the educational practice in two ways. The first is that the undergraduate EMI policy is unevenly practiced by the faculty. Overall, faculty tend to favor using English PowerPoint files, tests, and research articles but preferred to teach in Chinese. This practice is different from what I observed in 2016 where faculty used English for all classroom interactions. That being said, some faculty signaled that English study was important for the undergraduates to assist in activities like going abroad or preparing for graduate work. Regarding the graduate students, faculty embraced the publication requirement as a necessary tool but did not want to use their time towards the language support needed to implement it such as seen in text excerpt 5 16, Faculty 1 (Airey, 2012). This seemed to conform to what I observed in 2016.

Although the graduate curriculum seemed to meet the needs of both the students and the faculty, a fundamental shift occurred between the needs analysis in 2016 that weakened the

justification of the curriculum. If little spoken English was actually used in the classroom, was it necessary for me to include content focused on answering questions in the classroom or giving presentations? Although these interviews followed Brown's (2016) advice that a developer needs to revisit the program often, I was left with a bit of a sinking feeling that it is was too late to adjust the content as the program was already underway. The following sections focus on how the U.S. faculty, Faculty 6 and I, navigated the classroom while delivering the ELSP.

5.3 Embracing policy and academic English ideology in the curriculum

This section focuses on how the ELSP curriculum and content drew from the policies at the Chinese college as well as norms of EAP courses. In May of 2019, it was agreed upon by the two institutions that a Faculty 6 and I would deliver a three-week English language support program. The program would have an undergraduate class with no more than 20 students per section and a graduate class with no more than 15 students. The undergraduate class would meet for 100 minutes twice a week and the graduate class would meet once a week for 90 minutes writing followed by individual one-hour consultations. In our original agreement, Faculty 6 would facilitate one section of the undergraduates and assist me with the other two classes. The curriculum we delivered was initially created after the needs analysis in 2016, but had undergone revisions after the pilot in 2018 and then again while I worked with Faculty 6 in the spring of 2019. Before our arrival in May, Faculty 6 and I spent the spring semester together in an independent study focused on increasing their knowledge in TESOL approaches and hands-on experience revising the curriculum, so Faculty 6 would feel comfortable delivering it.

Curriculum implementation is often characterized as an event that takes place within the confines of the classroom between the students and the teacher (Basturkmen, 2010; Burns & Knox, 2011; Graves, 2008; Larsen-Freeman, 1997). To some extent, this definition holds true in

that without the interaction of the teacher and student the ELSP does not exist. At the same time, it could also be suggested that the implementation process is more permeable and functions like a complex, dynamic system connected to other classes, the faculty, staff, the institution, and de facto and explicit educational policies. Each part of this system is rarely fixed, linear, or decontextualized but rather experiences constant adaptation as well as resonance to its historical context (Lemke, 2000).

Reflecting on my original visit, when I conducted my needs analysis, I relied heavily on Brown's 2016 needs analysis book for English for Specific Purposes. This book aims to provide an introduction to "a wide range of theoretically sound approaches and practical options for actually performing ESP [Needs Analysis] in the real world" (Brown, 2016, xxii); so, theoretically, developers like myself could use this book to create a curriculum that met the needs of learners, faculty, and administrators within their context and goals (Basturkmen, 2010; Brown, 2016; Flowerdew, 2005). After I completed my needs analysis, I wrote in my proposal to China:

Text Excerpt 5-15 Section of needs analysis report, 2016

Although a number of stakeholders have the vision that English can expose learners to additional scientific knowledge and new ways of thinking, it is my suggestion that the focus should be on the immediate needs of the learner in relation to how and when they will use English. For the undergraduates, due to their limited use outside the classroom, it will be difficult to maintain motivation and buy-in without a carefully crafted relevant curriculum. For this reason, the content of the course should connect English to the actual activities they have to do in English. In other words, the course should offer undergraduates the opportunity to engage in English textbooks, to present in English, and listen to English lectures. The same could be suggested for the graduate students, who are engaged in extensive reading and writing of disciplinary texts and who may be demotivated by topics unrelated to their primary needs. (Bristow, 2016)

Here in my proposal, you can see I favor crafting the curriculum that I feel is practical and supports the language that the students may encounter in the EMI classroom. I also know, now looking back, I was pulling from my past experiences building programs and teaching English to guide this process. In the proposals, when I state “with their [undergraduate students] limited use outside the classroom, it will be difficult to maintain motivation and buy-in without a carefully crafted relevant curriculum”, I am drawing from ESP researchers who suggest learners are motivated by learning things that are relevant to their jobs, or in this case related to their activities as students (Basturkmen, 2006, 2010; Brown, 2016); thus, “the content of the course should connect English to the actual activities they have to do in English”. It cannot be ignored that I took particular interest in the EMI policies in place to justify the content I would include in the undergraduate curriculum. At the time, it was my opinion “that the focus should be on the immediate needs of the learner in relation to how and when they will use English”, meaning since the only time they were using English was in the classroom the curriculum should support that activity. I mirrored the same philosophy for the graduate students urging later in the document that the focus should be on writing for publication.

Shortly after my initial needs analysis proposal was submitted, I met with my colleagues in China via WeChat to discuss the proposal and approve it. The meeting was held on Sept 13th, 2016, with a few Chinese administrators and a student representative. For the most part, the entire proposal was accepted, but during the meeting the student representative suggested I should add a section to the undergraduate curriculum on applying to graduate school. Although this was an unplanned content addition, it was not surprising to be asked to include non-linguistic information into the ELSP class (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018). As a compromise, I added a final lesson in writing personal statements. It should also be noted, that although the undergraduate

class was presented as a course, its actual design was that of stand-alone workshops in anticipation that students may attend and then leave as well as enroll late. An outline of the undergraduate classes and daily tasks as well as the graduate workshops is included in Table 5-3.

Table 5-3 Outline of ELSP Class Activities

Undergraduate class	Graduate Workshops
<u>Class 1</u> Introductions and Email English	Week 1: Moves in writing- Identifying moves in introductions
<u>Class 2</u> Listening and responding to lectures Giving a presentation	Week 2: Using Corpus tools to investigate grammar and lexis
<u>Class 3</u> Reading: Definitions and general to specific organization	Week 3: Establishing flow between sentences
<u>Class 4</u> Managing intercultural communication Process Description and presentation	
<u>Class 5</u> Using text analysis and corpus Tools	
<u>Class 6</u> Preparing personal statements	

Reflecting back on this course proposal, I believe that I approached the content and structure of the curriculum in light of the policies in place but also to reflect the EAP practices I had learned over time (Basturkmen, 2006, 2010; Brown, 2016; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015). Considering the duration of the program was only three weeks, I felt, realistically, few linguistic gains could be achieved. Thus, another fundamental decision was made to make each class stand-alone rather than work towards a final assessment with the aim that skills could be introduced, or awareness raised. The activities in the ELSP class reflected the assumed activities that students might have in their EMI class such as responding to questions or giving group presentations. These types of activities are also assumed to be common within general university classrooms and thus accepted as activities an ELSP should support (Ferris & Tagg, 1996b; Hyland, 2016; Hyland & Shaw, 2016a) In the end, the objective of the ELSP curriculum for the

undergraduate was to support the language necessary to navigate EMI classrooms. For the graduate workshops, the object focused on supporting research writing and publication.

The EMI and publication policy here emerges as one of the justifications or discursive tools that I used to make sense of the curriculum. However, as it has already been noted, decisions around formalizing English language support exists often in a larger ecosystem of policies and practices that include how English is positioned within academia and global economies; thus, an important subject to study throughout one's education even into the postdoctoral level. The necessity of English is further propagated through high-stakes exams that serve as a gatekeeper to the next, better level of education (Dunworth et al., 2014; Finn & Avni, 2016; Menken, 2008).

5.4 ELSP resources: recruitment, classrooms, and teaching load

This section will focus on how Faculty 6 and I navigated the resources we had available (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010) related to the physical classroom, delegating responsibilities and responding to the number of students enrolled in the class. Much like Scollon and Scollon (2004) discovered possible barriers to education at the University of Anchorage, this section follows a similar path in understanding the physical administrative discourses in place that mediated the U.S faculty's ELSP development process.

When Faculty 6 and I arrived in May, the Chinese college was in the process of physical move from their downtown campus to one of their suburban campuses. The downtown campus, or the old campus, has a number of historically significant buildings and beautiful established trees but also a very old physical plant. The graduate workshops were held at the old campus in the science building. The building was a 20 minute walk from my apartment, so I always had to ensure I had all my materials with me. For Faculty 6, the science building was about five minutes

away. The building had approximately 12 floors, which was significant because we were told that the elevator might not work. The classroom where the graduate workshops were held was on the same floor as the graduate student offices. As far as I could tell, the college kept the hallway lights off in order to not waste energy. However, on occasion there was equipment against the wall, making walking down the hallway difficult.

The graduate workshops were held in a small conference room at the end of the hall. Upon entering the classroom, a large table with chairs on either side took up the entire room, so students had to maneuver around each other to enter. The layout made it awkward for a student to take a bathroom break without stepping over another student and passing through what could be considered the professor's space. The room had no blackboard, but it did have a computer and projector. Unfortunately, the hookups were rather old and the projector would flicker in and out during the workshops. Workshops were held in the afternoon and individual consultations were scheduled based on the graduate students' schedules. Although these challenges existed, one could tell the graduate students were comfortable in the space and with each other. Any technical difficulty I encountered was quickly resolved and tolerated by the students without irritation or distraction from the lesson.

The new campus, where the undergraduate course was held, was an hour or more by train from the old campus. This campus had more uniform buildings, which made it easier to get lost, that covered about 650 acres of land. The building where the undergraduate class was located was within walking distance of the train stop for the suburban campus. The classroom was large with a slightly raised podium for the professor with a teacher computer and an automated drop-down screen. Student desks and chairs were aligned in about six rows with affixed tables and chairs. The classrooms had large blackboards with ample chalk for a professor

to use. My previous class observations during my needs analysis in 2016 had occurred on this campus, so I was somewhat familiar with it. During my needs analysis, it appeared to me that the majority of classes delivered to the Chinese undergraduates were rather teacher-centric and focused on transmitting complicated theories and vocabulary to the students rather than discussion. The classrooms accommodated this type of platform event (Goffman, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). To accommodate the undergraduate's schedule, classes were held on Wednesdays from 6:30-8:30 p.m. and Saturdays from 2:00-3:30 in the afternoon.

The norms of the classroom and classroom interactions presented a number of challenges for us. For example, the university had an excellent internet infrastructure, but we did not have access to their learning management platform, so we used email and WeChat to communicate with the students. Unfortunately, for us as faculty, WeChat was very difficult to use because students would use nicknames, like flower, as handles making it hard to stay organized. Researchers have documented the impact new spaces or new technology can have on the instructional experience (Bhalla, 2012; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), and in many respects mediate immediate decisions and modifications. In response to the lack of a structured place to submit homework or feedback, the first undergraduate lesson of the course was modified to include a lesson on email English so we could demonstrate how students should craft their emails and send their files. This quick edition provided a structured process for the students to submit homework while still meeting the aims of learning academic English. Other special aspects, however, proved themselves too difficult to overcome. The undergraduate classroom also had an unexpected older style blackboard installed at the front of the room with chalk presumably a more comfortable writing format for formulas. For us, however, we broke every piece of chalk we used.

Text Excerpt 5-16 Faculty 6 discusses the ELSP classroom

Faculty 6

Mackenzie: So now I guess this is our final week here talk to me a little bit about your experience here first describe little bit about how it's been for you specifically in the classroom?

Faculty 6: It's been a good experience I mean the chalk it's been an issue right no I mean it's been it's been good I mean I mean like the I was kind of shocked with like kind of you know in a way it's like very the way the class splits itself up the girls up front boys in the back. Women and men it's kind of that's been a little strange for me but I mean after a couple classes have been more interacting with each other even though it feels at times we're forcing them we have to count from number so it right it becomes interconnected I guess um it's been it's been interesting

Teachers draw upon their past teaching experiences in an attempt to understand their current classroom interaction order (Burns & Knox, 2011; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). From the text excerpt above, two things made an impression on Faculty 6's classroom experience. The first was navigating the different classroom facilities and the second how the students interacted with one another. Focusing on the later, Faculty 6 noted how surprised they were with how students segregated themselves by gender. Reviewing my own field notes on May 15th, I had made the same observation. Nonetheless, Faculty 6 found a way to overcome this situation as reflected in my field notes on May 25th: [name redacted] has fully embraced the habit of directly pairing up students in different combinations to encourage new experiences. Faculty 6 mirrored this sentiment this during their interview by saying, "I mean after a couple of classes have been more interacting with each other even though it feels at times we're forcing them we have to count from number."

May 15thMay 25th

Figure 5-1 Students in the classroom

Overcoming some of the norms of the classroom can also be observed in Figure 5-1, which has two still images recorded from the classroom events on May 15th and May 25th respectively. May 15th was the third undergraduate class. My notes from this day document that a number of individuals arrived late making it a challenging class for Faculty 6 to start. According to my notes, during this class, I felt that Faculty 6 appeared confident although they needed to still work on time management to complete the lesson. The image from May 15th correctly portrays the seating arrangement and student interaction, primarily in pairs using the affixed seating, during the entire lesson. Although the physical layout of the classroom restricted the choices in some way, analysis of the video revealed an equal division of 30 minutes of

teacher talk, 30 minutes of teacher-student dialogue, and 30 minutes of student talk. I did note during this time, however, a few students dominated the talk time while the remainder stayed silent. The image from May 25th, the 4th class, portrays a very different situation. Here students have broken away from sitting in rows and are in a group both standing and sitting. Part of the change could be attributed to the lesson, which required them to work in groups to build a tower. During this lesson the student were more were actively engaged and seemed to enjoy the problem-solving (field notes 5/25). During our post lesson discussion, Faculty 6 and I reflected how the students seemed more comfortable together suggesting that what had seemed forced in the beginning had become part of the classroom habitus and perhaps now part of the students' historical bodies (Räsänen & Korkeamäki, 2015; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Another unexpected wrinkle in the classroom management was the total number of students. A few days before we left for China, we were informed that enrollment was rather low. The graduate class had met its capacity, but only 10 students had signed up for the undergraduate class, although we could have supported 40. Based on the original plan, we were going to split the 40 students over two classes and I would facilitate one class and Faculty 6 would teach the other. On the first day, only 8 students attended and we had to decide how to administrate the course with fewer students. In the end, I decided that we would alternate teaching the classes so that all the burden would not fall on Faculty 6. Although there had been some initial disappointment relating to the number of undergraduates attending the course, Faculty 6 moved forward on co-teaching. In my journal, I write about the decision to co-teach rather than give the class completely over to Faculty 6. At that time, it seems my decision to do this was based a bit on fear. I saw this program as an agreement between two institutions, and I was cautious about the quality, a realization I was feeling a bit guilty about:

Text Excerpt 5-17 Faculty 6 discusses classroom load

Faculty 6

Mackenzie: do you think that and you don't have to answer this exactly now if it's if it's too awkward you could email ..how I can be a better facilitator do you think I wasn't direct enough like so I remember a couple times asking like oh do you want to take would you like to take over this whole thing [the undergraduate classes] or should like one point you mentioned here like reflecting back you wish it you would just kind of take it over the whole class yeah do you feel like there was too much of like kind of power differential for you to really like assert your desire or was it kind of at the time you didn't really realize what you wanted it was later you kind of realized what

Faculty 6: Well originally we were going to teach our own classes then there was not enough students yeah and I don't think it's a power differential and me not like saying oh I'd like to teach all of it was more of a crutch to have you there like if something problem happened there and you can say anything but I mean because we're not exactly peer so like that always have you there is also a stressful as well right right but you know like I have observations maybe twice a semester right one with [name redacted] and another with my teaching mentor yeah in those days were always like super stressful right until that was like but uh but I mean we had a good enough rapport beforehand I didn't yeah it was that much of an issue

As you can see from the transcript, I don't feel very comfortable discussing this topic, but it was important to tease out what had happened. It is impossible to discount the power dynamic and although Faculty 6 said the power differential did not exist, it is undeniable that I made the choice to alternate the classes rather than just give the entire undergraduate class for Faculty 6 to fully teach. Perhaps more importantly, as suggested by the transcript, my choice may have held back the possible development of the teacher by providing a crutch.

I was intrigued by the lack of students and the topic of how students learned about the ELSP was addressed during my interviews with both the graduate and undergraduate students. It became apparent through my interviews that students were swayed to attend our course based on the medium of communication and their advisor's recommendations.

Text Excerpt 5-18 Students 1 and 5 discuss how they learn about new courses

Student 1

Mackenzie: you said you got a notification as a student how many notifications do you think you get messages from the university do you get a lot of notifications all the time?

Student 1: you know as graduate PhD students we are in different groups by different advisors so so the notifications basically come from the as a college and we don't have a a well organization to to confirm everyone kind can really read this notification they just send it to a WeChat group and I think some people don't check this notification every day

Student 5

Mackenzie: so it's directly from the supervisor is this the most is this the most common way that you hear about special information

Student 5: yeah and actually the information is too much on the list I think our advisor is a filter

From these statements, it can be observed that multiple modes are used to communicate with the students, however, only a few actually work. The general university email system is described by the students as one that is either “not checked every day” and contains “too much information”. As a result, students prefer to use their professors or programs as a type of ‘filter’ to receive important information. Faculty were well aware of their role as a filter as one mirrored the state of communications at the university, “this university has too many departments, you know. Every day they will send us too many emails and I can't read every email in detail so I may miss it” (Faculty 2). From these conversations it also became apparent that the university email was eclipsed by the messaging service WeChat. WeChat seemed a more acceptable tool by the participants to gain access to information. Although this was not totally true as described by Student 1 who was uncertain if WeChat message were read. For many universities, the challenge

of communicating information to students has continued despite the promise of email and social media. Thus, since the participants found the quantity of information distracting they counted on trusted sources, such as their professors or programs, to curate or mediate the information.

Text Excerpt 5-19 Students discuss trusted sources as resources for information

Student 2

Mackenzie: So you are in the writing class with me how did you learn about this class

Student 2: the administrator sends information about this class and I'm interested in yes so I attend the class

Student 3

Mackenzie: How did you learn about the class?

Student 3: our teacher just send the information in our group

Student 4

Mackenzie: How did you learn about the class?

Student 4 teacher just to send a message to us if you want to take this class tell me your name

Responses from the students, as well as a few of the Chinese faculty, suggested that it is difficult to discern what information is important as so much communication is received from the university. Students, in particular rely on their programs and advisors to filter the information and recommend activities that would be useful. As an ELSP developer, this is essential information and signals that faculty buy-in is goal and driver of enrollment.

A final, possible, contributing factor related to enrollment was discovered toward the end of the program. Due to the university schedule, the final undergraduate class was scheduled on

the same day we were due to depart. In an effort to deliver the final class, we spoke to the students about moving the class to Friday rather than Saturday. While polling the students on the best time, six of the eight students revealed that they actually lived on the old campus and had been commuting the entire time. As a result, we held our final undergraduate class at the old campus. Returning to this vignette after the fact, one might question why disadvantage the ELSP course by holding it so far away from where many of the students lived. In this case, it is important to return back to the beginning of this section where I described how the STEM college was moving from one campus to the other. In this case, the location of the ELSP might have been mediated by the desire to ‘move’ the students away from the old location and normalize the new campus. Although at that time, the distance might have been a contributing factor to the low enrollment numbers, the location of the course might have played a larger role in the future of the STEM college.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored the factors including past language learning experiences, institutional language policies, teaching practices, and physical spaces that mediated the ELSP implementation. This was done through a questionnaire, participant-observation, classroom observations, and interviews. Taken together, this data can provide a fuller accounting of this ELSP implementation.

To address the first question, *how do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals’ actions during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution?*, this chapter observed both through interviews and an analysis of the EAP curriculum itself how the discourses of academic English dominated this ELSP. It was clear that English was viewed as a necessary topic to advance from one institution to the next, but also linked to success within

one's career. Further, the subject of English, within the academic space, is one that should be tested regularly and linked to the completion of a degree. Taking the EAP curriculum developed for this program into consideration, the types of English privileged within, such as writing for publication and language for academic classrooms were reflected. The EAP curriculum was also the result of a traditional needs analysis that was mediated by institutional policies, in particular, the EMI and publication policy.

An additional factor that was not anticipated during the ELSP implementation was lack of student enrollment. The agreement between the two organizations promised to deliver two undergraduate classes and one graduate class, which in the end did not materialize. A resource unknown to the U.S. side was how the programs were promoted and the typical manner that in which students learned about additional opportunities. It was discovered that the de facto manner that courses were promoted was primarily through communication between the professors and the students. There is also the suggestion that the decision to hold the ELSP undergraduate classes at the suburban campus, although less convenient for the students, was to support the near future physical move of the science program underpinning another discourse in place.

To address the second question, *how are norms of interaction maintained or transformed during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution?*, one can observe the transformations in the ELSP itself through first investigating the discourses present in the curriculum and the changes that had to be made as a realization that EMI was not being fully implemented. Here, in relation to the curriculum, interaction order is observed through the observed ELSP curriculum that was based on EMI discourses in place morphs in light of the realities of how the policy is practiced (Hult, 2016; Lane, 2010; Scollon, 2008; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). By including my reflections on crafting the curriculum based on the Chinese

college's EMI and publishing policies, it exposes how I was informed and replicated the policies. The fundamental shift in how the EMI policy was implemented in practice occurred between the needs analysis in 2016 and pilot in 2018 was the realization that most of the faculty had shifted their use of English primarily to PowerPoint files, quizzes, and textbooks. As the developer, I had tried to craft the undergraduate curriculum based on the stated EMI policy uncovered and observed in 2016, that it was a bit concerning to find out that few were still following it. While delivering this curriculum on the ground in light of ways the EMI policy was being used in practice by the Chinese faculty, sections of the curriculum seemed to be out of place. The interaction between the ELSP classroom content and the core course content had to transform. For example, the lesson on using English in the classroom had to be presented as a future experience rather than one of the students were experiencing in real-time.

For Faculty 6 and I, the transition from the U.S. to China shifted how we related to one another. The first way was in relation to the logistics of the classes. Due to the low enrollment, we combined classes so we became co-teachers rather than overseeing our own classes. The second was adjusting to our new physical environment and classroom facilities. As expected, over the three weeks unfamiliar situations transitioned into habits or become a part of the historical body of discourse.

To answer *how do individuals' past learning experiences shape the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution*, first, the role of academic English was discussed. For the Chinese participants, it was shown from a young age that the majority experienced the need to acquire English in order to gain entry into the next level of education, such as through the Gaokao exam, or obtain a degree, such as the College English Exam. For these participants, in particular, the Chinese faculty, studying abroad in English speaking countries was a common experience. This

activity allowed participants to gain access to better resources and mentorship with the added advantage of increasing their English proficiency. The desire for this experience was expressed by the student participants in this study who positioned their motivations to study English with future studies like a master's degree. Taken together, it was observed that the English language and its position within higher education was part of their historical body. Following this, it was shown how participants, namely the Chinese faculty, navigated the college's EMI policy and graduate-level publication policy during the time the ELSP was implemented. Unlike what was observed during the needs analysis, faculty interpreted and applied the EMI policy in a hybrid manner based on their past practical classroom experiences. In many ways, for the undergraduate classroom, their practical teaching experience and the historical bodies of their classrooms overrode the discourses in place related to EMI and the role of academic English. For professors attempting to facilitate their courses in English, their own course material provided them with insights into whether teaching in English was working or not. It seemed low scores on quizzes and tests transformed many of the professors who had started teaching in English into teaching in Mandarin. This was not the case necessarily when the faculty discussed the English publication policy. Here faculty simultaneously not only expressed challenges navigating their own professional identities as researchers and resistant editors but also agreed to maintain the English publication policy. Overall, these discourses introduced some doubt related to the purpose of the ELSP for undergraduates but seemed to reinforce the justification for the graduate course.

6 Evaluation of the ELSP

The previous two chapters addressed how the ELSP was established and implemented whereas this chapter focuses on the discourses that mediate the evaluation and thus future of the program. Returning back to the frameworks provided in Chapter 2, ELSP development benefits

from a cycle of planning, implementation, and revision (Christison & Stoller, 1997; Dunworth, 2008; Fields et al., 2016; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Starfield & Mort, 2016). Often when revision is discussed within an ELSP, it refers to classroom instruction adjustments based on the evaluation of the students (Basturkmen, 2010; Brown, 2016; J. M. Norris, 2016; Pennington, 1991; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). The satisfaction in the classroom is often a clear reflection of a well-functioning program; however, other factors also have a significant influence on the evaluation of a program including the success or failure of recruitment and enrollment efforts, earned or associated prestige as well as managing shifts in mission and buy-in from outside agents, and stability and climate (Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Sundstrom, 2016). As a result, revision at the program level is more akin to evaluation or that effort to gather information to make future decisions and actions (J. M. Norris, 2016).

To accomplish this, the evaluation of this program in this chapter will revisit the approach of analyzing the three levels of discourse (societal, community, and individual) to understand potential opportunities and challenges related to the future of this ELSP. To address the social level, this chapter will start with an analysis of discourses found within the newspaper corpus to reveal the geopolitical tensions between the U.S. and China. Although this follows a similar methodological approach applied in Chapter 4, the data set is different. This chapter will focus on corpus data from specifically from December 2019 until August of 2019 to encompass the period of time before the implementation and a few months after.

At the interactional level, this chapter will analyze how the current structure of the program as understood through the relationships of the offices and individuals provide opportunities and challenges for the functionality of the program. These invisible discourses in place, created opportunities for new relationships to form as well as reveal unexpected tensions

between administrative stakeholders. At the classroom level, participants through interviews and observations reveal the complicated realities of merging teacher-training and delivering a program revealing opportunities for modification for the teacher-trainer program and the curriculum. As a conclusion, I will present my interpretations of the findings in relation to the research questions 1) how the discourses in place support individuals' actions related to the future of the ELSP, 2) if norms of interaction maintained or transformed to support the future of the ELSP, 3) how did individuals' understandings, beliefs, and values guide the future of the ELSP?

6.1 Discourse in the Media

For this section, newspaper articles from January 2019 until August 2019 were included. First, an analysis of the term *international** was performed based on grouping concordance lines into four main categories, business, politics, culture, and education with a discussion of each theme. In 2019, *international** is discussed heavily within discourses of the ongoing trade war between the U.S. and China leading to increasingly strained relationships between the countries that trickle into themes of education.

A search using the keyword *international** produced 114 hits across 46 articles in the U.S. Newspaper Corpus and 391 hits across 98 articles in the Chinese Newspaper Corpus.

Table 6-1 Frequency of the term *international in 2019**

	U.S News Corpus	China News Corpus
# Articles in 2019 Corpus	144	242
# of articles with <i>international*</i>	46	98
# of instances of <i>international*</i>	116	390

After the rounds of coding the occurrences of *international**, the term was first read within the concordance line and then read again within the context of the newspaper article. After gaining a full understanding of the term within the concordance line, it was coded as one of four categories: business, politics, culture, or education. Table 6-2 presents the coded themes presented in raw numbers based on the theme within each newspaper corpus. Following this table is a discussion of each theme.

Table 6-2 Raw numbers of thematic codes associated with the collocation international*

	U.S. Newspapers	Chinese Newspapers
Business	17	39
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New businesses • Trade and financial Information • Tourism and Travel • Economic reports 		
Politics	50	80
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elections • UN, NGO, Government • International Relations 		
Culture	4	36
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • festivals, sports, arts, dance 		
Education	55	235
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • University Partnerships • Study Abroad • Admissions and Mobility • International Schools • International Education Cost • Academic Excellence 		

Selecting articles from December 2019 until August 2019 captures the span of time before the ELSP faculty traveled to China in May and a few months after. An analysis of the newspaper corpora with a focus on the headlines and analysis of the term *international** reveals

a variety of themes encompassing concerns of a changing and weakening economy and a slowing of global mobility. Although each theme is linked in some way to the ELSP, the information presented below provides more general analysis of how the media may shape discourses around international business, politics, and culture, but in education, the theme provides specific instances where the media coverage was more directly related to the ELSP in practice. Each theme below will be explored both through their concordance lines but also through newspaper headlines associated with the articles in the corpus.

6.1.1 *Business*

In 2019, newspapers in both China and the U.S. highlighted the concerns over global economics. As early as 2018, the countries had been engaged in a trade war (Cavallo et al., 2019; Islam, 2020) and effects were felt across multiple sectors from travel to raw materials. Although the economic policies were not directly related to education, the growing tension between the two countries created an environment where institutions working across borders and in partnership could encounter challenges. Excerpt 6-1 provides examples of concordance lines, three from the U.S. newspapers, and three from the Chinese newspapers, coded as business.

Text Excerpt 6-1 Concordance lines coded as business

Corpus Text	Source	Summary
Mr. Schiffman said his stores were thriving thanks to the booming Bay Area and Silicon Valley economy, but he estimated that his overall international tourist business fell to 10 percent from 30 percent over the past few years.	<i>As Trade War With U.S. Grinds On, Chinese Tourists Stay Away</i> The New York Times June 12, 2019	Article summarizing the economic hit U.S. travel industry is facing as a result of the trade war.
One transportation company in Salt Lake City, which shuttles international tourists from the	<i>Chinese Tourism to U.S. Cities Takes a Hit From</i>	Article summarizing the economic hit U.S. industries as a result of the trade war.

airport to Yellowstone National Park, told the Idaho Falls Post Register that it has seen many last-minute cancellations.

Trade Wars Atlantic Online
May 31, 2019

Taylor Communications bringing 700 jobs downtown, CareSource investing in a second downtown building, online retailer Chewy announcing it would bring 600 jobs to the Dayton **International** Airport and the U.S. Air Force choosing Wright-Patt for a new F-35 mission and 400 related jobs

How the next recession could affect Dayton
Dayton Daily News (Ohio)
January 13, 2019

Article providing guidance, in general, on recessions and highlighting local businesses that contribute to the community

The city has been at the forefront of this. Over the past seven decades, it has witnessed numerous historic moments in the nation's **international** relationships - from Sino-Soviet friendship in the 1950s to establishing diplomatic ties with France in 1964, the first major Western country with which it formed such a relationship.

Shanghai Proves Itself to be a Consummate Host
China Daily May 27, 2019

Article about the Shanghai World Expo

A total of 10 winners will be selected to explore new businesses opportunities overseas by taking part in various **international** events and exhibitions -- including "Think Asia, Think Hong Kong", a large-scale business promotional event to be held in Los Angeles in the United States -- to help them break into new markets.

11th HKTDC Entrepreneur Day opens today China
Business News May 16, 2019

Article covering the 'Start-up Express' event for entrepreneurs

In conversations on the topic, members do mention a

Article summarizing the current job market in China

growing preference among companies for recruiting local talent with **international** education, rather than junior expat profiles that may leave the country one day," said a spokeswoman for the European Union Chamber of Commerce in Beijing.

China's crowded labour market South China Morning Post, Feb 12 2019

The first two concordance lines examples from the U.S. newspapers where international collocates with tourist highlight the economic hardship felt from a decreasing Chinese tourist base (e.g. "he estimated that his overall international tourist business fell to 10 percent from 30 percent over the past few years" and "it has seen many last-minute cancellations."). A total of eight articles were included within the business theme and three of those had titles related to loss of tourist income as a result of the trade war.

- As trade war with U.S. grinds on Chinese Tourists Stay Away (New York Times June 12, 2019)
- Chinese Tourists US Spending Has Plunged The Trade War May Be to Blame" (The New York Times, June 12 2019)
- Chinese Tourism to US Cities Takes a Hit From Trade Wars" (Atlantic Online, May 31 2019)

Interestingly, although little discussion regarding economic hardship is covered in the Chinese newspapers, there was some messaging recommending limited travel to the U.S. as a result of the tensions. One headline from the South China Morning Post linked travelling to the U.S. to possible harassment by U.S. officials: "Beijing warns citizens of risks in travelling to US Advisories after visitors troubled by law enforcement and threat of crime" (South China Morning Post, June 5 2019). The majority of articles within the Chinese newspaper corpus coded as

business focused on events that brought notoriety to business hubs or job opportunities for individuals through participation in the global market. Not covering the trade war or potential economic challenges from the Chinese newspapers published in English might have been a choice to signal to English readership that the trade war was not newsworthy or creating no impact and thus there is no need to cover it.

6.1.2 *Politics*

The theme of politics included any news coverage of national elections but also governmental policies and international relations. For the U.S., 2019 marked the beginning of another presidential election cycle, so articles highlighting potential candidates were present. Another familiar theme within the U.S. corpus was the topic of immigration, in particular how numbers were decreasing as the result of U.S. immigration policy. Finally, there was also ample coverage of U.S. perspectives on Chinese policies including the treatment of a minority group, the Uyghurs, and civil unrest in Hong Kong. The Chinese articles that were coded political, focused on highlighting the positive economic and political ties that were attributed to general Chinese diplomatic efforts as well as the Belt and Road program. Excerpt 6-2 provides examples concordance lines, three from the U.S. newspapers, and three from the Chinese newspapers, coded as politics.

Text Excerpt 6-2 Concordance lines coded as politics

Corpus Text	Source	Summary
BEIJING -- A senior official from China's far west said on Tuesday that the internment camps for Muslim minorities there were like boarding schools and that their numbers of inmates would shrink, as the government pushed back against international criticism of the mass detentions.	<i>Camps for Muslims in China Likened to 'Boarding Schools'</i> The New York Times March 13, 2019	Article criticizing Chinese, Muslim Uyghur policy

<p>The number of international migrants was about a third lower in 2017 and 2018 than it was in the preceding years - a drop of more than 4,000 people.</p>	<p><i>Immigration to metro falls sharply</i> Star Tribune (Minneapolis, MN) April 18, 2019</p>	<p>Article linking immigration to new government policies</p>
<p>Buttigieg's alignment wasn't so much hawkish or dovish, but pragmatic in tone and internationalist in spirit, driven by generational concerns and reluctant to offer U.S. military intervention to hot spots.</p>	<p><i>Generational themes shape Buttigieg's worldview</i> The Washington Post June 12, 2019</p>	<p>Article highlighting a presidential candidate for 2020</p>
<p>These words brought to mind his UNESCO speech, where he called on the international community to seek "wisdom and nourishment from various civilizations," and to "work together to tackle the challenges facing mankind."</p>	<p><i>Five years on, Xi's vision of civilization more revealing in an uncertain world</i> People's Daily Online English March 27, 2019</p>	<p>Article covering President Xi's world view and China</p>
<p>China welcomes New Zealand to participate in the Belt and Road construction, Xi said, encouraging both countries to enhance cooperation in international affairs, jointly strive for an open world economy and uphold multilateralism and multilateral trading.</p>	<p><i>New Zealand PM's China visit to promote ties, boost cooperation under BRI</i> People's Daily Online - English April 4, 2019</p>	<p>Article promoting partnership between countries</p>
<p>"Now that he's finished the nuclear weapons programme, Kim is focusing on the economic development aspect of a dual-track policy," said Jung Pak, former senior analyst for the US Central Intelligence Agency. "Now he can engage from a position of strength as an equal, an international statesman."</p>	<p><i>North Korea's leader has charmed Trump, Xi and Moon. But are they all just keeping up with the Kims?</i> South China Morning Post.com February 9, 2019</p>	<p>Article summarizing the current state of affairs between the U.S. and North Korea</p>

It is not uncommon for newspapers to cover the policies of another country and critique them through a particular frame (Saraisky, 2016). Within this corpus, when the term international is used within the political theme, it is used to highlight the benefits of good international relations such as the coverage with the Chinese corpus on the Belt and Road Project or UNESCO. It also highlights the contrasts, often negative, between countries. In the first article, *Camps for Muslims in China Likened to Boarding Schools*, the New York Times framed China in a defensive position as a result of global critiques on their treatment of a minority religious group, the Uyghurs. A second article published in June entitled *Hong Kong's Protesters Earn a Victory. They Will Need More*, also described mainland China as reactionary to citizens' in Hong Kong. Coverage of these stories are newsworthy and provide important insight to possible discourses in place that frame personal liberties such as the freedom of religion and the right to free speech as privileged. The strategy to critique another country's policies or actions to highlight perceived privileges also existed within the Chinese Newspaper Corpus which provided a yearly report published entitled "Human Rights Record of the United States". The 2018 report, published on March 15, 2019, was in response to the yearly report the U.S. Department of State releases.

"On March 13 local time, the State Department of the United States released its 2018 country reports on human rights practices and continued pointing fingers at and slandering human rights situations in over 190 countries, while blindly ignoring its own serious human rights problems".

In this report, among a long list of wrongs, the China Daily cites religious intolerance towards practicing Muslims and immigration policies under Trump as concerning. The cry for the U.S. to acknowledge its own wrongs rather than focus on the misdeeds happening around the world is a

common narrative with the Chinese press. The U.S. is further critiqued in the highlighted corpus article, *North Korea's leader has charmed Trump, Xi, and Moon. But are they all just keeping up with the Kims?*, where it is suggested that the U.S. is allowing North Korea's leader to be legitimized and being taken advantage of by North Korea. The article suggests "now he can engage from a position of strength as an equal, an international statesman" (South China Morning Post, February 9, 2019). Overall, the media, in this case, mirrors the tit-for-tat international relations challenge that China and the U.S. had, and continue to have, during this time.

6.1.3 Culture

Below is a selection of the concordance lines with the term international* that were coded under the cultural theme which included the topics festivals, sports, arts, and dance.

Text Excerpt 6-3 Concordance lines coded as culture

Corpus Text	Source	Summary
The 19-year-old singer, Pichayapa "Namsai" Natha, quickly apologized in an Instagram post. And an Israeli diplomat said in a Twitter thread on Sunday -- International Holocaust Remembrance Day -- that the episode had arisen from a "lack of knowledge and lack of awareness."	<i>Did a Thai Singer's Swastika Represent Hate or Ignorance?</i> The New York Times January 29, 2019	Article covers misunderstanding across Asia towards symbols like the swastika. Singer who wore it apologies to Israeli diplomat
Early this spring Salem took part in an International Transgender Day of Visibility, having their picture taken, in an orange dress and combat boots, with 10 or so binary trans and nonbinary people on a street in downtown Raleigh.	<i>Neither/Nor</i> The New York Times June 9, 2019	Article covering International Transgender Day of Visibility in Raleigh.
In terms of making an impression, three works at the entrance of 5 Colours Foundation's booth at the	<i>Artists who simply make an impression</i> China Daily June 5, 2019	Article covers artists associated with the 5 Colours Foundation's booth at the

2019 Art Chengdu **International** Art Fair could be described as impressionist.

Chengdu International Art Fair

To promote cultural exchanges among Belt and Road participating countries, **international** alliances and leagues have been established covering museums of the Silk Road, theaters, art festivals, libraries, and art museums and galleries.

Connecting Hearts
Beijing Review
May 9, 2019

Article covers a variety of cultural projects such as archaeological, art, and cultural tourism as a result of the Belt and Road project.

Unlike the corpus data on culture from 2016, 2019 has fewer articles that were coded culture. The majority of uses of international within this data is associated with established or institutionalized culture such as names of festivals or historical events. Here the relationship between culture and international could represent important lessons for individuals to learn or the role cultural institutions play to support collaboration or wellbeing.

6.1.4 Education

Data from 2019 within the two corpora provided a relatively negative outlook on topics that included the topic education and the term international. Analyzing both headlines and concordance lines from the newspaper articles published in 2019, an overall negative description of education between internationalization and universities can be observed. Table 6-4 provides a sample of concordance lines coded as education from both U.S. and Chinese newspapers followed by an analysis.

Text Excerpt 6-4 Concordance lines coded as education

Corpus Text	Source	Summary
China, India and South Korea together sent 56.1 percent of all international students in the United States in 2017-18, an annual survey by the Institute of	<i>India Protests U.S. Detention of Students in Fake-University Sting</i> The New York Times February 3, 2019	New Delhi said several Indian students had been unwittingly caught up in an operation intended to expose visa fraud.

International Education showed last year.

The video was recorded in the summer before Ms. Zhao began her freshman year, in 2017. It now stands in sharp contrast with recent news: that her parents paid \$6.5 million to a college consultant at the center of an **international** college admissions scheme, according to a person with direct knowledge of the investigation.

Admissions Scandal: When 'Hard Work' (Plus \$6.5 Million) HELSP Get You Into Stanford The New York Times May 2, 2019

The news that a Chinese family paid \$6.5 million to help secure a spot at Stanford illuminated the global reach of the college admissions scheme.

China's warning Monday about the "risks" to students of coming to the United States could pose a major challenge for U.S. higher education because China is the largest source of **international** enrollment for America's colleges and universities.

After warning, U.S. universities worry at possible loss of Chinese students
The Washington Post
June 4, 2019 Tuesday,
Regional Edition

The news that rising tensions between China and U.S. could cause drop in international student to U.S.

The process was viewed broadly as a clear "win-win", in particular in the education destination of choice - the US, which attracted around 45 per cent of these **international** students.

Are Chinese students in the US a national security threat, or an economic benefit to both countries?
South China Morning Post.com
February 9, 2019

Opinion piece urging students not be used in the trade war

Nearly 1.1 million **international** students are studying at universities and colleges in the United States, contributing \$42 billion to the country's economy.

US colleges fret over fall in Chinese students
People's Daily Online - English
March 6, 2019

News on the decline in Chinese students at U.S. universities

"The bilateral educational exchanges and cooperation have become complicated under the backdrop of the China-U.S. economic and trade frictions," said Xu Yongji, a ministry official in charge of **international** cooperation, at a press conference in Beijing.

China alerts students to risks of going to study in U.S.
People's Daily Online - English
June 4, 2019

China's Ministry of Education on Monday warned Chinese students and scholars of the risks of going to study in the United States

Within the education theme, two discourses related to internationalization emerge. The first is that education, including international education, is suspicious or untrustworthy. This negative framing of education is highlighted in the first two articles in the U.S. examples. In the winter and spring of 2019, stories in the U.S. newspapers reported on fake universities used to catch unscrupulous international students and university admission scandals. Concerns lay in the economics of education and suggested that international students were attempting to game the system thus could not be trusted and educational institutions had questionable morals when those with means could purchase their way into a degree. The second discourse, present in the last four text excerpts (6-4), highlight the concern that international student mobility was more difficult due to the trade war between the U.S. and China as well as safety. Similar discourses were identified in Chapter 4 within the business theme, but by 2019 the poor relationship between the U.S. and China had moved into education.

Beyond the discussion of visas and possible fraudulent activities associated with international students, more longstanding discourses associated with mistrust between U.S. and Chinese educational partnerships had existed. As early as 2018, U.S. institutions had been experiencing significant pressures from the U.S. government regarding the Confucius Institute program. Confucius Institutes are programs sponsored by the Chinese government and embedded on U.S. campuses. Although the institutes' main mission, as stated on their webpage, is focused on teaching Chinese language and culture, pressure from U.S. lawmakers and ultimately laws that discouraged Confucius Institutes were underway into the spring of 2019 (Allen, 2018; Redden, 2018a). Headlines in the U.S. corpus mirrored the fears put forward that China's reach went beyond trade relationships into U.S. education: "*China's reach into U.S. campuses*" (The Washington Post, January 2018) and "*US schools are waking up to the China threat*" (The

Washington Post, April 2019). The fear around Confucius Institutes on U.S. campuses expanded the discourse of mistrust of individuals and administrative processes like visa application to institutional infiltration as evidenced by the use of imagery *like reach into U.S. Campuses* and characterize China as a threat. The U.S. university associated with the ELSP has a Confucius Institute on campus sponsored by the Chinese university that also supported the ELSP. Thus, before the ELSP faculty departed for China, I was advised to steer clear of this topic with our Chinese colleagues (Excerpt from Mackenzie's Journal on 4/18).

The final articles I would like to highlight from the 2019 education theme in the corpora were published during the ELSP implementation in May of 2019. While the ELSP was underway in China, the U.S. university associated with the ELSP dismissed two professors of Chinese descent. They were accused of misrepresenting their full financial ties to China on their National Institute of Health grant and so were asked to leave their labs. This action made headlines across both U.S. and Chinese publications.

Text Excerpt 6-5 U.S. University Fires Researchers

U.S. Headlines	Chinese Headlines
<i>AJC DIGGING DEEPER X UNIVERSITY 2 X researchers didn't reveal China ties</i> (The Atlanta Journal-Constitution, May 24, 2019 Friday, Main Edition)	<i>Professor at X University seeks legal support amid US probe into academics ties to China South</i> (China Morning Post.com, June 14 2019)
<i>2 More Faculty Members Lose Their Jobs Over Contacts With China</i> (The Chronicle of Higher Education May 23, 2019 Thursday)	<i>Scientist hits back at US university over 'unusual and abrupt' sacking in China funding ties case</i> (South China Morning Post.com, May 28, 2019 Tuesday)

Although fear about the relationship between U.S. institutions and Confucius Institutes were present, these stories were linked to the Thousand Talents program mentioned in Chapters

2 and 4. The professors mentioned in these articles were accused of working for the U.S. university and being funded through the Thousand Talents program and thus received additional support from a Chinese university but did not disclose the agreement with their employer or the National Institute of Health resulting in a possible conflict of interest (Bock, 2019; Mervis, 2019). The Chinese news coverage, in contrast, suggested the professors had been wrongly accused and their firing was evidence that the U.S. was hostile to China and those of Chinese decent. When this event was reported in the newspapers, I received an email to my Gmail account on May 25th from one of my Chinese colleagues with the subject line News coming out of U.S. University and a link from a science magazine covering the event. With no additional text within the body of the email besides the link, I recall feeling concerned and worried. That morning I considered the possibility that my Chinese colleague or my host institution might be upset. I was also keenly aware that my home university had not made contact with me to prepare me for the situation. I recall having thoughts that I should prepare to leave or at least be prepared to discuss the event. Later, when I met up with my Chinese colleague, I asked him about the email and he responded that he simply was interested in what I knew. No further discussion of this news story occurred while I was there.

Overall, the discourses that arise out of the media describe an environment where relationships between China and the United States are strained economically through an ongoing trade war, policies undertaken by each country become focal points for negative media coverage, and suspicion of educational institutions and traditional international partnerships became increasingly difficult as norms shifted.

6.2 The Challenges and Opportunities of Decentralization

Although discourses in place, such as governmental economic and policies between the U.S. and China, mediated the success and sustainability of the ELSP, the institutional support, and individuals working within them contributed as well. This section will illuminate the structures and relationships that support or challenge the ELSP as a program including possible shifts in mission and buy-in from outside agents, and stability and climate. These observations will be paired with how individual agents, in particular, the Chinese administrators and U.S. faculty navigated the resources to deliver the program ultimately informing how it might function better in the future.

What was perhaps the most unique feature of this ELSP was that it was the creation of individuals within two colleges rather than from a central global engagement office. As observed in the fourth chapter, the Establishment Chapter, the execution of the program fully came together as a result of a few individual agents who were dedicated to their institutional agreements and respective missions. In the case of this ELSP, the program depended on the U.S. university continuing its willingness to send ELSP faculty, Chinese universities maintaining a desire and the resources for the program to continue, and graduate students interested in the teacher training opportunity.

One theme revealed through my interviews related to continuing support for the ELSP was the balance of regular job tasks with global engagement projects as well as creating buy-in. When asked, Administrator 2 discussed the balance between these roles at the Chinese college.

Text Excerpt 6-6 Admin 2 describes job responsibilities and internationalization

Administrator 2

Mackenzie: ... it became very clear but what could be possible and then we went both went back to our respective jobs and that was almost like the real work like the ideas were great but then like how to actually make happen (both laughing), so on your side on your side like looking back what would you say was one of the easier parts and what was the more difficult part to actually make the program move forward.

Administrator 2: um I don't even know what is the easy part because actually, everything was quite difficult to start with my main job is actually building a research lab and building some of the new courses here as I said our department entire department is new so I need to build some new courses and I don't even get paid by doing this (both laughing).

Mackenzie: yeah this is a totally extra and

Administrator 2: and it's quite possible that many people don't even understand why you spend time doing this. so that was the first hurdle but I I guess I I do believe this is this is useful for our students for faculty and for the college as a whole. so that was the difficult part for myself. So, I kinda have to take some time out. and then I had to convince people in a college this is useful and worth's people's efforts and resources. I think that stage, a couple individuals were I think played key roles in pushing this forward. I think particularly is our International Dean. It is his job to push internationalization.

In this interview, I prompted Administrator 2 to recall the time immediately after the pilot before the ELSP was officially established. Although in part, the response was related to the establishment, I wanted to focus on how Administrator 2 described the effort to facilitate internationalization activities. At two different times Administrator 2 details the workload that is required and how internationalization activities are in addition to their normal workload: “to start with my main job is actually building a research lab and building some of the new courses here as I said our department entire department is new so I need to build some new courses and I don't even get paid by doing this”, and “So, I kinda have to take some time out”. Additionally, Administrator 2 reflects on the effort to create buy-in and that at times finding it “possible that many people don't even understand why you spend time doing this”, signaling that obtaining buy-in is difficult and aligning with observations that monetary and social cost of global

engagement projects can impact university resources and personnel (Dunworth, 2008; M. M. Gu & Lee, 2018; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). For this ELSP project, Administrator 2 perhaps had a larger cost involved as they were one of the main advocates of internationalization for the college and felt a certain amount of obligation and dedication to advance the mission. As described by Administrator 2, once the faculty buy-in was achieved, it was important to have central figures like the Dean of Internationalization to move the project forward. From this description, a type of interaction order (Goffman, 1983; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), is established from the bottom up, with one individual finding connections among their colleagues to eventually approach a perceived head administrator. In some ways, this chain of agents is not so surprising as university internationalization projects often require multiple actors for success, but they also benefit from a senior leader or a centralized office to take initiative and provide leadership financial resources (Brown, 2016; Haan, 2009; Marinoni, 2019).

The topic of a central figure or office to represent the ELSP's interest became a salient discourse across multiple points in time. After I returned from China in May, I interviewed another U.S. administrator who had been involved in the ELSP establishment to further discuss our program's involvement and internationalization work at the U.S. university.

Text Excerpt 6-7 Administrator 4 discusses university decentralization

Administrator 4

Mackenzie: yeah during that process did you what did you observe is kind of the challenges and opportunities with that program?

Administrator 4: I'm really glad that it eventually got approved but I think there was a lot of hurdles at the graduate school level convincing people that it was a good idea for us to do this convincing people that it was okay if we didn't make a ton of money doing it I was a little disappointed in some of the ways that that went just because just because it seemed against the spirit of the academic exchange that was going to be taking place that was beneficial for across a across the world you don't I mean and I felt like I felt like some of the buy-in was very weak from now what ultimately didn't

go through but I think it shouldn't have been it should have been a no-brainer in my mind yeah if you're really committed to internationalization

Mackenzie: do you think part of that is a result of ELSPs position within the grad school had it been a different type of collaboration?

Administrator 4 : I would say that it was the pushback with at the graduate school level whether and so you know as a as a very decentralized organization I think it probably would have been better if it was something that stood on its own you know that served more than just the graduate school like if there was some in my in my mind the best but the best way to do this would be to have a central location with graduate undergraduate feeding off each other and it's really an independent kind of thing that kind of reports to do the provost know didn't you know but I don't think that'll ever happen at [here] because there's too many chiefdoms but know ultimately if they get approved and I would say that I think of took perseverance and I know there was a lot of back-and-forth with the contract that exactly that sort of thing as well so he despite the fact that we already had an agreement with [that university] but so there was a lot of effort that had it go into it yeah and I think it probably would have been different if there had been some sort of central system for that

Administrator 4 expresses two areas of frustration related to the ELSP development. First, there was a perceived lack of commitment on the part of the graduate school on internationalization experienced through the heavy burden on Administrator 4 to 'convince' colleagues that the ELSP was a good idea. Second, there are also hints that Administrator 4 felt that the U.S. university should have a central ELSP rather than the current decentralized structure where each college has its own ELSP services. When Administrator 4 states: "I think it probably would have been better if it was something [ELSP] that stood on its ... the best way to do this would be to have a central location with graduate undergraduate feeding off each other" and reporting to the Provost, suggests that Administrator 4 feels through a central placement in an administrative office like the Provost's would enable further independence and engage alternative partners. Administrator 4 signals the ability to overcome the current decentralized organization, a type of interaction order, would be very difficult considering each school protects what it has through 'chiefdoms'. Much like Scollon and Scollon's (2004) observation that institutional structures,

such as schools, can and often do restrict access, the U.S. university's current ELSP structure may limit its flexibility and access to participating in internationalization efforts. Finally, Administrator 4 taps into the circulating discourse related to internationalization and economics. One can perhaps observe some possible regret when Administrator 4 noted that that the graduate school seemed more focused on covering costs rather than "the spirit of the academic exchange" reflecting the conflict between profit and an idealized purpose behind international partnerships.

For my colleagues in China, administrating the ELSP in the face of decentralization also caused challenges. While in China, Administrator 3 and I addressed the topic of administrating the program:

Text Excerpt 6-8 Administrator 3 describes navigating implementing the program

Administrator 3

Administrator 3: Yeah, I got it. I think yeah especially this year, I I know you sent us a lot of email to ask some things to settle down, and I think a lot that why you asked is that's our that's part of our job. Why we didn't do? Why is it not perfect? I want to do that perfect right, so that is challenging thing. I think when you ask I will try to solve them so I think maybe this is not main job, but it is not bad to do things. So, I think next time I will do this job like this is my main job. I will pay more attention to that. At first I think [name redacted] will do this.

Mackenzie: Because it is another person's job?

Administrator 3: Yes, I work for group, and they work for international part. I think next time I will not separate these things. I will act like a leader, even though I am not I will think like this.

Mackenzie: What do you think is the main barrier or what challenges do you think the international office has in comparison to your responsibilities? Like how many people does the international office organize compared to the group that you're in?

Administrator 3: ...There is just one person to do all the international part...

Mackenzie: Wow that is crazy

Administrator 3: So, the first time they are part of this program. So, actually they doesn't think it is part of their job. But after the first time, we think, we would like have this program more professional more international, so we prefer the international office to do this.

Mackenzie: This is so interesting. I have almost the same situation. I tried to move this program into the international office and I realized that, because of course, we have many international projects and all the projects are going all the time, but there's a difference. if the project starts at the international office it's different than if it just starts with a professor.

Administrator 3: Yes, yes this is exactly the same!

Mackenzie: This is so funny, I did not realize this.

Since I had been working with Administrator 3 since the 2018 pilot, we knew each other well, so the interview became fairly open-ended and we quickly transitioned into friendly conversation. In the beginning of this section, Administrator 3 notes how I sent more emails than before referring to the difference between the 2018 pilot and the ELSP run in May. It is clear that the number and type of questions I sent in preparation for my May arrival were challenging and uncomfortable for Administrator 3. At one point they are overly critical on their and the school's performance when attempting to answer my questions, "Why we didn't do? Why is it not perfect?", but also admits it is not really their job to administrate the entire program. Here one might observe a shift in how Administrator 3 saw our relationship. Initially, during the 2018 pilot phase I might have been more accommodating, but with the introduction of a graduate student I do recall in emails being more firm about following the agreement we established. Administrator 3 introduces an office, the Chinese university's central internationalization office, that should have organized the ELSP, and aligns it with discourses related to professionalism and expertise. At the same time, this office did not see the ELSP as part of their portfolio, so did not fully embrace the administration of the program. Although Administrator 3 believes the central

internationalization office would be helpful, a resemiotization of job responsibilities occurs and Administrator 3 decides to unofficially administrate the program: “so, I think next time I will do this job like this is my main job. I will pay more attention to that”. At this point in the interview, it is clear I feel I have experienced a similar transition and understanding of my role for this global engagement project in my response. During the interview, I decide to share my own experience attempting to fold the ELSP into my U.S. central internationalization office, but not being successful. During this part of the interview, we seem to find shared historical body experience in attempting to navigate the resources on campus to assist in administrating a program ultimately arriving at the conclusion that the program may rely on the personnel at the program level rather than through a centralized office.

The idealization that a program between two international partners is most successful based on a centralized office is not the only discourse present mediating the ELSP’s future success. An additional narrative was related to research connectivity between faculty (see internationalization plans in Chapter 4). Below, before departing for China, I wrote directly about my frustrations with the connections between the two colleges:

Text Excerpt 6-9 Mackenzie's Journal 4/18/19

Today I had a meeting with X... they were pretty direct that at least the college department [in China] I was working with did not make a lot of sense due to the misalignment with the other programs. Suggested I discuss [the opportunity] with the [programs] or see if other partnerships would be beneficial. On the one hand, I am happy that [the Administrator] is open to having us moved to a more sustainable relationship, but on the other hand disappointed because I cannot deliver for [the Chinese University] it seems.

Here in the interview ‘the alignment’ I refer to is related to how much research activity exists between the two institutions. Previous to this meeting, I was not completely aware of this

concept and it took a fairly high ranking Dean to reveal this necessary element, a discourse in place, that that the most successful university global engagement projects exist when multiple individuals are involved, in particular, faculty doing research. Although most ELSP program administrators understand their position within a given institution (Haan, 2009; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Walker, 2011), my journal entry clearly signals my frustration that the particular ELSP I have helped to establish may not have enough research activity to be sustainable as well as my status as a non-faculty member insufficient. In another section of my journal I wrote: “The program does not have enough research energy between the two programs”.

Very shortly after I sat down with one of the main U.S. administrators involved with the ELSP to explore both the relationship between the ELSP and the U.S. university and the ELSP between the two universities as a valid program in light of no active U.S. faculty member involvement. We first discussed the standing of the U.S. ELSP as a contributor to internationalization projects and collaborations.

Text Excerpt 6-10 Administrator 6 discusses ELSP isolation

Administrator 6

Mackenzie: We do give credits, but we're not giving we're not part of like a degree necessarily

Administrator 6: right and there and there's always been this fraught conversation between ESL which is at the lower end of the power dynamic with departments like the English department and a kind of changing relationship with the Writing Center like how do we view.. and right is it is it remedial was it part of the curriculum the possible connections between ESL in the language center right and ended and it's never really been very stable it seemed to me particularly in the college the graduate school seems to have had a greater investment in it and has seemed to have a more stable approach

Mackenzie: but do you think the structural situations that you're describing does it enable or kind of squash the ESL programs from really being a full partner within internationalization because we're not faculty we're not like

Administrator 6: I think it's it I can be some impediment to being a full partner because there's insecurity in the position of ESL.

Mackenzie: so one also just the pipelines that you would normally use to access things right like I was thinking that email that came around that was like oh build a course at this and I'll said I was like oh this is cool I was like oh wait I'm not a we're not faculty like we can't actually access this thing...

Administrator 6: know what I mean there are consequences I mean it's it I know when ESL has been housed in kind of in administrative support structures there's certainly implications to that because you're you have access in a certain way but so you're part of certain conversations but you're not part of other conversations right and so you're part of the conversations about how to support students but you're not part of conversations about curriculum

In this interview, a discursive attempt is made to define ELSPs and the role they play in internationalization. In this section, I open by telling Administrator 6, a high ranking Dean, that our program is credit-bearing- a signal that the program holds some academic weight despite the fact we are not embedded in a degree. Administrator 6 responds by elaborating on what they see as two fundamental issues that could contribute to how ELSPs might be limited in their ability to create and sustain internationalization projects. The issues identified by Administrator 6 also represent two circulating discourses that can be traced back to the assumed norms related to the position of ELSPs within universities and the understanding of what ELSPs do in comparison to other units. Administrator 6, during this interview, grouped ELSPs with the English department and then offered this grouping as a possible mediating factor because humanities fields are perceived as lower ranking presumably in comparison to other fields like the sciences. He also indicated that for some, it might be difficult to understand the relationship between ELSPs, the writing center, and if our program is remedial or if we should have stronger ties to the Foreign Language Center. Here a potential discourse related to interaction order unfolds where those from the outside might have a hard time describing what ELSPs do or what audience they serve, a common reality that many within ELSPs have experienced (Kaplan, 1997; Pennington &

Hoekje, 2010). However, in the end Administrator 6 characterizes the graduate ELSP as the most stable ELSP unit across the university referencing the theme of the decentralized university. It is important to note here that Administrator 6 represents a centralized office and based on their professional experience, which is part of their historical body, centralization may be more appealing. Finally, Administrator 6 describes the individuals within ELSP as having limited interaction order because they do not get to participate in discussions around the curriculum in general. Unfortunately, I did not follow up on what Administrator 6 meant exactly with the mention of curriculum, but I imagine it means that a student support unit is not really part of the faculty academic conversation. Our interview then turned the central role faculty play in internationalization projects.

Text Excerpt 6-11 Mackenzie and Admin 6 discuss lack of faculty champions

Administrator 6

Administrator 6: where do you see kind of our and I see our as in the program here what are the opportunities and challenges of doing that particular type of activity?

Mackenzie: well I think there's something that are specific to that. I think one if the people you report to see that that's worthwhile it's easiest to make it seem to be assessed as being worthwhile if it supports the educational experience of our students. That's why I think the involvement of graduate students and training and an experience they can have that's career enhancing... another thing that's specific to this the subject area like the disciplinary connection right is it really depended on one person who left and so then you're kind of left without a very strong kind of academic rationale in terms of supporting the partnership with that particular part of the [name redacted] ..

Administrator 6 I mean I am you know no I think it's a really I think it's a really good observation and what's compelling about us is the concept that you know an administrative office and technically we're kind of administrative or student support office mor. needs to have the faculty like an additional faculty to kind of like support the the justification of it of it happening because we we can't it's harder for us to stand alone in some ways how do you over as far as like [name redacted] university is kind of like structure in history if there any anything we're in a chance for us to stand on our own or is it always kind of did the best let me tell sent it like do you see the best projects being like a combination of people against it's not a good idea to stand alone

no I mean I think with any of these things this is just basic politics - institutional politics the more champions you have the better and particularly the champions that you have a faculty and you know my sense of having worked with some of the faculty that you work with us that your this unit is very well respected. I mean you're seen as delivering value to the populations that [name redacted] university faculty rely on so that's good in terms of the partnership in terms of this particular partnership it's a little harder to see like where are the faculty champions

Although Administrator 6 and I were in a general conversation about maintaining successful internationalization programs, you can see I responded to his hypothetical evaluation question with the suggestion that the ELSP with China was useful despite the lack of faculty involvement on the U.S. side because of the graduate student teacher-training program. Pulling from my own professional experience, where I oversaw ELSPs with deeper ties to universities agreements, and also my historical body, I am attempting to convince him. Administrator 6's response reflected his understanding of the necessary interaction order, both in terms of discourses in place and his own historical bodies, between mission fit and multiple stakeholders, in particular faculty, committed to ensuring sustainability (Goffman, 1983; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010). If part of the evaluation of a program is based on its reputation and buy-in, it was clear the teacher training element was not sufficient to meet the standard in the eyes of Administrator 6.

6.3 Reflections on Teacher-Training and the ELSP Curriculum

The instructors in an ELSP are always part of a larger program evaluation (Brown, 2016; Johnston & Peterson, 1994; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010), so for this program an understanding of Faculty 6's experience both going through the training period and the actual teaching experience is central. For this ELSP, the contributions administratively and academically from Faculty 6 were significant. Faculty 6 joined the ELSP with English as a Second Language teaching experience and living abroad and had an interest in multilingualism. In many ways, it was lucky to come across Faculty 6 and invite them to China as the U.S. university had no

established undergraduate or graduate applied linguistics or TESOL program. I interviewed Faculty 6 while in China and then once again upon our return. At the time of the second interview, Faculty 6 had read my final report of the program. In this report, I acknowledged the original plan was to send two graduate students and supervise the program remotely, but I modified my recommendation to maintain the current structure of an ELSP administrator and a graduate student. We discuss this decision below:

Text Excerpt 6-12 Mackenzie and Faculty 6 discuss future teachers-in-training

Faculty 6

Faculty 6: yeah I was a reading the one yeah like the plan was to send two grad students for next year but now maybe changing it to send a faculty member do deal with administrative issues

Mackenzie: yeah still need a faculty member for administrative issues I mean we still I mean it could still go with just two grad students how would you how would you have felt if I hadn't been there at all?

Faculty 6: yeah I mean it would have probably been ok if someone's never had that experience before it's kind of uh you know overwhelming like even when I did it in Korea was a bit much but that is a lot more structure than when I went to [name redacted] again four or five days off you know and it's like yeah which is probably more problematic than anything like I had to work you know two days after or something yeah we've gotten a schedule better but um yeah I mean I don't I don't know I mean depends on the person grad students are a finicky bunch (both laughing) yeah yeah but I mean I didn't have that much of an issue with it I mean some of the admin stuff you took care of I really know what happened with the projector I mean I guess you know I could have just contacted [name redacted] before me. Yeah right you know the change in the classrooms changing the time I could see how it could fluster someone very much.

In this section of the interview we are discussing the personnel logistics of future ELSP programs. With Faculty 6's acknowledgement that I proposed maintaining the same personnel structure - one graduate student and one ELSP administrator in my final report - I prompt Faculty 6 to imagine the alternative scenario. In response, I asked him if an ELSP administrator had not

been there, could they, as a student, managed the program alone. Faculty 6's affirmative response is grounded in his own professional background, which is part of his historical body, but he also acknowledges that certain tasks would have proved challenging: "problematic than anything like I had to work two days after [arriving]" or dealing with technology issues like the projector or managing changing the times of the classes. Although Faculty 6, suggested graduate students can be a "finicky bunch", the unpredictability of class administration, living arrangements, and transportation might be out of the scope of what Faculty 6 should have to manage. Negotiating the amount and kind of work each participant in the ELSP was responsible for was a reoccurring theme. Thus, handing over all the administrative responsibilities to a graduate student would ultimately take away from the goal of teacher-training and the central goal of the program. Aiding this assumption that an ELSP administrator needed to be present was the general understanding expressed by Chinese university that stated they benefited from having a more official representative from the U.S. graduate school to maintain the prestige of the program. Some Chinese administrators had expressed concern that if only two graduate students facilitated the classes, in particular the graduate-level classes, it could give the wrong impression. In other words, for the Chinese context in relation to the ELSP instructors with their terminal degree provided the best justification for the program and facilitating graduate course work. Along with instructional personnel, Faculty 6 also recognized how the unpredictability of student numbers could impact the curriculum and classroom management:

Text Excerpt 6-13 Faculty 6 discuss managing the curriculum and student numbers

Faculty 6

Mackenzie:... I'm thinking a lot about that because it's that's one of the biggest challenges of this of this whole program is no matter how much I plan something always comes up where I can't anticipate what's gonna happen

Faculty 6: yeah I mean because even when I was writing this and it's like well this, it depends on this yes right the whole thing was is you know if we're going in not knowing that amount of students the days of the week the classes I think it's a little problematic yeah except this student number many like even if we knew there was you know like a week before there was gonna be like 8 students it could have been well I mean I guess we thought there was 12 yeah like we could have I mean it would have been a last-minute thing but shifted around like breaking into workshops during the class yeah you know like stuff like that

Faculty 6's comments on when we learned how many students would actually be attending the class "a week before" had implications for the experience. Much like Scollon and Scollon (2004) recognized factors like how a classroom is organized or the position of lecterns can create power dynamics between professors and students, the power held by outside administrators to release important information like student numbers mediates the ELSP development process. In this case, according to Pennington and Hoekje (2010), student numbers, which are part of discourses in place, can impact the perceived need or popularity by outside administrator of a course. Faculty 6, in this portion of the interview was less concerned about the perception of the program but about transformed the raw number of students into a factor mediating the curriculum. In this case, the analysis seems to be that the lower numbers did not really 'fit' and if more time was given then we could have made more adjustments to the curriculum and added workshops."

Upon return to the U.S., Faculty 6 provided me a final reflection document. Faculty 6's document addressed both the curriculum and the directed study meant to prepare the graduate student for the teaching experience in China. In Faculty 6's reflection document they suggested it would have been more beneficial to have fewer readings and more opportunity to create a unique curriculum for the undergraduate students.

Text Excerpt 6-14 Faculty 6 reflects on how to improve directed study

Faculty 6

I also had some thoughts on the directed study. I think it would have really helped if I could have created my own curriculum for the undergrad class. I think in the future (and this depends on the fellows teaching experience, background, and field) the directed study could start with the needs analysis, or even the reflection from the previous year. A few articles on multilingual learning/learners and EAP. Then discuss what the students need, and then having the fellows map out their own curriculum for a few sessions. After that, you could address the content they provided with the specific TBLT and EAP research/articles for curriculum revision. I think the entire program major benefit is to create a new, unique curriculum, rather than revising and implementing [name redacted]'s ELSP content.

Here Faculty 6 notes, in relation to a teacher-training program, that they would have benefited more if they had gotten the opportunity to create a unique curriculum for the undergraduate students with the guidance of discussion and relevant literature. Much like Faculty 6's analysis of student numbers in Text Excerpt 6-13, the salient discourse of desiring customization or fit is present. This desire for agency perhaps reflected the transient nature of the course where the directed study aimed to prepare the graduate student to deliver a set curriculum. I took the opportunity during our final interview, to explore Faculty 6's thoughts on these reflections further:

Text Excerpt 6-15 Mackenzie and Faculty 6 discuss undergraduate curriculum

Faculty 6

Mackenzie: you kind of reflecting on how for you if you might have had have been more interesting rather than kind of go through that I mean some of the readings were fine but if it had been more focus on just a chance for you to like just work on their curriculum by yourself can you talk to me like a little bit more about that

Faculty 6: Yeah, I mean more specifically for the undergrad because it seems like even the curriculum we used for the undergrad was designed for graduate students here so that there's kind of a like design they're designed as individual classes. In this stuff I read it about like scaffolding over a longer period of time like how this all fits together and I think I think I was a reflected a little bit with what the students wrote like why are we this tower or something [referring to a building the tower activity we did in class] like they don't understand the larger [picture] or meta language.

Mackenzie: right the arch that could be there

Faculty 6: what the purpose of all of the individual things and how they would mm-hmm all tie together mhm which is something I thought could be done you know in the last class of like these assignments were more kind of structure to tie into each other

Mackenzie: I think when initially I organized the course I thought is so short maybe it's like almost impossible to try to like get them to an end thing but then you know as I was reading your [reflection] you know I was thinking okay so what would happen if in the beginning was really clear what the end goal was like what if the final class was you know and then ...what could you imagine the final kind of like event being to kind of pull everything together?

Faculty 6: yeah I was thinking about it was even just talking with [name redacted] they had like this end kind of thing they had present mm-hmm to like an audience where they actually that they actually cared about right yeah it's like a little more pressure... I mean like yeah even something like like even if we just took the base of what we had is kind of extended definition and then tying that into natural process and then how they would present themselves to an academic audience oh yeah yeah like uh you know even like maybe a conference paper but like not even that like uh you know maybe one of those video abstracts you were telling me about or just like presenting you know even like how do you see yourself as an academic and like to you like thinking about what they're doing now and how it relates to what they want to do in the future if they want to go to grad school right um just to make it a little personal

I believe pulling from Faculty 6's past experience as an instructor, also part of his historical body, they express a desire to add a final accumulative activity to the curriculum. As described in Chapter 5, Table 5-3, the undergraduate curriculum was designed in anticipation that the number of attending students would not necessarily be stable. A final accumulative exam or activity for a class is common place (Basturkmen, 2006, 2010), and serves not only as a tool to measure what is learned, but represents circulating discourses in place that a test must be in place when

building an academic course or even that language learning and a final test go hand in hand. Responding to my prompt to imagine a final activity, Faculty 6, again, I believe, pulls from their past experience as an instructor, and the extensive readings they encountered during our directed study. Faculty 6's desire to "[think] about what they're doing now and how it relates to what they want to do in the future" could be the result of engaging with EAP/ESP readings which privilege building curriculums that closely fit the current or future needs of their learners (Brown, 2016; Hyland, 2016). Following this discussion, I prompted Faculty 6 to consider the dominant discourses in place such as the agreement between the two institutions as mediating factors to address why a totally unique curriculum might be difficult:

Text Excerpt 6-16 Mackenzie and Faculty 6 discuss mentoring future ELSP teachers

Faculty 6

Mackenzie: I was really lucky to kind of happen across someone like yourself who had had some significant experience teaching second language learners, but I know that might not always be the case like the next year I run it. Talk to me a little bit about like if things were to change let's say you were to come in and I were to say to you okay so part of this independent study is you're gonna be creating this course for the undergrads and just handing it to you, I would imagine what that my initial thought would it be too stressful for someone... how you think myself as someone who's running a program like that like how can I mitigate the stress of working with someone who maybe doesn't have as much experience like yourself.

Faculty 6: I mean I think the applicants want to learn about like language teaching anyway so yeah be interesting and you know like I guess it depends on what department they're from because you know we have to do that anyways in the English department we design our own courses yeah so we're you kind of do that over a semester and even a change like you're not you're doing a module almost it's like a three week yeah kind of deal so it's not even if you like change the language around a little bit it doesn't sound that stressful right but I mean I think just like some discussing with a program by kind of looking over or you know like the document you know like this you know what happened student actions what the goals are and maybe front-loading some of the observations and allowing them some kind of freedom develop kind of their own ideas I mean I guess yeah I mean I think it'd be hard because you know it's like what is the content they're supposed to use right the hardest part about it

yeah that come to me yeah I use literature right other types of content yeah talk about writing your questions so I think that would be difficult

Although Faculty 6 is clear about their own preferences and would have liked more freedom to create a unique curriculum; they also acknowledge that, in part, this desire is based on experience in the English department, their past historical body, where they have the same liberty. This allows Faculty 6 to make a case for the ELSP administrators to trust Faculty 6 and their curriculum writing skills. At the same time, Faculty 6 acknowledges that they would typically rely on literature to drive tasks like writing questions, so addressing language in science-based classrooms could be more difficult. This signals openness to adding more to Faculty 6's ESL pedagogical toolbox and future graduate student teachers-in-training might need more support to facilitate these types of classes.

6.4 Summary and Conclusion

This chapter has explored the factors that could be used to evaluate the ELSP and contribute to the future of the ELSP by exploring discourses in the media, the institution, and the individual agents. The sustainability of the ELSP was analyzed through factors such as climate and stability through a corpus analysis of newspaper headlines and the term international. Then the ELSP was explored through the institutional, administrative support structures as navigated by the administrators administrating the program. Finally, the teacher-training aspect of the program, including the directed study and the teaching experience itself, was described by the graduate student, Faculty 6.

This chapter first addressed: *how discourses in place support individuals' actions related to the future of the ELSP*, first, through analyzing the two newspaper corpora. It was first shown that the ELSP during May 2019 existed in a fairly unstable political and economic situation

between the two host countries. In particular, the trade war and surrounding negative feelings related to diplomacy had trickled down to discourses around education. At this time educational institutions, particularly in the U.S., were portrayed in the media as places where established norms like visa processing, research grants, and educational exchanges were fraught. This circulating discourse transitioned to salient practice when U.S. ELSP faculty were alerted by a Chinese colleague that their university had made headlines for firing two ethnically Chinese professors. Ultimately, this news event has never reemerged in discussions about the future of the ELSP, but it highlighted how discourses in place can impact the volatile emotional state of individual actors.

Next, this chapter addressed *how the norms of interaction were maintained or transformed to support the future of the ELSP* by exploring how individuals navigated the institutional structures and established new ways to make the program work. Despite the lack of the program being folded in centrally, mid-level administrators through their experience uncovered processes and recommitted to the steps needed to implement the program as seen in my discussion with Administrator 3. Although the support on the Chinese side appears solid in terms of implementing the program again, concerns regarding the amount of faculty involvement and research between the two colleges position the U.S. side on less stable ground. It appears since members of the ELSP faculty are not research faculty, there is a barrier to the ELSP being seen as a true internationalization project by the U.S. university.

Finally, to investigate how individuals' understandings, beliefs, and values guide the future of the ELSP, this chapter explored the teacher training element through the past experiences of the graduate student, Faculty 6. Here the teacher-in-training reflected on their recent experience in China to suggest improvements for the future. Based on Faculty 6's past

experience with writing their own curriculum they felt that this should be a more central feature to the training program. Also, perhaps based on past teaching experiences, the graduate student felt the undergraduate classes needed to be connected through a final accumulative task, like a presentation. Faculty 6, felt this might provide more transparency for the students as to why we included certain tasks.

In sum, this chapter provided an overview of factors that contributed to the evaluation of the program. Although student course evaluations are common place within the process of program evaluation (Basturkmen, 2006, 2010; Brown, 2016), they only offer a partial evaluation of the sustainability and success of an ELSP. Individuals administrating ELSPs may find larger geopolitical events impacting infrastructure or recruitment, or a lack of central planning or structures may force individuals to take on additional job duties. Finally, and specifically for this program, the teacher training element revealed potential challenges as maintaining the balance of expectations put forth by the trainees did not necessary fit the nature of the agreement and aims of the program.

7 Conclusion

The goal of this study was to understand the ELSP development process between two international partner universities. This was done through following the ELSP's development, implementation, and evaluation process between two partner universities not only to illuminate the factors that contributed to the development process, but to document my experience as an ELSP administrator, teacher, and applied linguist. In this chapter, I will describe how my findings may provide an enhanced approach to navigate the ELSP development process through returning to my original three guiding questions. Following this, I will conclude this chapter with a proposed framework and a brief discussion of future research directions.

7.1 Navigating Society and Institutional Structures

How society understands higher education, internationalization, and language programs presents opportunities and challenges for both researchers in applied linguistics and administrators on the ground developing the ELSPs. When investigating this, I was driven by the question: *how do official and de facto policies and assumed norms of language programs guide individuals' actions during the development within the Chinese and U.S. institution?* Prospects to uncover the links between societal level discourse and individuals exist within applied linguistics through approaches like critical discourse analysis and corpus approaches, which may uncover potential positive and negative themes reflecting the values and norms of a given society (Baker et al., 2008; Berger et al., 2017; Fitzsimmons-Doolan, 2015). Although these studies have contributed to our understanding of education, culture, and society, few have leveraged language programs as a potential context. If corpus or critical discourse analysis studies do address language programs, they tend to draw from either explicit or de facto educational policies that impact the classroom (Baldauf, 1994; Menken & Garcia, 2010a). This leaves other aspects of ELSPs as structural assumptions, financial levers, and campus facilities (from the broader campus to the classroom) as part of the setting rather than units that represent mediating forces at the societal level (Blommaert et al., 2005; Hult, 2016; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). Ultimately, while studies that illuminate the linkages between discourse on education and internationalization as well as the individuals within those educational systems exist, my study addresses both textual but also non-linguistic elements that influenced this ELSP development and how it was navigated during its establishment, implementation, and evaluation.

For studies within applied linguistics to embrace a wider account of units that are worthy of study, it would be necessary to adopt a big 'D' discourses approach (Gee, 2011) and leverage

Scollon and Scollon's (2004) discourse in place to capture the norms that might mediate the various actions within a system like ELSP. If this is done, researchers can more fully consider units like physical space (classrooms, signs, design) along with policy documents and corpus collocations as equal contributors to the focus mediating the action (Hult, 2016; Wells & Wong, 2012). My study realized ELSP development as a series of social actions (e.g. individuals undertaking any action such as walking down the hallway, implementing policy, or moving classroom chairs) mediated by the world as well as mediating discourses in their own right (Blommaert & Huang, 2011; Hult, 2015; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004). I began identifying discourses in place first in Chapter 4, through my analysis of newspapers and institutional level policies and relationships. The common themes among the texts suggested that this ELSP's creation was, in part, influenced by the general assumption that universities should engage in internationalization and international partnerships with other universities. The textual data in the institutions' internationalization plans and mission statements mirrored this reality by detailing existing international partnerships and expressions of desire for additional international projects. This was coupled with statements within the documents that revealed ideologies around university internationalization as an activity that brings prestige and potential cross-cultural exposure and expectations that students and researchers can and should participate most likely in English (Duong & Chua, 2016; M. M. Gu & Lee, 2018; Knight, 2011). I do not think this ELSP would have been created if both of the institutions did not have these policies in place.

Although both the U.S. and Chinese institutions actively sought to engage in internationalization, there were challenges in practice when it came to developing the ELSP. In particular, the U.S. based ELSP at the graduate school initially had difficulty participating because its original mission was crafted to focus on remedying matriculated students' English

rather than working with outside partners (Liddicoat, 2016; Ruíz, 1984). It was only when an element of graduate student teacher-training was added into the program that a clear justification could be given why the U.S. graduate school and ELSP would participate in this project.

Ultimately, the various policies with the institutions as well as the de facto norms about university internationalization came together through the ELSP development and assisted its creation. By placing ELSPs as the central social action, one can observe resemiotization of discourses in place in the face of practical projects like program development (Hult & Källkvist, 2016; Jones & Norris, 2005; Scollon, 2008).

Once in China, the ELSP implementation process further illuminated how the discourses in place shaped the program. In Chapter 5, I explored the role of English and how it shaped the purpose of the program and its curriculum. In interviews, many participants referred to the international status of the university and how that was linked to activities like publishing in English as well as the EMI policy for the undergraduate classroom. These policies, in many ways, were a symbol that the Chinese university was a global campus while also providing a practical framework to indirectly address English proficiency. The perceived poor performance of the Chinese students as a result of these initiatives seemed to justify the ELSP program and subsequent curriculum. What curriculum I developed in turn, seemed to meet many of the expectations of EAP approaches found in most universities.

The Chinese college had both personnel policies (e.g. Thousand Talents Program) and English language policies (e.g. EMI and publication requirements) that elevated English as a central and important language for both faculty and students. The curriculum was written with the aim to support the college level policies and reflect the expectations of academic English (Hyland & Shaw, 2016b; Liyanage & Walker, 2014; Zhang, 2018). Although these supportive

and clear policies were in place, Chapter 5 demonstrated the challenges that ELSPs have during implementation. Beyond the curriculum, which on its own illuminated problematic aims, the challenges faced by the individuals to navigate classroom teaching, classroom facilities, unexpected student numbers, and supporting a graduate student teacher-in-training provided excellent examples as to why it is important to include non-linguistic elements as influencing factors during the analysis.

Although most ELSP development projects begin with a needs analysis, few have the time to revisit them beyond what is happening in the classroom. Chapter 5 demonstrated the benefit of connecting to individuals across an institution to understand how discourses in place might shift or change like the implementation of the EMI policy. In Chapter 5, through my interviews, I realized that faculty were no longer using English in the classroom in the same way, so I had to modify the curriculum and inform the graduate student I had brought with me. It is clear if ELSPs want to stay relevant and participate in internationalization projects, they need to stay flexible at the curricular and programmatic level (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Finn & Avni, 2016; Knight, 2011; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010).

Finally, in Chapter 6, I presented how the discourses in place found in the newspapers mirrored the realities that economic and political tensions had entered into the U.S./China educational landscape. As Lemke (2000) observed in a system, “each part of this system is rarely in fixed, linear, or decontextualized but rather experiences constant adaptation as well as resonance to its historical context”. So, although these larger social issues did not directly impact the ELSP at that time, these types of continuous negative social discourses could eventually erode the program.

7.2 Observing transformation through interaction

One of the interesting facets of ELSP development is the position of the program and of the individuals within the program to the institution in which it resides. Many applied linguistics tend to favor linguistic analysis at the larger discourse level or at the individual speaker level, leaving the space typically filled with administrators under-investigated. Even more rare is an exploration of meso-level structures, such as ELSPs and their role in internationalization or language policy creation (L. Chen, 2018; Finn & Avni, 2016; Liddicoat, 2016). To understand how this ELSP and the individuals within navigated their changing roles, the following guiding question was used: *during the process of language program development, what norms of interaction mediate the process within the Chinese and U.S. institution?*. In this case, interaction order was understood not only as how individuals shifted their power when interacting with one another, but also how structural shifts occurred to the program as a result of the ELSP (Goffman, 1983; Kuure et al., 2018; Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

As I discussed in Chapter 2, ELSP development has been primarily understood from the perspective of curriculum development. When applied linguistics has addressed ELSP program development at the administrative level, it is often within the context of student linguistic deficits. Unfortunately, the majority of the time the establishment of an ELSP is siloed from central planning like internationalization plans. For this ELSP, individuals within each college held positions that allowed them to find points of synergy to create the ELSP between the two international partners without the guidance of their central global engagement office. During this process, many norms were maintained; for example, the individuals associated with the planning used their roles to establish the program within their respective internationalization plans and mission statements (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Fox, 2009).

However, individuals were also able to leverage their positions to create something that had not existed before primarily based on their network and knowledge of their respective institutions.

This study demonstrates the importance for ELSP administrators to understand the various agents involved during the development process and how their roles shift over time and based on needs.

As mentioned previously, for the ELSP to be established between the two partner universities, an element of graduate student teacher-training had to be established. This aspect of this study provides an additional window into how the interaction order shifted between Faculty 6 and me during the program throughout the study. During the establishment of the program, discussed in Chapter 4, the roles of the graduate-student teacher-in-training and I were clearer. I was a teacher and the graduate student was enrolled in a directed study studying the foundations of TESOL and assisting with some curriculum development. This shifted, however, during implementation where the role of the graduate student theoretically transitioned to an instructor since they were delivering a course. However, through focusing on ELSP through an interactional lens, this study observed how the program had to morph in order to stay relevant through navigating the shifting educational landscape, in particular the use of EMI within the Chinese college. In Chapter 5, the video recordings, my journal entries, and the interviews with the graduate student reflected the shifting and difficult roles we played during the implementation stage. On one hand, I wanted to provide the graduate student with a full experience including delivering a class on their own, but on the other hand once the numbers did not facilitate 2 undergraduate classes, I became cautious about the product that we needed deliver and expectations to meet from our Chinese partners. Chapter 5 provided a glimpse into

the shifting roles that individuals play in an ELSP that is also an agreement between two partner universities.

If an ELSP is the result of a grassroots effort, as the one highlighted in this study, the programs will have to navigate the realities of not being part of the central internationalization plan. In Chapter 6, the realities of actually running the program were discussed with my colleague, Administrator 3. Here we shared some of the frustrations with having a lack of resources or know-how to support the additional things a program needs to run. In the end, Administrator 3 and I shifted our roles to realize that although our job descriptions did not state we should take care of things like housing, food cards, or communication issues, this was going to be something that had to get done. This echoed the assertion of Pennington & Hoekje (2010) that a successful program relies on gathering the necessary resources and without that effort, it is not a sustainable program.

7.3 The power of individual agents

Finally, applied linguistics has embraced, although sometimes unevenly, understanding the individual's (e.g. administrators, faculty, and students) lived experience in relation to societal or institutional policies (Fenton-Smith & Gurney, 2016; Fuentes, 2016; Hu & Duan, 2019), but has often ignored how past experiences mediated their actions or how over time actions became part of individuals habitus (Blommaert et al., 2005; Bourdieu, 1990; Räisänen & Korkeamäki, 2015). To understand the role the individual played in this study, I used the guiding question: *how do individuals' past learning experiences shape the current ELSP development process within the Chinese and U.S. institution?*

In Chapter 4, Administrator 2 discussed their own English language learning experience while abroad and how significantly the courses impacted their success. Their experience was so

positive, they wanted to build a parallel program in China. It is also important to acknowledge my underlying motivations which were supported, in part, by my past experiences as a student and teacher abroad coupled with the desire to find additional opportunities to develop a program beyond my U.S. ELSP. Individuals, like those in this study, have always been recognized as agents in moving internationalization projects forward (Brown, 2016; Dafouz & Smit, 2020; Finn & Avni, 2016; Haan, 2009). However, for those interested in ELSP development, gaining a deeper understanding of discourses that rest within the historical bodies and may mediate the development could be more important than if an individual has a particular title or if there is an economic opportunity.

In Chapter 5, the importance of maintaining contact with the larger ecosystem of participants came into focus. Here a significant amount of time passed between the needs analysis and the actual implementation of the program. The Chinese college had maintained many of its English language policies on paper, but a number of the faculty had modified them in practice. This is no surprise as often educators make their own choices about the curricula and language used in the classroom even if a curriculum is already in place (Canagarajah, 2009; Menken & Garcia, 2010a; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996). As individuals implementing the ELSP, changes on the ground had to be made and a new justification for the undergraduate course in particular. Finally, in Chapter 6, I observed how the graduate student teacher-trainer struggled with his own established background as an instructor. For the graduate student, at times the teacher experience in China did not fully leverage what he saw as his full skills as an instructor. Also, perhaps based on past teaching experiences, the graduate student felt the undergraduate classes needed to be connected through a final cumulative task, like a presentation. This, Faculty 6 felt, might provide more transparency for the students as to why we included certain tasks.

Observing Faculty 6's experience with navigating the program has helped me to plan changes for the next implementation that include more freedom to develop the curriculum and a commitment to ensuring the teacher-trainer can facilitate their own class rather than co-teach.

7.4 Change the Nexus of Practice

Within Nexus Analysis, the final stage after engagement and navigating the nexus is *Change*. Change comes about both naturally and as a result of the researcher re-engaging with the nexus of practice (Lane, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2007; Soukup & Kordon, 2012). One of the ultimate goals of NA is for “the analyst and the participants to work together to become more conscious of their own actions and the kinds of social relationships and social ‘selves’ that they give rise to” (Jones, 2012, p. 3), and this project has contributed toward this journey. During the engagement phase, I stated that I had become curious about the role and function of my ELSP in relation to my institution's internationalization efforts, and to what extent my ELSP had any agency during the partner agreement process. I, in part, engaged in this study to bring change both within my U.S. context, and also in the Chinese context. Within my own university, I think this project has increased our program's access to internationalization efforts. Since 2016, members of the ELSP faculty have been asked to participate in focus groups, planning groups, and a new strategic plan to establish ESL offerings between the larger university and partner universities. I also personally felt, based on the support of my supervisors and colleagues, a large amount of agency in this process, to an extent. Barriers still exist that limit my program's pursuit for partnerships that do not directly benefit the graduate school. I am also unaware if those outside my immediate collegial circle are aware of this ELSP or the partnership with the Chinese college.

In terms of how this project introduced change into the Chinese college, I believe through engaging in this project, the interviews, and conducting the ELSP courses that more faculty and students are aware of the program. Although additional administrative burdens were introduced to a number of members of the Chinese college, I do believe all remain committed to continuing this program. As a result, with feedback from the participants and the students, the curriculum continues to evolve to better meet the needs of the learners.

7.5 Proposed Framework for ELSP Development

By identifying meaningful moments in a ELSP development experience and observing how individuals navigated the different scales of influence (Bhalla, 2012; Blommaert, 2007; Hult, 2015; Lane, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004), a deeper understanding of ELSP development has emerged. Here in this study, established frameworks of ELSP development were enhanced with NA to illustrate how policymaking, resource implementation, and future consideration were executed on the ground. Figure 7-1 is a proposed framework to apply to future ELSP development projects.

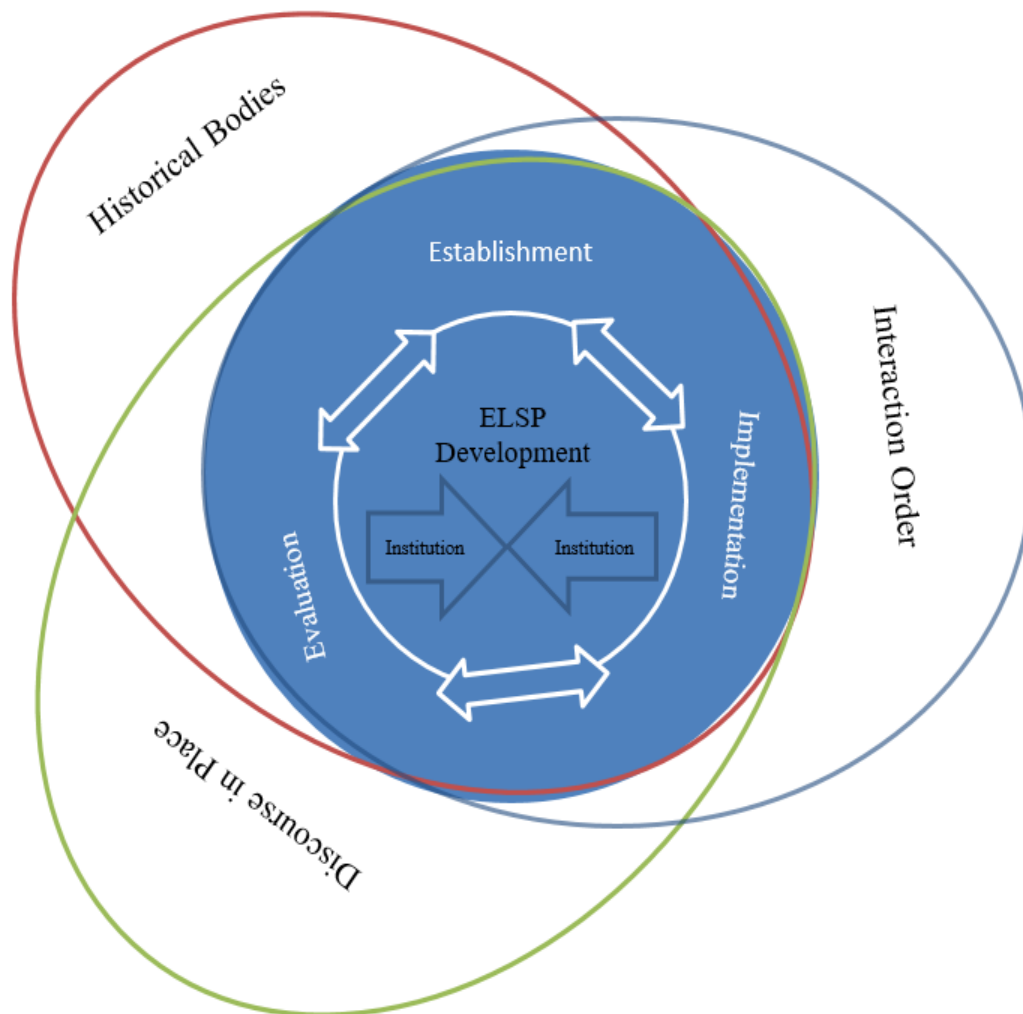


Figure 7-1 Proposed Framework for ELSP Development between International Partners

At the center of the figure is the nexus of ELSP development with two partner institutions meeting in the middle. Rotating in either way is the familiar program or curriculum stages establishment, implementation, and evaluation. As opposed to representing each stage in a linear fashion, they move forward or backward to accommodate the fluid nature of development and provide flexibility since different aspects of the program may be a different stages. Finally, through the entire development process are the circulating discourses, discourses in place, interaction order, and historical bodies that may mediate the process. This framework can serve

as a basis for future development studies and may allow future institutions or administrators to reimagine stages of ELSP development.

7.6 Future directions for research

Scollon and Scollon (2004) recommend that a Nexus Analysis should be taken on when there is a problem that needs to be solved. Further, that problem should be one that the researcher is interested in and is fully embedded in order to improve the situation. The inspiration for this study emerged from my personal experience as a language program administrator and international educator. As reflected in the title of this study, ELSP development through internationalization, I aimed to bring these two fields of study together. In part, I was inspired to approach this topic as a response to calls to deepen the understanding of ELSPs within educational institutions in light of international student mobility, but also the lack of applied linguistic research on ELSP program development (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Pennington & Hoekje, 2010; Perrin, 2017).

Perhaps one reaction to this study is viewing ELSP development as social action is not necessary. I know as an administrator of an ELSP program, the tasks I complete or the contributions that my faculty make to the administrative aspects of the program are expected and commonplace. It is important, however, for linguists to remember that at the root of an NA study is to explore what has become routine or what Wells and Wong (2012) characterize as the stuff of our everyday lives. Further, because the interest of an NA is to discover to what extent different levels of discourse contribute to the mediation of the social action, in this case, ELSP development, much can still be learned. For me, I have deepened my understanding of the development process beyond the set of needs analysis tasks that are familiar to program directors. Rather than a set list of items to be completed and a preconceived notion of the

importance of one participant over another, this study has taught me the importance of flexibility and attention towards the multiple and timeless factors that are infused into the process. For this project and future ELSP development projects it seems that flexibility and adaptability continue to be at the center of our process.

As referenced in the acknowledgement section, the COVID-19 pandemic has forced ELSPs and educational institutions to respond in unprecedented ways. Education and daily life itself have been reshaped through stay-at-home orders and schools moving to remote learning. Understandably, this has put a serious economic strain on every aspect of society, but may have far more impact on international education in the long term. As an example, one of my previous employers had to shutter their schools for the summer and now a number of my colleagues are unemployed. Most relevant, the program this dissertation is based on could not be delivered this spring and suspended until further notice. Most institutions of higher education are approaching holding fall classes in person very cautiously; the California State University system will remain remote in the fall, while others like my institution are moving towards opening but have not made the final announcement (Burke, 2020; Stirgus, 2020). For the field of international education and ELSP this forces parents and future matriculated students to ask if classes are remote is there a purpose of studying abroad.

Along with the educational impacts, those within ELSPs and international education have also seen the continuation of the tense rhetoric between China and the United States on political and economic fronts in the media. Stories include U.S. senators suggesting that the U.S. refrain from issuing international student visas or the Optional Practical Training Program, used by recently graduated international students, should be suspended during the pandemic (Ainsley & Strickler, 2020). For individuals in my field, it is difficult to discern if the pandemic is the root

cause of these decisions or if the idea of the pandemic is mediating the immigration reforms favored by the current administration. Overall, the sentiment is that global student mobility is changing and many of us are uncertain of the future of ELSP programs.

This study has shown the importance of adopting an ecological perspective on ELSP development. ELSPs are no stranger to the flux and flow of enrollment and geopolitical influences that may mediate our development or growth. We must continue to be engaged and aware of the connections between these discourses and our programs. Individual ELSP administrators can also deepen their awareness of the individuals who are central to our program's success, deans and teachers alike, whose own actions may be mediated by discourses that we need to take time to understand. Finally, we can rely on our past experiences and awareness of our practice to navigate change. The stories in this study highlight the ways that discourse across scales can collectively influence an ELSP and the importance of analyzing ELSP development in its current socio-economic, political, and contextualized environment (Bhowmik & Kim, 2018; Dafouz & Smit, 2020; Dearden, 2018). The future of ELSP development should continue to reflect these complexities and administrative practitioners encouraged to continue and share the solutions with the field.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Nexus points, research questions with discourse scales, and data sources

Nexus	Research Questions (<i>level of discourse</i>)	Data Sources
Establishment	1) How do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals' actions during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution? (<i>discourse in place</i>)	1a) Policy documents China: college mission statement MOE promoting foreign language College policy on EMI Thousand Talents Program U.S.: GSI mission Statement International Strategic Plan Graduate School Mission ELSP Mission
	2) How are norms of interaction maintained or transformed during the ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution? (<i>interaction order</i>)	1b) English and Chinese newspaper corpora corpus published in 2016
	3) How do individuals' past learning experiences shape ELSP establishment within the Chinese and U.S. institution? (historical bodies)	2a) Ethnographic Interviews 2b) participant observation, field notes journal 3a) Ethnographic Interviews 3b) Participant observation, field notes journal

Implementation	1) How do official and de facto policies and assumed norms inform individuals' actions during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution? (<i>discourse in place</i>)	1a) Policies Gaokao test CET test Publication Requirement 2016 Needs Analysis
	2) How are norms of interaction maintained or transformed during the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution? (<i>interaction order</i>)	1b) Student Questionnaire 2a) Classroom video and audio 2b) Ethnographic Interviews
	3) How do individuals' past learning experiences shape the ELSP implementation within the Chinese institution? (<i>historical bodies</i>)	2c) Participant observation, field notes journal 3a) Ethnographic Interviews 3b) Participant observation, field notes, journal
Evaluation	1) How do the discourses in place support individuals' actions related to the future of the ELSP? (<i>discourse in place</i>)	1a) English and Chinese newspaper corpora corpus published in 2019 2a) Ethnographic Interviews
	2) How are norms of interaction maintained or transformed to support the future of the ELSP? (<i>interaction order</i>)	2b) participant observation, field notes journal 3a) Ethnographic Interviews,
	3) How do individuals' understandings, beliefs, and values guide the future of the ELSP? (<i>historical bodies</i>)	3b) Participant observation, field notes journal

Appendix B Recruitment Text for Administrators and Professors

Direct Email to Faculty and Administrators

To whom it may concern,

I am conducting interviews as part of a research study to increase our understanding of how English Language Support Programs are developed as the result of internationalization initiatives. As a result of your expertise and involvement in the current development of international initiatives and/or English language support you are in an ideal position to give us valuable firsthand information from your own perspective. You will be interviewed twice, once at the beginning of the study and once at the end and each interview will last up to one hour and is semi-structured. Your responses to the questions will be kept confidential. Each interview will be assigned a number code to help ensure that personal identifiers are not revealed during the analysis and write up of findings. To ensure that the accuracy of your statements are correct, I will provide a transcript of our interview for you to review. This process is entirely voluntary, and you have the right to drop out at any time and your data will not be used. There is no compensation for participating in this study. However, your participation will be a valuable addition to our research and findings could lead to greater public understanding of internationalization initiatives and the development of English language support programs. If you are willing to participate please suggest a day and time that suits you and I'll do my best to be available. Please find the informed consent form attached. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

Thank you in advance!
Mackenzie Bristow
PhD student
Georgia State University
Director, English Language Support Program
Emory University
mackenzie.bristow@emory.edu
607-483-0793

Appendix B.1 Recruitment General WeChat Post to Students

Are you currently taking a content class (such as a science class) in English or English Language Support classes in the Applied Sciences and Engineering program at Nanjing? If so, I would like to talk to you about your past English language learning experiences and current experiences learning in English. I am conducting interviews that will help me complete my dissertation research project. The interview should only take about an hour and can be done in Mandarin if you feel more comfortable! If you are interested please contact me at mbrist2@emory.edu

Appendix B.2 Informed Consent Interviews English Form

Alternatives

The alternative to taking part in this study is to not take part in this study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may stop participating at any time. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time. This will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Confidentiality

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Eric Priginal and Mackenzie Bristow
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use a code rather than your name on study records. The information you provide will be stored on an offline hard drive. A key linking participant names to codes will be stored separately from the data to protect privacy. When we present or publish the results of this study, we will not use your name or other information that may identify you. The key will be destroyed at the end of the research project. All audio will be analyzed and stored on a password-protected computer. All data may be kept for future research.

Contact Information

Contact Eric Priginal at efriginal@gsu.edu or Mackenzie Bristow at mbrist2@emory.edu

- If you have questions about the study or your part in it
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study

The IRB at Georgia State University reviews all research that involves human participants. You can contact the IRB if you would like to speak to someone who is not involved directly with the study. You can contact the IRB for questions, concerns, problems, information, input, or questions about your rights as a research participant. Contact the IRB at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu.

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research, please sign below.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Date

IRB NUMBER: H15907
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 04/16/2019

Appendix B.3 Informed Consent Interviews Chinese Form

乔治亚州立大学

知情同意

标题：通过国际参与进行语言课程开发

主要调查员：Eric Friginal

学生主要调查员：Maekenzie Bristow

简介和关键信息

我们邀请您参加一项调查研究。本研究旨在探讨两所大学（分别位于美国和中国）之间是如何开发特定的语言课程的。您被邀请参加，是因为您是与国际化相关大学运营有关的管理员、英语促进课程的教师或者英语学习课程的学生。如果您决定参加，您将参加两场一小时的面谈，面谈将被录音。参加这项研究并不会让您面临比平常更多的风险。参加这项研究可能对您个人并没有任何好处。总的来说，我们希望了解下列信息：语言课程是如何作为个人的结果以及他们在这一过程中所采取行动的结果而开发出来的。

目的

本研究旨在探讨两所大学（分别位于美国和中国）之间是如何开发特定的语言课程的。您被邀请，是因为您是参加本项目相关英语课程管理的职员或教师、教学人员，或者目前正在南京学习英语课程的学员。本项目的目标是从乔治亚州亚特兰大埃默里大学 (Emory University) 招募 2-4 名大学管理人员和 2-4 名教员，从位于中国南京的南京大学招募 2-4 名大学管理人员和 2-4 名教员。还有 2-4 名在南京参加 ELSP 课程的南京大学学生。

程序

如果您决定参加，您将参加两场一小时的面谈，面谈将被录音。

面谈将在校园的私密办公室进行。

未来研究

研究人员将删除可能识别您身份的信息，并且可能将您的数据用于未来研究。如果我们这样做，我们将不征得您的任何额外同意。

风险

在这项研究中，您不会有比正常生活更多的风险。本研究预计不会造成任何伤害，但如果您认为自己受到了伤害，请尽快联系研究团队、乔治亚州立大学以及研究小组没有拨出资金来赔偿任何伤害。

益处

这项研究并非出于让您个人受益。总的来说，我们希望了解下列信息：语言课程是如何作为个人的结果以及他们在这一过程中所采取行动的结果而开发出来的。

IRB NUMBER: H19507
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 05/01/2019

替代选项

参加本研究的替代选项就是不参加本研究。

自愿参加和退出

您并非必须参加这项研究。如果您决定参加研究，而后又改变主意，您有权随时退出。您可以随时停止参加。您可以拒绝参加研究，也可以随时停止。这不会使您失去任何您有权享有的福利。

机密

我们将在法律允许的范围内为您的记录保守私密性。以下人员和实体将可以访问您提供的信息：

- Eric Friginal 和 Mackenzie Bristow
- GSU 机构审查委员会
- 人类研究保护办公室 (CHRP)

我们将在研究记录中使用一个代码而非您的姓名。您提供的信息将存储在脱机硬盘上。将参加者姓名与代码关联起来的密钥将与数据分开存储，以保护隐私。当我们展示或发布本研究的结果时，我们不会使用您的姓名或其他可能识别您身份的信息。密钥将在研究项目结束时销毁。所有音频将得到分析，并存储在受密码保护的计算机上。所有数据可能会予以保留，以用于未来研究。

联系人信息

联系 Eric Friginal : efriginal@gsu.edu ; 或者联系 Mackenzie Bristow : mbrist2@emory.edu

- 如果您对研究或您在其中的角色有疑问
- 如果您对研究有疑问、担忧或投诉

乔治亚州立大学的 IRB 审查所有涉及人类参加者的研究。如果您想与并未直接参与该研究的人交谈，您可以联系 IRB。您可以就与您作为研究参加者的权利有关的疑问、顾虑、问题、消息、意见或问题，与 IRB 联系。联系 IRB : 404-413-3500 或 irb@gsu.edu。

同意

我们会给您这份同意书的一份副本。

如果您愿意自愿参加这项研究，请在下面签名。

参加者的正楷书写姓名

参加者签名

日期

获得同意的主要调查员或研究员

日期

GSU IRB NUMBER: H19507
APPROVED IRB APPROVAL DATE: 05/01/2019

Appendix B.4 Interview Questions

Administrators and Faculty questions (U.S. context)

Thank you for meeting with me today. Please remember to avoid using any names or information that might identify individuals or participants.

Tell me a little about your past educational experiences with language learning.

Do these experiences relate to your current work?

In your personal experience, what role should the English language support program serve at this university?

How are decisions made around prioritizing internationalization efforts decided?

Describe to me the current goals around university internationalization for your institution.

Describe the role that English Language Support Programs play at your institution.

Describe the challenges and opportunities for the English Language Support program's involvement with collaborations like the Emory/Nanjing Project?

Administrators and Faculty questions (Chinese context)

Thank you for meeting with me today. Please remember to avoid using any names or information that might identify individuals or participants.

Tell me a little about your past educational experiences with English language learning.

In your personal experience, what type of English language learning should happen at this university?

In your opinion, who should teach in English and why?

How are decisions made around teaching in English decided?

How are decisions made around prioritizing internationalization efforts decided?

Describe to me the current goals around university internationalization for your institution.

Describe the role that English language support plays at your institution.

Is there any relationship between the two, explain your answer?

How has your understanding of English language support or internationalization changed over the past few years?

Students Chinese Context

Tell me a little about your past educational experiences with English language learning. In your personal experience, what type of English language learning should happen at this university?

In your opinion, who should teach in English and why?
What made you decide to enroll in a class facilitated in English or the English Language Support Class?

What role does English play in your life?

What role will English play in your future life or career?

Appendix C: Recruitment text for questionnaire participants

This text was posted on WeChat groups associated with the ELSP and English Content Courses to recruit students for the online questionnaire.

Hi! Are you taking a class taught in English? I am conducting a survey about using English at Nanjing as well as your past experiences studying English. The survey should only take 5 minutes of your time and your answers are anonymous. Your answers will contribute to my dissertation research project. Thank you! Here is the link.
https://gsu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_eDuKVJjY3AfaESN

Appendix C.1 Informed Consent and questionnaire in English

English ▼

Consent

Title: Language Program Development through International Engagement

Principal Investigator: Dr. Eric Friginal

Student Principal Investigator: Mackenzie Bristow

Procedures

You are being asked to take part in a research study. We are conducting a survey about your opinions on English being used in the classroom as well as your past English language learning experiences. If you decide to take part, you will take an online web survey that has about 17 questions and will take about 5 minutes to take. You can conduct the survey in English or Mandarin. This survey is for Chinese students at Nanjing University enrolled in courses where English is the medium of instruction. The survey will be conducted through Qualtrics online during the month of May 2019. No personal information will be asked of you.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. You may skip questions. You may stop participating at any time.

Contact information

Contact Mackenzie Bristow at mackenzie.bristow@emory.edu if you have any questions

Consent

If you are willing to participate in this research, please start the survey

Consent and continue

Stop survey

Demographic Information

Age

Current Major

If a class is being taught in English, how much Mandarin should be used?

	None							A lot	
	1	2	3	4	4	5	6	7	
If a class is being taught in English, how much Mandarin should be used?									<input type="text"/>

Are you currently taking a content course in English?

- Yes
- No

	Negative							Positive	
	1	2	3	4	4	5	6	7	
Do you like your professor using English to teach?									<input type="text"/>

What is your current reason for taking a content class in English? Select all that apply:

- gain a deeper understanding of the content or field
- acquire skills for future job opportunities
- acquire language skills for study abroad
- gain personal enrichment
- respond to a family request or society obligation
- fulfill a required subject
- Other

How often do you get to use your English during the content classes?

	Never	--	---	----	-----	-----	Always
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Are you currently taking the English Language Support Class?

- Yes
 No

What content should be in the English Language Support course? Select all that apply

- content related directly to my field
 content related to academic English in general
 content related to daily communication
 other

What is your current reason for taking the English Language Support class? Select all that apply

- assist with English content classes
 fulfill a required subject
 acquire skills for future job opportunities
 acquire language skills for study abroad
 gain personal enrichment
 respond to a family request or society obligation
 other

How often do you get to use your English during the English Language Support courses?

	Never	--	---	----	-----	-----	Always
--	-------	----	-----	------	-------	-------	--------

	Never	--	---	----	-----	-----	Always
reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Please provide any final comments you have about learning English or using English at Nanjing University.

Appendix C.2 Informed Consent and Questionnaire in Chinese

简体中文 ▼

Consent

题目：通过国际合作开发英语课程
首席研究员：Eric Friginal 博士
学生研究员：Mackenzie Bristow

流程

您被邀请参加我们的科研活动。我们正在进行一项问卷调查，了解您对课堂上使用英语的看法以及您过去学习英语的经历。如果您同意参加，您将会填写一份含有17个问题的网络问卷，大约耗时5分钟。您可以用英语或中文填写。本调查适用于在南京大学参加英语授课的课程的中国学生。该问卷将于2019年5月通过Qualtrics在线进行。我们将不会询问您的姓名。

自愿参与和退出

您不必勉强参与。您可以跳过问题。您可以随时停止参与。

联系信息

如果您有任何疑问，请联系Mackenzie Bristow，电子邮件地址为mackenzie.bristow@emory.edu

同意

如果您愿意参与此项研究，请开始填写调查问卷

- 同意并继续
- 停止调查

Demographic Information

年龄

当前专业

请就在南京大学通过英语语言支持课程或英语传授的专业课程学习英语方面，提出您自己的意见。

Appendix C.4 Summary of questionnaire responses and descriptive statistics

Table 1
Descriptive Statistics for Questionnaire

	Mean	SD	Median	Mode
Age (current)	22	3.13	21	21
What age did you start studying English formally in school?	9.76	4.59	9	9
When you entered Nanjing University, what was your initial reaction to learning .that some content classes (science or engineering) would be taught in English?	3.35	2.02	3.00	4.00
When you entered Nanjing University, what was your initial reaction to learning that Nanjing University was providing additional English language support classes?	3.38	2.07	4.00	3.80
If a class is being taught in English, how much Mandarin should be used? If a class is being taught in English, how much Mandarin should be used?	2.25	1.12	2.00	2.25
Do you like your professor using English to teach? (Question only for students currently in EMI (N=16)	4.58	1.53	4.00	4.00

Note. Male (N=18) Female (N=15) Attitude Questions 1=Negative/None 7 Positive/All

Appendix D Verbal script for videotape recording

This was the text read before the consent to be video or audio taped during the classroom forms were passed out.

Good Morning (afternoon, evening)

My name is Mackenzie Bristow and I work at Emory University in the United States. I am also a PhD student at Georgia State University in the United States. You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to examine how a specific language program is developed between two universities, one in the U.S. and one in China. You are invited to participate because you are a student in one of the English classes. Participation will require you to be video and/or audio taped, twice, for one hour each during class. You do not need to do anything special. Please just participate in class as you would normally. Participating in this study will not expose you to any more risks than you would experience in a typical day. Participation in this study may not benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about how language programs are developed as the result of individuals and the actions they take to assist in the process. You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may stop participating at any time. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time. This study is not related to your grade or this class. This project aims to keep your identity private and will be using pseudonyms and I.D. codes to not reveal your name. We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law

Appendix D.1: Informed Consent for Classroom Videotaping in English

Georgia State University Informed Consent

Title: Language Program Development through International Engagement

Principal Investigator: Eric Friginal

Student Principal Investigator: Mackenzie Bristow

Introduction and Key Information

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of the study is to examine how a specific language program is developed between two universities, one in the U.S. and one in China. You are invited to participate because you are a participant in a course related to this project. Participation will require you to be video or audio taped, twice, for one hour each during a class. You will be asked to do nothing other than your normal activities in class. Participating in this study will not expose you to any more risks than you would experience in a typical day. Participation in this study may not benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about how language programs are developed as the result of individuals and the actions they take to assist in the process.

Purpose

The purpose of the study is to examine how a specific language program is developed between two universities, one in the U.S. and one in China. You are invited because you are a student or teacher taking part in English classes associated with this project. A total of 40 students and 2 teachers may be recruited for this study.

Procedures

If you decide to take part, you will be video or audio taped twice during a regular class for an hour.

- You only need to participate in class as you normally would
- If you opt out of being video recorded you may sit out of the view of the video
- If you opt out of being audio recorded your comments will be removed from the data

Future Research

Researchers will remove information that may identify you and may use your data for future research. If we do this, we will not ask for any additional consent from you.

Risks

In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life. No injury is expected from this study, but if you believe you have been harmed, contact the research team as soon as possible. Georgia State University and the research team have not set aside funds to compensate for any injury.

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about how language programs are developed as the result of individuals and the actions they take to assist in the process.

Alternatives

Audio recording is provided as an alternative to video recording. The alternative to taking part in this study is to not take part in the study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may stop participating at any time. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time. This will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Confidentiality

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Eric Friginal and Mackenzie Bristow
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use a code rather than your name on study records. The information you provide will be stored on an offline hard drive. A key linking participant names to codes will be stored separately from the data to protect privacy. When we present or publish the results of this study, we will not use your name or other information that may identify you. The key will be destroyed at the end of the research project. All audio and video will be analyzed and stored on a password-protected computer. All data may be kept for future research.

Contact Information

Contact Eric Friginal at efriginal@gsu.edu or Mackenzie Bristow at mbrist2@emory.edu

- If you have questions about the study or your part in it
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study

The IRB at Georgia State University reviews all research that involves human participants. You can contact the IRB if you would like to speak to someone who is not involved directly with the study. You can contact the IRB for questions, concerns, problems, information, input, or questions about your rights as a research participant. Contact the IRB at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu.

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep. Please select what modality you feel comfortable using

- I give my consent to be video taped
- I give my consent to be audio taped

If you are willing to volunteer for this research, please sign below.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix D.2 Informed Consent for Classroom Videotaping in Chinese

乔治亚州立大学
知情同意

标题：通过国际参与进行语言课程开发

主要调查员：Eric Friginal

学生主要调查员：Mackenzie Bristow

简介和关键信息

我们邀请您参加一项调查研究。本研究旨在探讨两所大学（分别位于美国和中国）之间是如何开发特定的语言课程的。之所以邀请您参加，是因为您是与此项目相关的某个课程的参加者。参加这项调研活动，需要您在课堂上进行两次录像或录音，每次一小时。除了您在课堂上的正常活动，并不要求您做其他什么。参加这项研究并不会让您面临比平常更多的风险。参加这项研究可能对您个人并没有任何好处。总的来说，我们希望了解下列信息：语言课程是如何作为个人的结果以及他们在这一过程中所采取行动的结果而开发出来的。

目的

本研究旨在探讨两所大学（分别位于美国和中国）之间是如何开发特定的语言课程的。您受邀是因为您是一位学生或教师，正在参加与本项目相关的英语课程。本研究共招募 40 名学生和 2 名教师。

程序

如果您决定参加，您将在一个小时的常规课上被录像或录音两次。

- 您只需要像平时一样上课。
- 如果您选择不录制视频，您可以坐在视频视野之外。
- 如果您选择不录制音频，将从数据中删除您的评论。

未来研究

研究人员将删除可能识别您身份的信息，并且可能将您的数据用于未来研究。如果我们这样做，我们将不征得您的任何额外同意。

风险

在这项研究中，您不会有比正常生活更多的风险。本研究预计不会造成任何伤害，但如果您认为自己受到了伤害，请尽快联系研究团队。乔治亚州立大学以及研究小组没有拨出资金来补偿任何伤害。

益处

这项研究并非出于让您个人受益。总的来说，我们希望了解下列信息：语言课程是如何作为个人的结果以及他们在这一过程中所采取行动的结果而开发出来的。

替代选项

音频录制是作为视频录制的替代方案而提供的。参加本研究的替代选项就是不参加本研究。

自愿参加和退出

您并非必须参加这项研究。如果您决定参加研究，而后又改变主意，您有权随时退出。您可以随时停止参加。您可以拒绝参加研究，也可以随时停止。这不会使您失去任何您有权享有的福利。

机密

我们将在法律允许的范围内为您的记录保守私密性。以下人员和实体将可以访问您提供的信息：

- Eric Friginal 和 Mackenzie Bristow
- GSU 机构审查委员会
- 人类研究保护办公室 (OHRP)

我们将在研究记录中使用一个代码而非您的姓名。您提供的信息将存储在脱机硬盘上。将参加者姓名与代码关联起来的密钥将与数据分开存储，以保护隐私。当我们展示或发布本研究的结果时，我们不会使用您的姓名或其他可能识别您身份的信息。密钥将在研究项目结束时销毁。所有音频和视频将得到分析，并存储在受密码保护的计算机上。所有数据可能会予以保留，以用于未来研究。

联系人信息

联系 Eric Friginal : efriginal@gsu.edu ; 或者联系 Mackenzie Bristow : mbrist2@emory.edu

- 如果您对研究或您在其中的角色有疑问
- 如果您对研究有疑问、担忧或投诉

乔治亚州立大学的 IRB 审查所有涉及人类参加者的研究。如果您想与并未直接参与该研究的人交谈，您可以联系 IRB。您可以就与您作为研究参加者的权利有关的疑问、顾虑、问题、信息、意见或问题，与 IRB 联系。联系 IRB : 404-413-3500 或 irb@gsu.edu。

同意

我们会给您这份同意书的一份副本。请选择您觉得自在的模式

- 我同意被录像
- 我同意被录音

如果您愿意自愿参加这项研究，请在下面签名。

参加者的正楷书写姓名

参加者签名

日期

获得同意的主要调查员或研究员

日期